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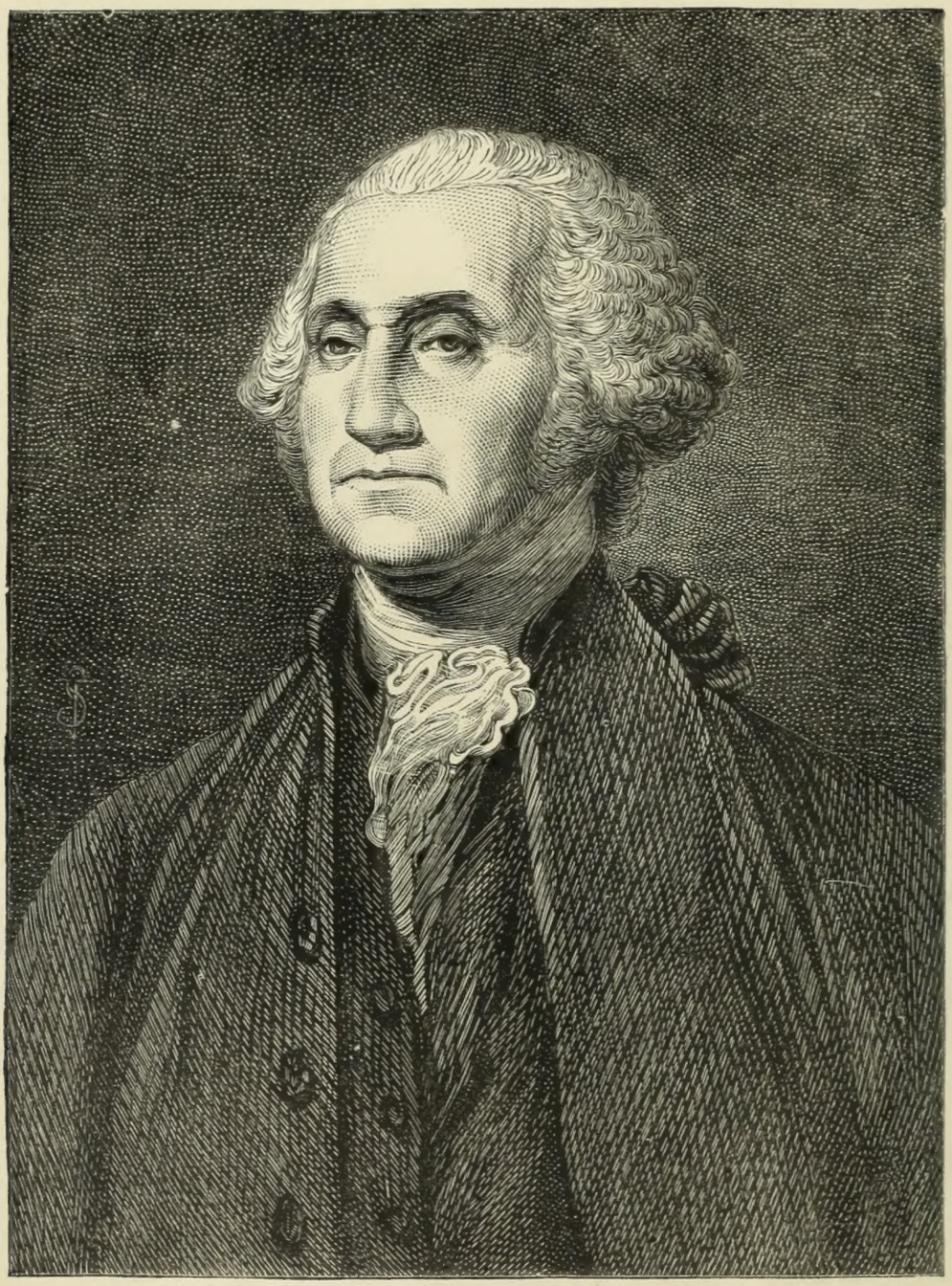
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GEORGE WASHINGTON.

(After the painting by Stuart.)

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BY

EDMUND OLLIER.

*

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Where the History of the United States begins—The Northern Parts of America colonised much later than the Southern—Characteristics of North American Scenery—Indolent and Unprogressive Nature of the Red Man—The First English Settlers—Spreading of the Anglo-American Race Westward—The Story of a New People—Quickness with which the American Colonies acquired the Art of Self-government—Virtual Independence in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries—Progress and Development of the American Nationality—Increase of Territorial Possessions and Population—The Cities of the West—What American History should teach.

QUEEN ELIZABETH had been on the throne of England about a quarter of a century, when one of the most adventurous and highly gifted of her subjects conceived a project, from which, no doubt, he augured great things, although the ultimate results could scarcely have been anticipated even by his vivid imagination and daring soul. He was taking the first step in a series of colonisations destined to spread the

English language and the English race over half a continent; to give to the principles of English law, and the spirit if not the forms of English government, a far wider sphere of action than they had ever before enjoyed; to add new riches and distinctive territories to English literature; and in the end to establish a Republic mightier than any of ancient Italy or Greece, more full of hope and promise for universal humanity, more largely endowed with the powers of self-renewal and self-preservation, and, despite temporary misunderstandings, more inclined to harmonious co-operation even with those political organisations to which its own theories and precedents are the most opposed. Sir Walter Raleigh's attempted colonisation of North Carolina, in 1584–5, is the real commencement of the History of the United States.

At that period, the vast territory now occupied by the great Republic of the West was nothing better than a wilderness, thinly peopled by savages. Very little was known of its boundaries, its products, its capabilities, its climate, or its inhabitants. Although nearly ninety years had elapsed since the discovery of the coast of Labrador by the Cabots, and although other voyages to North America had taken place from time to time, the country itself had been but slightly examined beyond the shores, and scarcely anything had been done towards the formation of colonies. Even so late as the year 1633, New England was by some believed to be an island. Of the more southern part of what is now the United States, many wild and extravagant ideas were entertained. It was held to be a land abounding in gold-mines, in pearls, and in all those material riches which can be turned to immediate profit. The earliest of the English adventurers thought that Virginia might be to them as Mexico and Peru were to the Spaniards; but they only imagined what the Spaniards knew. Peru and Mexico were already the seats of an established European civilisation when Raleigh conceived his project of a settlement to the north. The countrymen of Montezuma and Atahualpa had for many years been slaves to the countrymen of Cortes and Pizarro. The old dynasties, the old religions, and the old social forms, had given place to new; and the descendants of those who had worshipped the sun in temples of barbaric splendour, now knelt before the cross of Jesus or the shrine of Mary in cathedrals such as might have been found in any Catholic city of the Old World. By 1584, the gorgeous edifices of Peruvian and Mexican monarchs were crumbling to decay, or sinking into the dim entanglement of tropical vegetation. Towns that reproduced some of the glories of Madrid and Seville had been built and settled. The Spanish tongue was heard in many centres of colonial life, and commerce was established in several thriving ports. But the Indian of more northern lands knew little or nothing of the white man, and still roamed free and unmenaced through pathless forests, of which from time immemorial he had held undisturbed possession.

Between the North Atlantic and North Pacific Oceans extended a vast domain, the splendid capabilities of which were made of no account by the ignorance of the tribes which inhabited it. Dense woods covered much of the ground; prairies, stretching far out like grassy seas, diversified in many parts the sylvan monotony of overhanging shades; in others, wide marshes and desolate heaths afforded covert for wild fowl and the shy creatures of the desert. Yet it was a region highly favoured in many ways. Magnificent rivers, superb lakes, harbours of unsurpassed capacity, mountains and hills, valleys that required nothing but labour to become Paradises of fertility,—whatever could minister to the purposes of an industrious race, whatever was necessary to the seat of a great empire,—lay within the bounds of that immense and varied territory. But these natural riches of the land were wasted by disuse. The savages scattered over the country had no means of turning such endowments to advantage; nor does there seem the least reason to suppose that they would ever have acquired them. Savages are generally characterised by mental indolence; and to this rule the red man appears to be no exception. The Indians of North America in the sixteenth century were probably a finer race physically than the miserable remnant that now remains; but they had no greater power of self-improvement than their descendants at the present day. They cultivated the ground only so far as was necessary to provide them with their small stock of maize and vegetables. They drew from the soil none of its hidden riches. They made no attempt to reduce the ferocity of untamed nature to the order and subjection of civilised societies. The forests were not felled; the marshes were not drained; the prairies and the plains saw no cities rising out of their broad expanse; the harbours were unvisited by ships; the rivers ran from their sources to the sea, and carried on their breasts no freight of vessels laden with the produce of a land which might have supplied the wants of Europe. The Indian cared not to be any better than his fathers had been before him. It was enough for him if he could preserve his hunting-ground from the invasion of hostile tribes; if he could prevail in battle, and

adorn his belt with the scalps of slaughtered enemies; if he could sing his savage songs, and dance his savage dances, and bring up his sons to a warrior's contempt of pain, and smoke his calumet, and rest in his rude wigwam after the fatigues of the chase. A few rough skins were sufficient to protect him from the cold, a few feathers and coloured shells abundantly satisfied the female vanity of his squaw. He was content to live this simple life, and to dream of some red man's heaven beyond the grave, without a thought of bettering his earthly state, or turning the riches of the earth and the forces of the elements to the service of his will.

When the first Englishmen settled in these wild lands, the natives regarded them as gods. Their powers were so far superior to anything which had been hitherto experienced, that the ordinary nature of human beings seemed inadequate to account for them. They had weapons which breathed fire and smoke; they could smite their enemies with sudden death at an immense distance, and in some unknown way; they came and went in vessels of enormous size; they had coverings to their bodies of such hardness that a dart or an arrow glanced off them: in all respects they were wonderful and mysterious. What followed was perhaps the inevitable consequence of the conditions thus established. The inferior race, after a few spasmodic struggles for the mastery, gave way before the superior. The red man, sullenly refusing to be civilised, exasperated by the cruelty and injustice of which he was frequently made the victim, or incapable by his very nature of receiving the impress of European ideas, retired from the shores of the Atlantic, and sought refuge in the wide regions of the west. The history of the United States, reduced to broad and general terms, is the history of an energetic nation of white men gradually spreading farther and farther into the desert, and pursuing the retreating footsteps of several nations of red men, who, after falling back from forest to forest, and from waste to waste, now flutter like a waning phantom between the Rocky Mountains and the western sea. Yet, however rapid this advance during the present century, it was comparatively slow in earlier days. For many generations, the colonists and their descendants kept to those portions of the continent which border on the Atlantic. Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, New England—all the older parts of the modern Union lie on or near the great body of waters connecting America with Europe. At the period of the War of Independence, very little ground was occupied by Anglo-Americans west of the Alleghany Mountains. The Mississippi formed the extreme western boundary of the federated colonies. Beyond that magnificent stream lay the dominions of the Spaniard, and on both sides were the camping grounds of Indians, and the solitary expanses of the wilderness. It was not until the colonies became entirely free to form their own government, and to transact their own affairs, that this immense expansion towards the Pacific set in with vigour. The young nation felt its strength, and leapt with gigantic bounds towards the regions of the setting sun.

In regarding Virginia and the New England States, we see countries and cities which, for the New World, have already acquired an aspect of antiquity. In Boston there are houses, and indeed whole streets, which present the appearance of an old English town. Memories of the seventeenth century hang about some of its thoroughfares and public buildings; ghosts of sedate old Puritans in doublet and hose, or in steel cap and breastplate, are visible to the mind's eye in that ancient capital of Massachusetts. All down the coast, from Maine to Georgia, are cities which have a name and place in history. In the annals of the world there is no other record of so rapid a development of a nation from a beginning so feeble and unpromising. Of the incidents of its early years it may be safely said that they have no parallel in the pages of the wildest romance. The simple narration of them would form volumes as attractive as the fictions of Robinson Crusoe or the Arabian Nights, while the numerous episodes of savage brutalities vie in horror with the most repulsive tales of the pirates and buccaneers of past ages. But the practical interest of the story is more modern. It is the story of a new people winning their way through rough and stormy paths towards a future of unparalleled grandeur. It is a story of contest with the elements, with tempest, with hunger, with cold, with the primeval forest, with the tameless ocean, with savage foes, with internecine troubles, with despondency, and inexperience, and distrust. It is a story of free communities learning the difficult art of self-government under circumstances which, however favourable in some respects, were in others especially trying. It is a story of difficulties surmounted by the sheer force of manhood; of growing cities, of dwindling deserts, of augmenting commerce, of ever-multiplying population, of new principles in politics, of new opportunities for humanity, of influences which the Old World feels more and more strongly as the years pass by. This land, of which we propose to write

the History, is pre-eminently the land of Hope. The future of the United States, now that the last obstacle to perfect freedom is removed, shines forth among the brightest of the world. It is menaced with fewer dangers than most others; and it holds out to the toiling millions of the earth, but especially to those of English speech, the most numerous points of interest and attraction. A living American poet has proudly addressed his country as that

"—— strange New World, that yet wast never young,
Whose youth from thee by griping need was wrung,—
Brown foundling of the woods, whose baby-bed
Was prowl'd round by the Indians' crackling tread,
And who grew'st strong through shifts and wants and pains,
Nurs'd by stern men with empires in their brains,
Who saw in vision their young Ishmael strain
With each hard hand a vassal ocean's mane,—
Thou, skill'd by Freedom and by great events
To pitch new States as Old-World men pitch tents,—
Thou, taught by Fate to know Jehovah's plan,
That only manhood ever makes a man,
And whose free latch-string never was drawn in
Against the meanest child of Adam's kin."*

Nothing is more remarkable than the quickness with which the Anglo-American colonies acquired the habits and asserted the rights of self-government. Virginia had a local assembly, for the making of laws and the redress of grievances, as early as 1619, though the settlement was then but twelve years old. The Virginia Company, sitting in London, successfully resisted the interference of one of the most despotic of British monarchs, until its dissolution in 1624, the year before the death of James I. In the reign of Charles I., the self-governing powers of the colony became even greater than they had been before. Although, by the suppression of the Company, Virginia was made dependent on the sole will and pleasure of the King, Charles had the good sense to allow the colonial assembly to continue its sittings. That body even elected the Governor on more than one occasion, and the mother country acquiesced. While England was being ruled without a Parliament, Virginia was practically a free State. New England was for several years as completely independent of all control from London as it is now. The Puritans of Massachusetts considered themselves as forming a distinct sovereignty; appointed their own chief magistrates, made their own laws, imposed their own taxes, organised their own army, and even prepared for resistance when they feared a diminution of their freedom. It was the same with most of the other colonies. During the troubled times of Charles I., a sentiment of independent national life grew up with the necessity of providing the forms of local government by the unaided efforts of local patriotism. With the more settled days of Charles II., the connection between the old country and the new, which had been allowed to lapse, was once more established; but it was a connection of the slightest kind, such as now exists between England and Canada, or England and the Australian colonies. A Governor appointed by the Crown in each of the States (for such they may in truth be called) maintained the reality of Imperial dominion, and held in check any tendency to entire separation. But the several Legislatures, elected by the people themselves, transacted in perfect freedom the business of the communities which they were chosen to represent. The charters under which these settlements were established, generally contained a clause forbidding the colonists to make any enactments contrary to the laws of England; and in the reign of William III. an Act of Parliament was passed, enforcing the prohibition. But this was no great restraint on American liberty, and the colonies were virtually in possession of independence when the ill-judged attempt to tax them against their will, in the time of George III., led to the revolutionary war, and to the establishment of the Federal Republic.

In surveying the whole course of American History, then, what do we observe? We observe, in the first place, a few colonies of Englishmen surrounded by savages in a desert country, where it was often no easy matter to obtain the barest necessaries of life. In the second place, we find these struggling communities growing up into young commonwealths, full of strength and hope and audacity—commonwealths so intimately associated with the contests of parties and principles in the land from which they sprang, that the progress of events in that land for nearly two hundred years cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of what was being done in the provinces of English America. In the third place, we see a mighty Republican Federation stretching its gigantic limbs from ocean to ocean, and from the frigid regions of the North to territories that border on the tropics; perpetually engaged in new colonisations, perpetually reclaiming fresh soil from the barrenness of solitude and savagery; spanning the desert with railways and telegraphic lines; covering the seas with ships; conducting a princely commerce with all the world in cities of stately magnificence; receiving every year an immense stream of emigration; assimilating all things to a

* The Biglow Papers, by James Russell Lowell (1864). The New England provincial spelling of the supposed writer has been here omitted, as interfering with the grandeur and beauty of the passage.

new type of national character, which yet has some affinity with the old; treating on equal terms with the proudest empires of Europe; reaching out one hand to an immeasurable Future, and with the other holding firmly to a venerable Past.

The United States are in many respects the most stupendous, the most important, and the most interesting political fact of the present day. The country thus built up consists of thirty-seven States and twelve Territories, as against only thirteen States and a few dependencies when the Republic was acknowledged by Great Britain.* In 1790, when the first Census was taken, the whole population (white and coloured) did not count more than 3,929,827—a total not very greatly exceeding that which is now included in the aggregation of towns and villages forming the metropolis of the British Empire. In 1800, the population of the United States had risen to 5,305,925; in 1810, to 7,239,814; in 1820, to 9,638,131; in 1830, to 12,866,020; in 1840, to 17,069,453; in 1850, to 23,191,876; in 1860, to 31,443,322; in 1870, to 38,558,371. It is now probably 42,000,000. This enormous progressive development is due partly to the natural increase of what may be called the native American population; partly, and in no small measure, to the extraordinary in-pouring of emigrants from the old world. The total immigration since 1820 has been set down by Mr. Edward Young, chief of the American Bureau of Statistics (writing in April, 1871), at 7,553,805 persons. Of these, more than half were of British origin; and for several years the Irish contingent has been particularly large. But the Germans in 1871 numbered more than two millions and a quarter, and there were large bodies of Scandinavians, French, and Asiatics. Germany, indeed, has sent so many of her people that New York is the third largest German city in the world, having within its compass more persons of Teutonic origin than any town excepting Berlin and Vienna. But the territories of the Republic are so vast that, for many years to come, immigration will be a source of strength to the whole community. The area of the United States at the conclusion of peace with the mother country, in 1783, was only 820,680 square miles; it is now 3,611,849 square miles. At the present moment, the great Western Republic has four hundred million acres of land enclosed, and a billion and a half still unenclosed.† A large territorial acquisition was made in 1867 by the purchase of the Russian American possessions in the extreme north-west of the continent; but this added very little to the population. In more favoured regions, however, the progress has been marvellous. Chicago, notwithstanding the terrific fire of 1871, and another only less disastrous in 1874, is believed to have 400,000 inhabitants, though forty years ago it was simply a small Indian trading post, situated on a desolate swamp. Where, in the youthful days of men who are scarcely old, the wandering savage trafficked in skins, and bought blankets, cheap cutlery, and fire-water of American pedlars, a stately town now rears its warehouses, hotels, and mansions of sculptured marble, and gives promise of being one of the great commercial cities of the world. San Francisco, in California, of which no one had any knowledge a generation ago, is a populous and wealthy seat of trade, where Christian churches stand side by side with the idol-temples of Chinese immigrants, and where all the languages of the earth may be heard among the busy crowds that throng the streets, or chaffer in the public places. Beyond the Rocky Mountains, the great Salt Lake City, with its strange population of Mormons, has grown up within the last thirty years. In many parts of the far west, new centres of life are rising into prominence; and the writer of a generation hence will be called on to describe places of distinction which are now unknown.

The records of such a nationality must be of absorbing interest wherever the English language is spoken. The story, however, has never yet been told with sufficient fulness of detail, from its humble commencement to the magnificent facts which we see around us at the present day. We propose so to tell it in these pages. In tracing the career of this young nation of the West, we shall pass through many scenes of good and evil fortune, and shall see the chequered lights and shadows of humanity projected on a vast field, in proportions as gigantic as the objects by which they are surrounded. We shall read the history of men and of institutions. We shall have to consider not merely the intrigues of politicians and the struggles of armies, but the efforts of men to conquer a position in the world; not merely the aggrandisement of Governments, but the life of individuals. Side by side with the action of States, the social aspects of a great and various community must be depicted. The growth of this wonderful American people—the reclaiming of the desert, the rise of cities, the development of industry, the unfolding of mighty principles, the successive modifications of manners, the achievements of literature and art—

* The original States were fourteen in number if we include Vermont; but that part of America was then claimed as belonging to New York, though the citizens themselves repudiated the claim.

† Latest Census Returns of the United States, and other statistical documents. MS. Journal of a Tour in America, 1874.

must be made to move before the reader's view. From 1584 to 1874 is but a brief period in the existence of a nation; but, as regards the United States, it is a period full of concentrated activity, and of the most instructive information. In telling this story we shall help to make the two branches of the English race better known to one another, nation is inseparably connected with that of the other. The English element has always been predominant in the United States, and, to all human appearance, always will be. It is the history of parent and child, and, however widely dissevered by physical distance, the relationship still exists, and the heart of the one must yearn



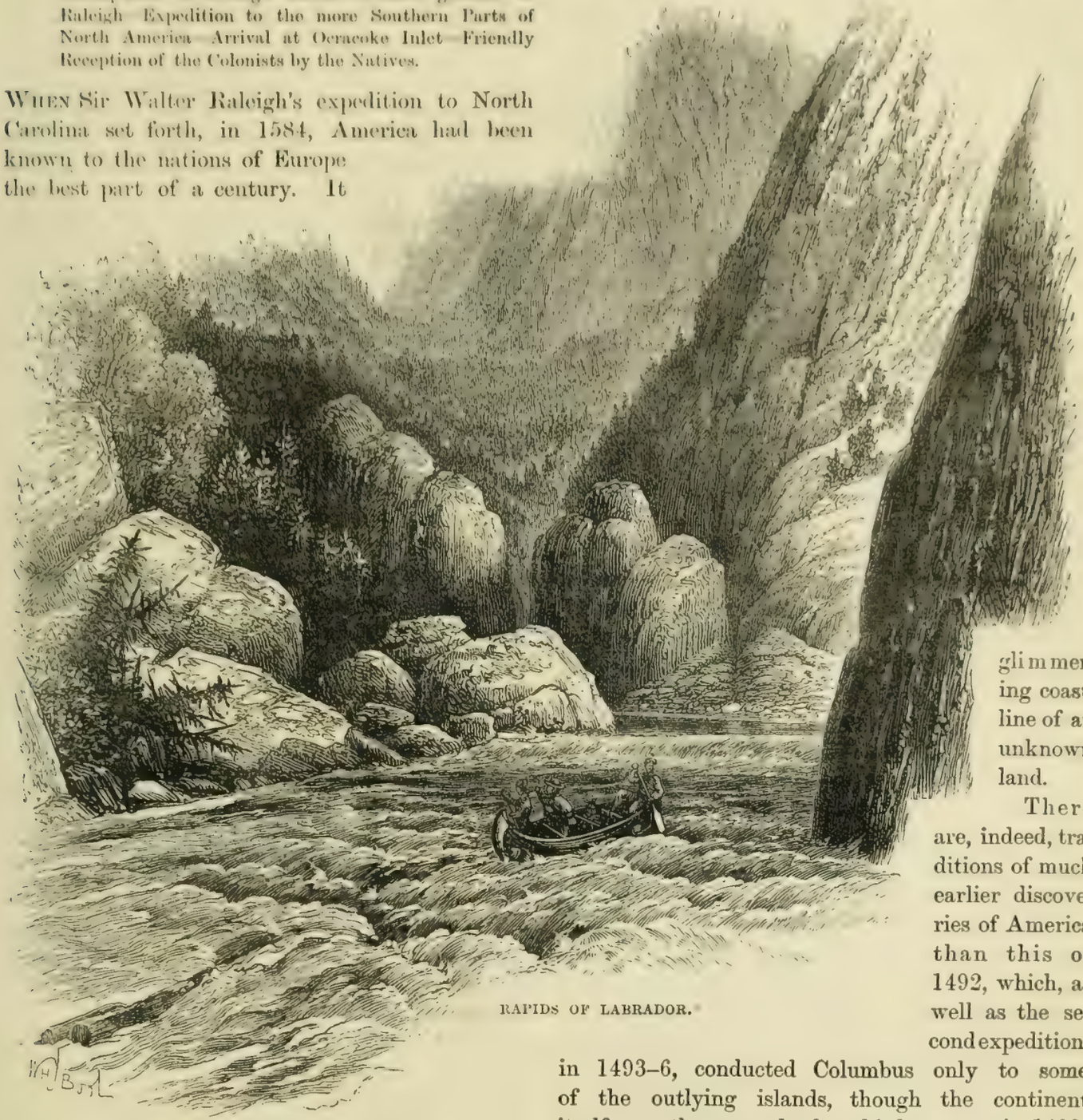
MARTIN FROBISHER.

and may thus even contribute to a more solid and sober friendship. For, although Governments may differ, and privileged classes may be mutually jealous, there is no root in the past which should be productive in the future of anything but cordial good-will and esteem between the great body of Englishmen and the great body of Americans. Let it never be forgotten that the history of the one fondly towards the other, in spite of occasional differences more sentimental than real. In short, England ought to be, and really is, proud of the lusty offspring of her loins, whose unexampled career of greatness reflects glory upon herself; and that full-grown offspring, in all the dignity of his manhood, cannot and does not, in his inmost heart, fail to recognise and revere the venerable author of his being.

CHAPTER II.

The Discovery of America—Expeditions of the Cabots—Awful Character attributed to the Unknown Parts of the World—Death of Sebastian Cabot—Spanish, Portuguese, and French Settlements in America—Backwardness of England in this respect—English Maritime Expeditions—The North-west Passage to the Indies—Augmentation of English Spirit after the Accession of Elizabeth—Voyages of Frobisher to the Northern Parts of America—Drake's Voyage round the World—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—Patent granted to him by Queen Elizabeth for making Settlements—Gilbert's First Expedition to North America—His Second Expedition—Death of Gilbert on his Return to England—Sir Walter Raleigh—Romantic Conceptions of Foreign Lands—Patent granted to Raleigh—Expedition to the more Southern Parts of North America—Arrival at Ocracoke Inlet—Friendly Reception of the Colonists by the Natives.

When Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to North Carolina set forth, in 1584, America had been known to the nations of Europe the best part of a century. It was more than a century since Columbus, in his dreamy moods betwixt voyage and voyage, first contemplated the possibility of passing beyond the mysterious Atlantic, and in that way reaching the eastern shores of Asia. It was the ninety-second year since that memorable 12th of October when the great Genoese navigator, after a voyage of upwards of two months, saw in the faint dawn the glimmering coast-line of an unknown land.



RAPIDS OF LABRADOR.

There are, indeed, traditions of much earlier discoveries of America than this of 1492, which, as well as the second expedition, in 1493–6, conducted Columbus only to some of the outlying islands, though the continent itself was the reward of a third voyage, in 1498. Welsh legends speak of a Prince Madoc, who, with a small fleet, put out to sea in 1170, landed on the western continent in the part we now call Virginia, and peopled it. A more reliable story, the authenticity of which, however, has never been fully established, affirms that, as far back as the year 1000, or a little earlier, the Scandinavians extended their maritime explorations from Green-

land, where they undoubtedly had settlements, to a point on the main American coast near New Bedford, Massachusetts, or even farther south. It is added that colonies were planted there, which maintained communication with Greenland, Iceland, and Norway, down to the fourteenth century, when all knowledge of the new country was in some way lost.* The honour of discovering America, a few years before the first voyage of Columbus, has been claimed by the Spaniards for one of their own countrymen, by the Germans for one of theirs, by the Venetians, the Portuguese, and the Poles; but on grounds the most vague and unsatisfactory. It is a weakness with some persons never to leave a great man undisturbed in the enjoyment of his fame. The stories put forward by the Spaniards and others seem to be as fabulous as that legend of the lost island of Atlantis (sometimes identified with South America) which is related by Plato, with much romantic and poetical embellishment, in the "Timæus" and the "Critias." The claim most worthy of consideration is that on behalf of the Northmen; but, even allowing this discovery to have taken place, it does not detract from the glory of Columbus as the man who first really united America and Europe. He was probably unaware of any previous voyages to the same quarter of the globe, and his wonderful adventure has led to the most important results, while the others, granting them to have occurred, have ended in nothing but subjects for antiquarian research.

The enterprise of Spain in fitting out expeditions for Columbus resulted in the predominance of that country in the New World. Mexico was subjugated by Cortes, and Peru by Pizarro. By 1584, when Raleigh's expedition set sail for the west, the Spanish tongue was spread over a large part both of North and South America. In the time of Columbus, and for more than a century later, Spain was the greatest of European Powers, and so large an addition to her strength soon excited the envy or the emulation of other countries. Portugal made discoveries in the south, and France in the north; and after some years the foundations of the Brazilian and Canadian colonies were laid. England was one of the very earliest of the exploring nations. Indeed, it was an English expedition which first discovered the continent of America. A Venetian merchant established at Bristol, whose real name was Giovanni Gaboto, but who is generally known as John Cabot, obtained from Henry VII. a patent (dated March 5th, 1496) empowering him and his three sons to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own expense, to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, not before seen by Christian people; to plant the English flag on any city, island, or continent, that they might find; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories so discovered. In return for these anticipated services, the patent conferred on the family of the Cabots and their assigns, for ever, the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found. Such a privilege could not have been permanently maintained; but the age was one of restrictions and monopolies, and the patent granted to the Cabots was in harmony with many other acts of the same age, and of much more recent times. The expedition set sail from Bristol in May, 1497, and on the 24th of June the Cabots sighted the coast of North America, in that portion to which has been given the name of Labrador. This was nearly a year before the discovery of South America by Columbus on his third voyage, and less than five years after the noble Genoese seaman, in the prosecution of his first voyage, had landed on San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands. There can be no doubt that it was the great success of 1492 which suggested to John Cabot the expedition sanctioned by Henry VII. in 1496; yet it should not be forgotten that the first revelation to Europe of the American continent was the result of English enterprise, acting, it is true, under the direction of a foreigner, but deriving its main strength and resources from a mercantile city in the counties of Somerset and Gloucester.

The Cabots made a second voyage to America in 1498. The patent in this instance bears date the 3rd of February in that year, and grants to "John Kabotto" permission to take six ships in any haven of the realm, of the burden of 200 tons and under, "to convey and lede to the londe and isles of late founde by the seid John in oure name and by our commaundemente." The King himself was a partner in the new adventure, and the object was not merely exploration, but commerce, and the making of inquiries as to whether the countries before examined presented opportunities for colo-

* Mr. Bancroft, in his "History of the United States" (Vol. I., chap. 1), expresses great doubt as to the story of the Norwegian discovery; so also does Robertson, in his "History of America" (Note XVII. to Vol. I.). The latter authority likewise gives several reasons why the Welsh legend is highly improbable, though other writers consider it to be established by good evidence. The Scandinavian claim, also, has found supporters, including the illustrious Humboldt. See supplementary chapters, by I. A. Blackwell, to Mallet's "Northern Antiquities," edition in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 1847; and Mr. J. G. Palfrey's "History of New England," Vol. I., chap. 2, 1859.

nisation. As in the previous year, Cabot and his sons left England in May. The number of men forming the expedition was three hundred, and the exploit was attended by some success. Labrador was again visited, but, the cold proving extreme, the ships turned southward, and, proceeding along the eastern coast, reached the southern boundary of what is now Maryland, if not farther. They then returned to England, owing to a scarcity of provisions; but a third voyage, extending to the Gulf of Mexico, appears to have been made in 1499. In these expeditions, the chief lieutenant of John Cabot (who died about the close of the century) was his son Sebastian, then a very young man, but, it is said, the most scientific navigator of the family. Sebastian must be regarded as to some extent an Englishman, for he was born at Bristol. In early years he was instructed in geography, navigation, and mathematics, and throughout his long life was one of the greatest explorers of an age especially distinguished in that respect. The unflinching courage of Sebastian Cabot, the cheerful self-reliance of his nature, the gaiety of his heart (which seems to have possessed all the charm of the best Italian dispositions), the suavity of his manners, and the honourable spirit which marked his acts, make this hero of the sea a figure of singular attraction to those who follow with any interest the great developments of the world.

After the death of Henry VII., Sebastian Cabot took service under Ferdinand of Spain, and in 1512 received from that monarch the title of Captain, with a liberal salary. Subsequently he became a member of the Council of the Indies, and was to have headed a new expedition to the west, when the death of Ferdinand, early in 1516, put an end to the project. It is said that Cabot settled in Spain because he was disgusted by his treatment in England. He now returned to England because he was offended by his treatment in Spain. In the reign of Henry VIII. he commanded an expedition in search of the North-west Passage into the Pacific Ocean—that dream of all the greatest navigators since the close of the fifteenth century, the fulfilment of which has been delayed to our own times. This was probably in 1517. It unfortunately happens that few authentic memorials of the life of Sebastian Cabot can now be discovered. After his death, at an advanced age (in what year is not precisely known, though it was probably in the reign of Queen Mary), several documents by him were placed in the hands of one William Worthington, by whom, it has been suggested, they were either destroyed, or made over to Philip of Spain. There seems, however, to be no doubt that on this expedition Cabot sailed through the straits which have since been named after a later navigator, Hudson, and reached the bay beyond. It is probable that the straits had already been entered, in 1501, by Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese; but he did not get so far north as Cabot. The Englishman penetrated to lat. 67½ degrees, and would have gone farther, as the sea was quite open, had not his fellow-commander, Sir Thomas Perte, lost courage, and his crew proved mutinous. The region in which they found themselves was in truth calculated to strike all but the boldest with dismay. The loneliness of the seas, the wildness of the lands by which they were surrounded, the rigour of the climate, the uncertainty of all before, and the doubt as to whether retreat would be practicable if the exploration were prolonged, must have contributed to produce a very powerful effect on the minds of Cabot's companions. Those were days when the distant parts of the earth were credited with a supernatural and awful character. As the ancient Greek regarded the pillars of Hercules, beyond which lay nothing but a watery void, wherein the chariot of the sun-god descended nightly to some dim under-world, so did the mariner of the sixteenth century regard the mysterious and melancholy wastes of sea and ice which spread towards the Pole. Many ages before, Tacitus, describing the ocean north of Sweden and Norway according to popular report, said that it was held to be the end of nature and of the world; that many shapes of gods were to be seen there, and that the sound of the sun was to be heard as it rushed out of the waves. Ideas of a similar character were probably present to the minds of Cabot's sailors on that adventurous voyage, as they had been present to the Spaniards on the first expedition of Columbus across the Atlantic. Those strange, dark, weird solitudes were not to be trusted. They might lead beyond the limits of the natural earth; they might lure the wanderers into some moonstruck land of monsters, ghosts, and devils, like the enchanted isle of Prospero, as it appeared to the eyes of Alonzo and his companions. At any rate, both Sir Thomas Perte and the crew refused to go any farther, and Sebastian Cabot, a man of more heroic mettle, was compelled to put back to Europe.

The remainder of the life of Cabot was passed partly in the service of Spain, and partly in that of England. He was very much a citizen of the world, but one of the best order. Always planning voyages of discovery, or carrying them out with various degrees of success, his mind lived more upon the ocean than upon the land, and in his last

moments he babbled, not of green fields, but of the weltering main. On his death-bed he told his friend Eden that a certain peculiar mode of finding the longitude had been communicated to him by Divine revelation, yet under such conditions that he might not repeat it to any one. Eden says he thought that "the good old man in that extreme age somewhat doted, and had not yet, even in the article of death, utterly shaken off all worldly vain-glory." We may interpret his wandering thought even more charitably. It was the dream of a mind familiar with many great and strange expeditions, and now on the eve of departure for the greatest and the strangest of them all.

England had at that time, as at all times, numerous skilled and daring sailors, whose craft were to be seen on all the ocean highways of the world; yet for many years the English Government, while encouraging enterprises such as those of John and Sebastian Cabot, omitted to establish any settlement in America. Spain, Portugal, and France divided the newly-found territories amongst themselves, not without mutual jealousies and quarrels; but England remained unaggrandised by those discoveries in which she had taken a prominent part. The reason of this negligence is probably to be found in the agitation of the country consequent on the change of religion. It was in 1534 that Henry VIII., after seven years of angry argument with the Pontiff as to the validity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, caused the Papal power in England to be annulled by Parliament. The remaining years of his reign were years of disruption and of bitter religious feud. Those which followed were no better. The Protestant Church of England was hardly established under Edward VI. when it was upset, in the midst of flame and bloodshed, by Mary and her Spanish husband. Nevertheless, though colonies were not founded, maritime adventures were pursued with spirit. English vessels shared with those of France the fisheries of Newfoundland, an island discovered by the Cabots in their voyage of 1497. In the reign of Edward VI. these fisheries were protected by a special Act of Parliament, the preamble to which recited that the navigation had been burdened for years by exactions from the officers of the Admiralty, while the body of the Act prohibited the continuance of all such irregular imposts. The national desire for further discoveries was stimulated in the third year of Queen Mary's reign (1555) by the publication of Richard Eden's "Decades"—a volume containing the history of remarkable maritime expeditions. The English flag was to be seen in many directions, and in climates the most various. In the search for a north-east passage to that goal of all endeavour, the Indies, the Arctic provinces of Russia were first made generally known to Western Europe—a result for which the brave Willoughby and his comrades paid the price of their lives, being frozen to death in a harbour of the North Sea, in 1554. Africa, Asia, and America were visited by the trading vessels of London, Bristol, and other cities. In 1555 a company of merchant-adventurers was incorporated for the discovery of unknown lands; and the problem of the north-west passage, from which the minds of men had been for a time diverted by attempts in an easterly direction, again excited general attention.

This desire of discovering a shorter route to the Indies acquired additional force in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Ever since the latter part of the fifteenth century, events had been tending towards a more vigorous development of the English nation. With the accession of Henry VII. a new era began. The destruction of the Anglo-Norman nobility in the insane wars of the Roses once more brought the true English race to the head of affairs. For the first time since the Norman Conquest in 1066 (allowing for a few rare exceptions), men with names of native origin were to be found directing the national fortunes in politics, in war, in seamanship, in commerce, and in all the great concerns of life. In the later Tudor reigns, this tendency became still more manifest; under Queen Elizabeth it was marked in the highest degree. Protestantism—the religion that seems natural to all races in which the Teutonic element predominates—was established; the foreign despotism of the Pope was finally cast off; the ravages of civil war and of ecclesiastical dissension were in part repaired; a wealthy and powerful middle class was formed; and the energy of the Anglo-Saxon blood asserted itself in many ways. Elizabeth had the sagacity to perceive that the greatness of her kingdom—a dominion not very extensive in itself, nor yet very richly endowed by nature, as men then understood its capabilities—must be founded principally on commerce. The English people were equally quick to understand this truth, and the extension of their ocean trade became the chief object of the national ambition. The poet Drayton, in a passage of singular perverseness and want of foresight, has spoken of

> "The gripple merchant, born to be the curse
> Of this brave island."*

The merchant was really born for very different

* Elegy "Upon the Noble Lady Aston's Departure for Spain," 1627.

ends. He was born to make the island mightier and better than it had been before, to found new Englands beyond the main, and to give to English blood, English thought, and English speech, an extension far greater than the haughtiest Cæsar, in his dreams of empire, had conceived for the future of the Latin genius.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Raleigh, was one of those who felt most enthusiastically about the north-west passage. He wrote in favour of that enterprise a discourse which will be found printed in Hakluyt's collection. The idea was warmly taken up by one of the greatest of the old English sailors, Martin Frobisher. At a later period, Frobisher distinguished himself in the operations against the Spanish Armada; but his most remarkable achievements were as a navigator and explorer. In June, 1576, after fifteen years' meditation on the great geographical problem, varied by vain attempts to obtain assistance, he sailed from Deptford in command of two barks and a pinnace, which had been fitted out for him by the liberality of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and some other noblemen. The pinnace foundered at sea; one of the barks turned back, the sailors being terror-stricken; but Frobisher went on alone, discovered new lands in the neighbourhood of Hudson's Straits, and returned to England. He repeated his voyage in the two following years, and in the name of Queen Elizabeth took possession of a territory to which he gave the designation of West England, while one of the high cliffs he christened Charing Cross. This was on the third voyage, when Frobisher, with the title of Lieutenant-General, had under his command fifteen vessels, and a certain number of soldiers. Hopes of discovering gold, some grains of which had been found in stones picked up on those inhospitable shores, were as much connected with the second and third voyages as anticipations of passing through the icy portals of the North into the warmth and affluence of Cathay. The expense of the final expedition was borne in part by the Government, and a hundred persons were sent out to form a colony, and to keep possession of the land. Such was the popularity of this adventure, from which countless wealth was expected, that the sons of noblemen embarked as volunteers, and money was easily found to defray those charges which were not undertaken by the State. But all ended in failure and disappointment. The fleet, after leaving West England, fell in with vast moving icebergs, was involved in continual fogs, got confused in the dim and wintry solitudes, and drove in various directions. The auriferous country was missed, great dangers were narrowly escaped; a vessel was crushed by the ice, and the sailors with difficulty scrambled on board another. But at length, when a ship laden with provisions for the colony had deserted, and symptoms of mutiny were apparent among the seamen generally, the fleet was re-united in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, and a large quantity of ore was discovered in a neighbouring island. With a heavy freight of this useless commodity, the ships set sail for home.

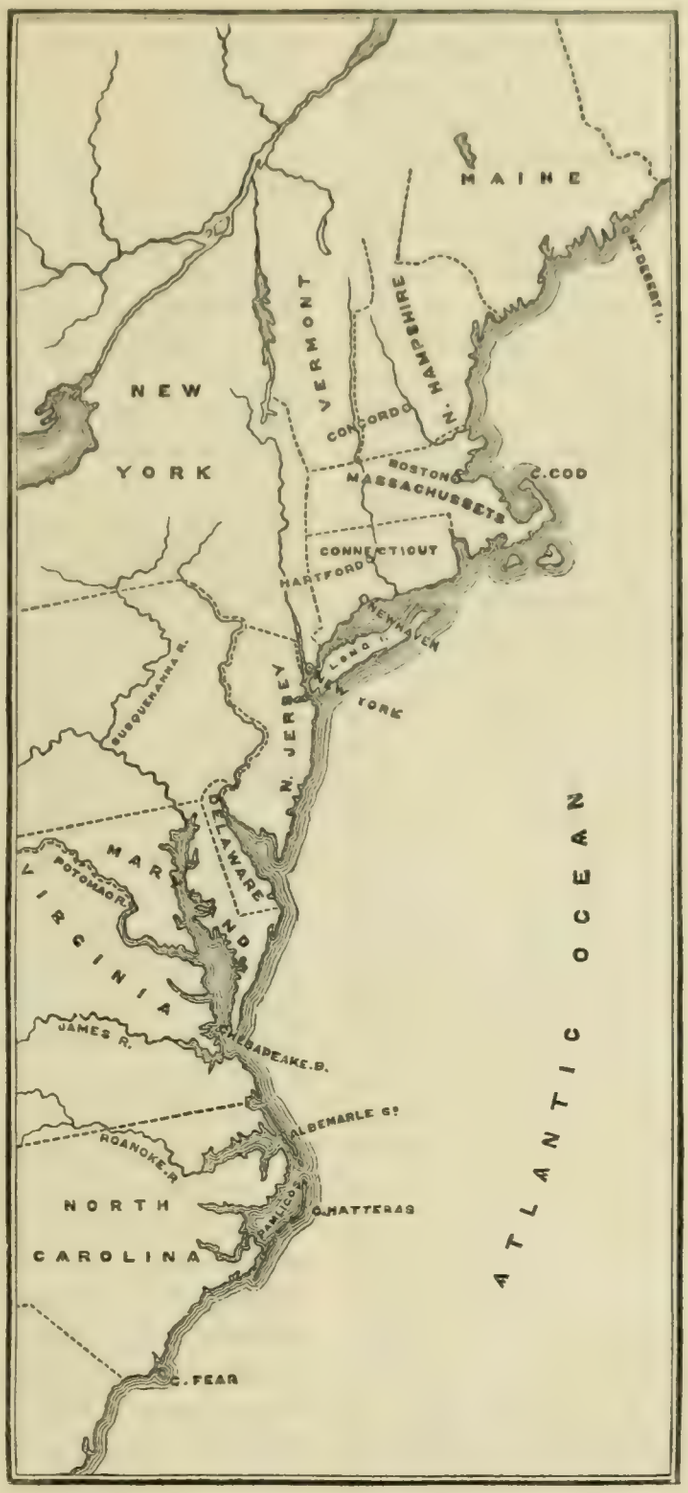
At the same period—that is to say, in the years 1577-80—Drake performed his voyage round the world, in the course of which he explored a large portion of the north-western coast of America. The north-eastern coast, extending the whole distance now included within the United States, had been previously examined and defined by Spanish and French navigators, who planted colonies there in several places. The achievements of the English had been principally in the North; and it was again to those forbidding regions that attention was turned, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out on the first of his colonising expeditions. Sir Humphrey was a man of great ability and of admirable courage, who had distinguished himself as a soldier both in France and Ireland. He now formed a project for establishing an English colony in America, and in 1578 obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent vesting in him full powers for the purpose. Gilbert was herein authorised to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. In him, his heirs and assigns, for ever (as in the previous case of Cabot), was vested a full right of property in the soil of all such lands. Any English subject who might be willing to accompany the commander on his voyage was at liberty to settle in the countries which he should plant; and to all such persons Gilbert was empowered to dispose of any portions of the new lands he should judge meet, in fee-simple, according to the laws of England. All the lands granted to him were to be held of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore found there. The complete jurisdictions and royalties, as well marine as other, within the said lands and the seas thereunto adjoining, were conferred on Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, on whom were bestowed full power to convict, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their good discretion and policy, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all persons settling within the said countries, according to such laws and ordinances as might be established for their



THE LAST MOMENTS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

better government. The settlers were to enjoy the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding; and all persons were prohibited from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert or his associates had occupied during the space of six years.* It will be seen that the powers thus vested in the leader of the expedition were somewhat despotic, though tempered by the immemorial liberties of England.

A company of volunteers was soon collected by Gilbert; but the project seemed ill-omened from the first. Dissensions arose before the ships sailed, and several of the adventurers recoiled from their original intention of accompanying Sir Humphrey. At length, however, in 1579, the emigrants set out for their distant home. One of the vessels was lost on the voyage, and it is said that the remainder had an encounter on the seas with a Spanish fleet, and were worsted. These enterprising colonists (of whom Raleigh seems to have been one) ultimately reached Newfoundland, where they remained a short time; but the expedition soon returned to England, an admitted failure. Gilbert and his half-brother, Raleigh, however, were not men to be easily disconcerted. They equipped another squadron, and in 1583 Gilbert again started for America, with the specially-expressed good wishes of the Queen. Raleigh remained in England,



MAP TO SHOW POSITION OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

but the fleet, having such a commander as Gilbert, stood in no need of guidance. Insubordination, nevertheless, was rife among the seamen. The squadron had not left Plymouth more than two days when the largest of the ships — that which had been fitted out by Raleigh — put back to harbour, under pretext of an infectious disease having broken out. Notwithstanding this discouragement, Gilbert once more gained Newfoundland. Here, in the presence of Spaniards, Portuguese, and other foreigners, he took formal possession of the island, in the name of his sovereign, by erecting a pillar with the arms of England attached; and he proceeded to grant lands in fee to the fishermen, on condition of their paying a quit-rent. Afterwards, one of the ships was freighted with a quantity of ore which was supposed to contain silver; and the adventurers set out in three vessels for discoveries on the mainland. They sailed along the coast of the continent in a southerly direction, until the largest of the ships was by some carelessness wrecked, with the loss of nearly a hundred men. Sir Humphrey then turned towards England, with only two ships — the *Squirrel* and the *Hind*. The weather was extremely tempestuous, and the *Squirrel*, in which Gilbert sailed, was so small as to be quite unfit for battling with such violent seas. But the gallant commander, scorning to desert the crew whom he had with him, refused to shift his flag on board the larger of the vessels. The last that was seen of him was on the 9th of September,

* Robertson's History of America, Book IX.

1583, when, though the bark was in manifest danger of foundering, he was observed by the crew of the other ship sitting in the stern with a book in his hand. "Courage, my lads!" he cried, across the noise of the storm, to the sailors on board the *Hind;* "we are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." About midnight, the lights of the smaller vessel disappeared; all had sunk into the raging waves. The *Hind* weathered the tempest, and returned to England to tell the story of another and yet more disastrous failure.

Sir Walter Raleigh did not permit himself to be disheartened by the death of his half-brother, and the ruin of so many previous attempts to form settlements in America. He was a man in whom the spirit of adventure was strongly developed, and among the many projects of his life none was dearer to him than the creation of a great colonial empire which should make England the equal of Spain. No doubt, motives of personal ambition, the desire to amass an enormous fortune by the discovery of some marvellous land of gold, and even the mere love of daring exploits for their own sake, mingled with the higher promptings of this remarkable man. Raleigh was to some extent a pirate, and his morality in all such matters was of the lowest. But he was likewise a statesman of large and comprehensive views, and it cannot be doubted that a regard for the greatness of his country influenced his mind together with other considerations. He was a sincere Protestant, and Spain, as the powerful upholder and zealous propagator of Roman Catholicism in the New World, was the object of his almost fanatical hatred. To build up a strong English power on the other side of the Atlantic, seemed to him an admirable device of policy. It would spread the principles of the reformed religion in distant lands, add to the dignity of the English crown, be a grand inheritance to the English people in times to come, and probably open boundless wealth even in the present. We must bear in mind also that, besides being a soldier, a mariner, a politician, and a fortune-seeker, Sir Walter Raleigh was a poet. His was a poetical age; everything remote took a rich and romantic hue from the glancing lights of fancy. Cathay was an empire of fabulous opulence, of necromancy, and of cities such as Coleridge imagined in his visions of Kubla Khan. India and Africa were the fruitful mothers of monsters and genii. The Bermudas were peopled by Sycoraxes and Calibans. El Dorado was a city or a kingdom of gold: Raleigh himself has left us a prodigious account of the place and of its sumptuous monarch, the naked bodies of whose courtiers, after being rubbed with fragrant oils on festive occasions, were powdered with golden dust,* so that they glittered in the sunshine, and gave back light for light. The very discovery of America had its root in dreams; and dreams preceded the footsteps of its explorers. Columbus imagined that the river Orinoco flowed from the Tree of Life in the midst of Paradise: Pizarro and Cortes passed ever onwards from one marvel to the expectation of a greater. This spirit was fully shared by Raleigh. He set out on his expeditions with hopes almost as lofty as those with which Sancho Panza started for the island of Barataria; and it must be added that, in the result, he fared as badly as the poor squire in his illusive governorship.

Resolved not to risk again the dangers of the extreme North, Raleigh turned his thoughts towards a portion of the American coast far south of that where his half-brother, and, at an earlier date, the Cabots, had made examinations, with a view to forming a colony. On the 26th of March, 1584, he obtained from the Queen a patent similar to the one which had been granted to Gilbert. By this document he was created a lord-proprietary, holding his territories by homage, and by the payment of a small annual rent. He was invested with the right of making grants of land according to his pleasure, and his powers were in most respects those of a sovereign prince. The religion of the colony was to be the religion of the Church of England. It was determined that the new attempt should be made at or near an inviting region of Florida, where the French Protestants had recently formed some settlements, from which they were expelled by the Spaniards with circumstances of great cruelty. Two well-equipped vessels left England on the 27th of April, under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, acting on behalf of Raleigh. They set sail in a south-westerly direction, passed the Canaries, and reached the Caribbean Sea and the West India Islands; going greatly out of their course, from ignorance of navigation. In the West Indies they stayed a short time; then turned to the north-west, and presently sighted the shores of Florida. The voyage was one of enchantment. A blue sky hung over the blue waves; the vivid sunlight of day was succeeded by the brilliance of starry nights, greatly surpassing anything that the explorers had ever seen in their native country. A picturesque and woody coast glided like a panorama on their left; and soft winds bore from the land, far out to sea, the odours of a thousand flowers.

* Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana, 1596.

After sailing for a hundred and twenty miles in search of a convenient harbour, they entered a haven, and gave thanks to God for their safe deliverance from the perils of the deep.

The haven was Ocracoke Inlet (now included in North Carolina), and the voyagers proceeded to land on the island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the group which at that point shuts out the Atlantic from Pamlico Sound. The month was July, and sea and land appeared in their most seductive loveliness, bright, calm, peaceful, and presenting nothing but the happiest auguries. Magnificent trees, of extraordinary proportions, reared themselves into the sky; grapes hung heavily from the ever-present vines, which, running from trunk to trunk, approached the shore so near that the purple fruitage took the salt breathings of the sea; flocks of white cranes rose from the woods with multitudinous cries at every discharge of a gun; and the human inhabitants of this paradise received the strangers with every appearance of hospitality and good-will. The little party of Englishmen, however, saw nothing of the natives until the third day after their landing, when they perceived three in a canoe. One of these went ashore, and waited quietly until the English came up to him. He talked a good deal in his unknown tongue, and at length, without any signs of misgiving, went with them on board one of their vessels. They gave him a shirt, a hat, wine, and meat, with which he seemed greatly pleased; and, having gone away, he returned in half an hour in his canoe with a present of fish, which he divided between the greater and the lesser of the two vessels. The account which the explorers afterwards gave of their adventure speaks of the wild people as "most gentle, loving, and faithful; void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the Golden Age;" though in war they were cruel to their enemies, treacherous, and remorseless.* Human nature is full of inconsistencies; but for the present all looked well. Dark days were in advance; yet, in that summer hour, the emigrants saw only the glittering waters and the flowery land, the vista of a great colonial empire, and the Indians offering homage.

CHAPTER III.

Granganimeo and his Indians—Fertility of the Soil—Return of the Explorers to England—Raleigh's Projects for the Future—Fresh Expedition under Sir Richard Grenville—Lamentable Incident—Capabilities of Virginia—The English regarded by the Natives as Gods—Cupidity of the Colonists—False Reports of the Indians—Ascent of the River Roanoke by the English—Abandonment of the Country by the Savages—Failure of Supplies—The Explorers fall into an Ambush—Imminent Peril of Famine—Dissensions with the Natives—Treacherous Massacre of Indians by the Settlers—Arrival of Drake in the Harbour of Roanoke—Departure of the Colonists for England—Governor Lane's Discoveries—Harriot's Report on Virginia—A New Colony sent out under Governor White—Deserted State of Roanoke—Renewed Conflicts with the Indians—Birth of the first American Child of English Race—Governor White returns to England—The Colony not Relieved—Mystery concerning its Fate—Melancholy Interest surrounding the Island of Roanoke—"Raleigh" the Capital of North Carolina.

THE day after that on which the friendly native came with his offering of fish, several canoes arrived at the island, in one of which was the king's brother. His name was Granganimeo, and he stated that the king was called Wingina, and the country Wingandacoa. The king himself lay at his chief town, ill of wounds lately received in battle. Granganimeo, advancing some way inland, spread a mat, sat down on it, and awaited the approach of the English. The white men came forward with their weapons; but the savage, making no show of fear, signed to them to sit down, stroking first his own head and breast, and then theirs, apparently to express an amicable intention. Presents were exchanged between them, and on subsequent days the visit was repeated. Great numbers of people arrived from all parts of the island, with leather, coral, and several kinds of dyes. But when Granganimeo was present, no one dared to trade but himself and those who wore red copper on their heads, as he did. The prince was very anxious to exchange a bag of pearls for a suit of armour; but the English refused, pretending to set no value on the stones, that they might the better learn where they were to be found. It is confessed by the explorers that Granganimeo was always faithful to his engagements, and never failed to appear at any place where he had promised to meet the new-comers. He sent to the English every day a brace of bucks, rabbits, hares, and fish; and sometimes melons, walnuts, cucumbers, peas, and various roots. Indeed, the conduct

* Amadas and Barlow's account in Hakluyt, Vol. III. Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 3.

of the savages seems to have been better than that of their English visitors, by the account of the latter themselves. Such was the fertility of the soil, that on some of the peas being planted by the English they grew almost immediately, and were found in ten days' time to be fourteen inches high.

The adventurers took advantage of their friendly reception to explore Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds and Roanoke Island; but little else was done. Amadas and Barlow, after awhile, set sail for England, where they arrived in September, 1584, accompanied by two of the Indians. Elizabeth was delighted with the glowing accounts given by the explorers of the country they had discovered, and directed that, in recognition of her unmarried life, it should be called Virginia—a name for some time applied to the whole of that part of America, but now confined to the State lying between North Carolina and Maryland.* Raleigh, being resolved to push forward with his enterprise, obtained from Parliament a Bill confirming his patent of discovery, and at the same time acquired a monopoly of wines, which yielded him a large revenue. The money he was thus enabled to amass, by means of the thoroughly vicious restrictive principles of those days, he devoted to the promotion of his great scheme. All his personal views had a lofty and imperial character; and the hope of becoming little less than the sovereign of a beautiful and fertile land, the future greatness of which might well have seemed almost boundless, was a sufficient inducement to make him work with the utmost zeal. He fitted out a squadron of seven small ships, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville (or Greenville), a relative of his, who afterwards distinguished himself by his adventurous and high-spirited life, and by the gallantry with which he met his death in a naval action against the Spaniards. This valorous captain was accompanied by several subordinates, who also became famous in later years. One of the vessels, a barque of 120 tons, was fitted out by Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of good family in Suffolk, but a sea-rover and buccaneer by nature, whose life was destined to be passed in an extraordinary succession of good and ill fortune. The historian of the new expedition was Thomas Harriot, a native of Oxford, who in after days devoted himself to science, won a great name as an algebraist, and practised astronomy with so much success that he is thought to have anticipated Galileo in certain discoveries. Amongst the voyagers was also an artist, a painter of the name of With, whose sketches of the natives are still esteemed for their truthfulness.

The expedition sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April, 1585, and again sought the American shores by the circuitous route of the West Indies. Grenville spent some time cruising among the islands, and taking prizes from the Spaniards; and June was near its close when he arrived at the point which he desired to attain. The fleet, after narrowly escaping shipwreck on a headland, to which the sailors in consequence gave the name of Cape Fear, came to an anchor at Wocoken. The largest of the ships struck as it entered the harbour, but was not lost. So far all looked well; but the course of events was soon darkened by a lamentable incident. The commander of the fleet, accompanied by his chief officers, made an eight days' excursion along the coast of the mainland, and got as far as Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse. It was afterwards admitted by them, in their official report of the expedition, that they were well received by the natives. But one day a silver cup was stolen, and not restored immediately on being demanded; upon which, Grenville ordered the offending village to be burnt, and the standing corn to be destroyed. The dealings of civilised men with savages are generally characterised by cruelty, and it is too often the case that the first provocation comes from the former. This was so in the settlement of North Carolina. The Indians had previously exhibited a spirit of friendliness: they were now to learn the bitter lessons of distrust and revenge.

After leaving on Roanoke Island a small colony of one hundred and eight men, Sir Richard Grenville sailed for England, where he arrived in the autumn. The command of the colony was given to Captain Ralph Lane, a military man, who had under him Philip Amadas (now dignified by the title of Admiral), Harriot, and others of note. The island, which is situated at the mouth of Albemarle Sound, was almost uninhabited, and served as a base of operations. The chief employment of the colonists was to examine the country on the neighbouring continent; and this they did, for a time, with considerable enterprise. All they saw of the land confirmed the first impressions of its excellence. "It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world," wrote Captain Lane to Richard Hakluyt; "for the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome that we had not one sick since we

* Originally, even New England was included in Virginia, as appears by a passage in Peter Heylyn's "Little Description of the Great World" (fourth edition, 1629):—"The northerne part of this Virginia, being better discovered then the other, is called New England: full of good new townes and forts, and is likely to prove an happie plantation."

touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it." Harriot made a very careful examination of the natural productions of the country. In particular, his attention was directed to the cultivation of tobacco, maize (or Indian corn), and the potato, all of which were at that time unknown in Europe. He likewise took note of the native inhabitants, of whose modes of living, methods of warfare, and religious ideas, he gave an interesting account in his history of the voyage. To these simple creatures the colonists displayed their mathematical instruments, burning-glasses, guns, clocks, and other wonders of skill and mechanism; and the savages were so struck with astonishment that they took the new-comers for gods. Harriot was also in the habit of producing a Bible whenever he entered any little town or Indian village, and of endeavouring to explain its doctrines; but, as there could hardly have been much community of language between the two races, it is not surprising that the wild men failed to become at once imbued with the theology of the Old and New Testaments. Nevertheless, they seemed to regard the book itself as a kind of amulet, probably because of the veneration in which it was manifestly held by the god-like strangers; and some few expressed a desire to join in the worship of the "God of England." They embraced the volume, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads. Observing that the English had no women with them, they inferred that they were not born of women; and this of course added to the superstitious awe with which they looked upon the strange beings who had come to them across the seas. But the burning of the village had introduced a feeling of suspicion and fear on the part of the Indians; and the cupidity of the settlers soon created other elements of a nature unfavourable to the prospects of the colony.

In the sixteenth century, Englishmen had not fully comprehended the truth that the prosperity of a nation depends on industry and commerce, rather than on any sudden accession of the precious metals. The torrent of wealth which had flowed over Spain from her South American possessions, acted as a great temptation to all who would grow rapidly rich; for the evil results of that unnatural prosperity were not yet clearly visible. It was thought that, as Peru had yielded boundless treasure to the Spanish Monarchy, Virginia might be made equally productive to the English Government and people. Accordingly, the settlers searched for gold and silver mines when they ought to have been laying the bases of their colony, and in the pursuit of this chimera they actually neglected to sow any crops, so that in the end they narrowly escaped death from famine. The Indians, seeing what the English were mainly desirous of discovering, flattered their avarice with marvellous tales of pearl-fisheries and mines of exhaustless wealth. The river Roanoke, on the mainland, was described in the most glowing colours. It sprang, they said, from a rock, in such abundance that it forthwith made a violent stream; and this rock, it was added, stood so near to a sea (the Pacific Ocean seems to have been meant, if anything at all was meant) that, in storms, the salt waves were frequently beaten into the fresh current, which was thus rendered brackish. The banks teemed with ore, and the waters yielded the most resplendent pearls in such large quantities that the skins worn by the king of the country and the higher order of his "gentlemen" (as the account in Hakluyt phrases it) were adorned with orient gems, and the beds and houses were garnished with the same.

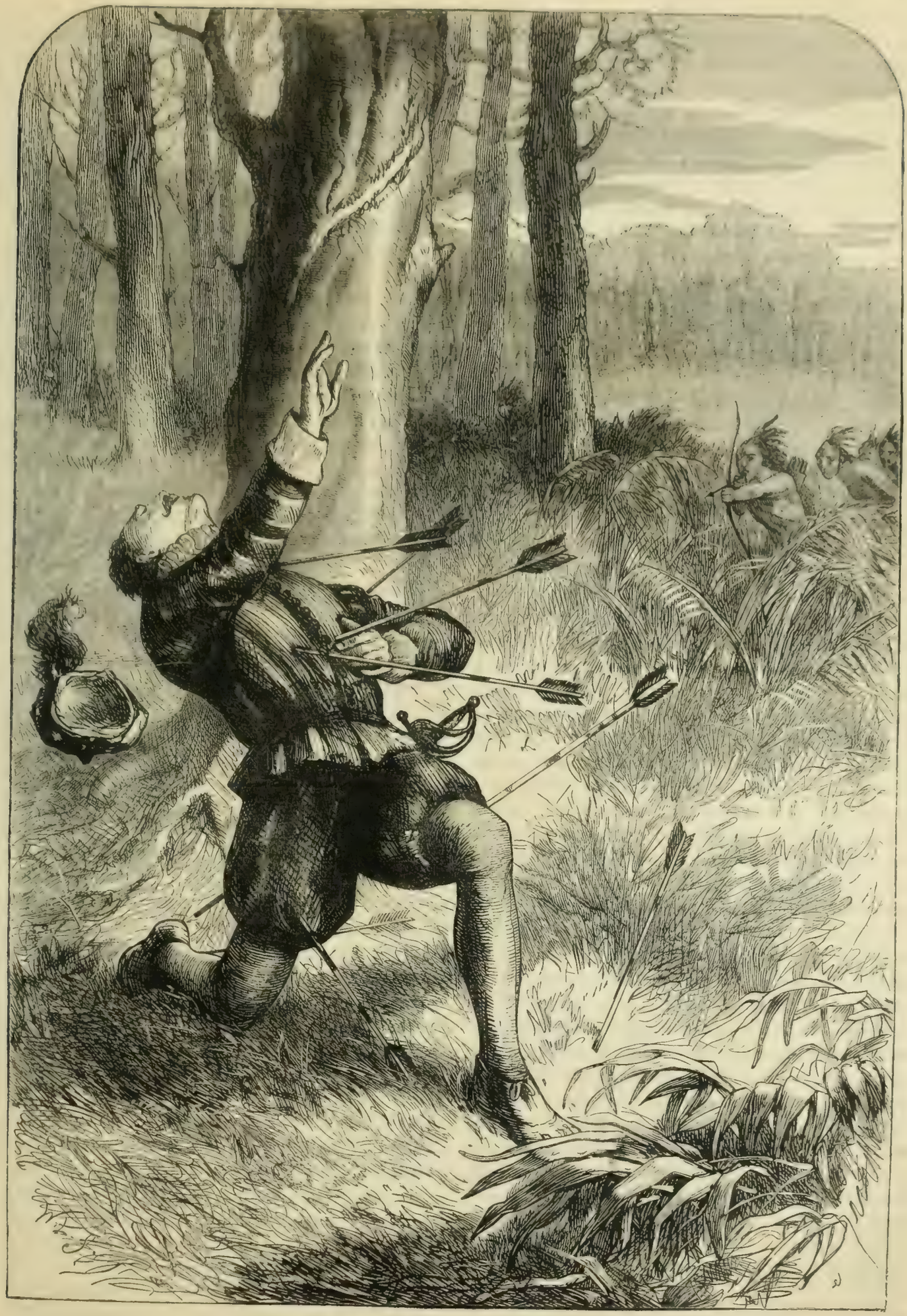
Lured by these baseless narratives, Lane, in the spring of 1586, resolved on ascending the Roanoke with two double wherries and forty of his colonists. Unfortunately, he counted on getting food from the savages, and therefore took but a small store with him. This reliance proved baseless. The king, Wingina, who now went by the name of Pemisapan, first encouraged the English to ascend the river, and then treacherously acted against them. He seems to have feared that the intention of the strangers was to destroy him and his people —an apprehension to which the burning of the village gave some colour of probability; and he sought to ward off this dreaded evil by those devices of double-dealing which are the usual resource of savages against the organised strength and intellectual superiority of civilised men. As the English sailed up the river, they perceived that the Indians had abandoned the towns along the banks, and retired inland with their corn. This had been done so thoroughly that the explorers, in the course of three days' voyage up the stream, did not see a man, nor find a grain of corn, anywhere. They had but two days' food left, and Lane, fearing actual death from hunger, and possibly some ambush on the part of the savages, put it to his companions whether they should risk the consumption of their whole remaining stock of victuals in a further examination of the river, or return to their settlement. It was almost unanimously determined that, whilst there was left one half-pint of corn for each man, they would not abandon

their design. The voyagers had with them two mastiffs, and they resolved that, should the worst ensue, they would make a pottage of them with sassafras-leaves. Upon this they could manage to live two days, which time would suffice to bring them down the current to the mouth of the river and the entry of Pamlico Sound, and in two more days they hoped to cross the Sound. If need were, they were prepared to fast the latter of those two days, rather than draw back a foot until they had seen the Indians, either as friends or foes. So they went on, sleeping at night on the shore, all along which, and far up into the country, the watch-fires of the savages were continually burning, though not a living soul was to be seen.

On the evening of the second day after the courageous resolution of the little party, the voices of Indians were heard calling to them from the shore. Manteo, one of the natives who had been taken to England after the voyage of 1584, and who returned the following year, and always showed himself a faithful ally of the strangers, was among the English in the boats, and was directed to answer his countrymen in their own language. He did so, and the Indians responded with a song, which the voyagers regarded as an expression of welcome. To the better-informed judgment of Manteo, however, the matter presented itself in a very different light. It was the terrible war-song that they had heard. Manteo seized his gun, assuring the English that the Indians meant to fight them. The next moment, a volley of arrows poured into one of the boats, but fortunately struck no one. A discharge of musketry from the English carried consternation among the savages, and, upon a detachment of the explorers landing on a steep bank, the enemy took to flight. After a brief pursuit, it was determined to encamp for the night, and early the following morning to return homeward. By the ensuing night they had arrived, by dint of hard rowing, within four or five



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.



MURDER OF WHITE'S ASSISTANT.

miles of the river's mouth. They were now living on the two dogs, and next day even this resource failed them. They had still to cross the Sound before they could reach Roanoke Island; and unluckily the wind was so strong, and the sea so heavy, that they were delayed a whole day, during which they lived entirely on the leaves of the sassafras-tree. This was upon Easter Eve, "which," says Lane in his interesting narrative, "was fasted very truly." On Easter Day the wind permitted them to set sail, and, having caught some fish in a weir belonging to the Indians, they were rescued from imminent death, though several of the company were far spent when, on the morning of Easter Monday, they reached the wished-for settlement.*

The exploration of Lane and his companions on this ill-starred voyage did not extend much higher up the river than a point near the present village of Williamstown. The attempt was an utter failure, and it had the disastrous result of establishing a feeling of suspicion and antagonism on both sides. The Indians now determined to leave their fields unplanted, hoping to starve out the unwelcome strangers. This plan, however, was abandoned by the advice of an aged chief, and renewed courtesies in the matter of food were shown by the Indians to the English; but the latter could not be convinced that there was not a plot to destroy them all. Captain Lane asserts (on the faith of statements made to him by two or three Indians in his interests) that the plan of the savages was to set fire to the reeds with which the huts of the colonists were thatched; to do this in the dead of the night, and, as the alarmed dwellers rushed out in their shirts, to despatch them. As a means of facilitating the design, the English were to be deprived of their usual food-resources, so that they should be compelled to break up into small parties, searching for shell-fish, and camping where they could. To that extent the project was carried out, if we may rely on Lane's narrative. The weirs for fish were destroyed by the Indians, and it was resolved that no food should on any account be sold to the strangers. Hereupon the famine grew so extreme among the English that Lane was compelled to send Captain Stafford, with twenty men, to the island of Croatan, to feed himself and his company, and at the same time to keep watch if any shipping came towards the coast. Another small body he despatched with the pinnace to Cape Hatteras; and every week he sent sixteen or twenty of the rest of his company to the mainland, to live on casada and oysters.

* Report of Captain Lane to Sir Walter Raleigh, in Hakluyt, Vol. III.

Matters continued in this state for some time; during which period, negotiations, marked apparently by bad faith on both sides, were carried on between the savages and the colonists. In answer to a message from Lane, falsely stating that an English fleet had arrived in the roads, that he desired to borrow some of the natives for fishing and hunting, and that he would like to purchase some provisions, Pemisapan sent word that he would go over to Roanoke and meet the English; but when Lane discovered that he was coming with a large assembly, he determined to anticipate the visit. Shortly afterwards, the settlers, while seizing some canoes belonging to the natives, in order to prevent their having communication with the continent, cut off the heads of two of the savages, and subsequently, in a brief skirmish, shot three or four of them. Lane and some of his companions went on the following morning (June 1st) to a place on the mainland, and requested an interview with the king. This was granted; and the English, being in much greater force than the Indians, who did not count more than about eight or nine, suddenly fell on them at a preconcerted signal—which consisted of the words "Christ our victory!"—and slaughtered all.

It is difficult to judge with certainty how far the allegations brought by the English against the Indians were true, and how far exaggerated. Doubtless, the natives were very desirous of getting rid of strangers whose superior powers they had every reason to dread. They regarded the colonists with a superstitious fear, counting them either as gods, or as men risen from the grave, who brought with them the secrets of a mysterious and awful world. The inexplicable character of the European fire-arms appalled these warriors of the bow-and-arrow. They persuaded themselves that the English could shoot people at the distance of a hundred miles; that they filled the very air with pestilence and death; and that their object was to exterminate the aborigines, and take their places. Possessed by these ideas, which, extravagant as they were, had some degree of foundation, the Indians undoubtedly looked upon the white men with disfavour. The friendship of the savages soon grew capricious, and it is possible they harboured a design of massacre. Yet, upon the whole, their conduct, bad as it was in some respects, was better than that of the English settlers. With more considerate treatment, their first impulses of kindness might have been confirmed, and fair dealing have made allies where violence and craft found only foes. At any rate, nothing can excuse the treachery of the attack on Pemisapan and his

companions, at a time when they were giving proof of entire confidence in the good faith of the strangers. Besides, it should never be forgotten that in all such matters the blame lies more with those who invade a territory where their presence was never required, than with those who defend what from time immemorial they have possessed.*

After the perpetration of this massacre, Lane seems to have retired to Roanoke Island, where, on the 8th of June, word came to him from Captain Stafford, who was still on the island of Croatan, that a great fleet of three-and-twenty sail was discernible on the outer seas, but whether it belonged to friends or foes he as yet knew not. On the 9th, Captain Stafford himself arrived at Roanoke, with the welcome information that the ships were English, being no other than the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, who was returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake cast anchor, on the 10th, in the roadstead of the harbour, and offered to do all in his power to assist the distressed colonists. After conference with Lane, he undertook to supply him with a bark of seventy tons, two pinnaces, four small boats, provisions for a hundred men to last four months, and two of the most experienced masters in his fleet, who were to remain with the colony, and assist in the work of exploration. Unfortunately, a great storm arose, lasting from the 13th to the 16th of June, which scattered the fleet and deprived Lane of the expected assistance. Drake, returning after the tempest had spent itself, made fresh offers for supplying the necessities of the colony, and enabling it to continue its work; but the adventurers were out of heart, doubtful of the future, and desirous of home. They therefore requested to be conveyed to England; and on the 19th of June all set sail for Portsmouth, where they arrived on the 27th of July, 1586. Only a few days later, a ship containing supplies, which Sir Walter Raleigh had promised to send by the spring, but which was not ready to start until after Easter, arrived at the settlement, and found all abandoned. The mariners spent some time searching for their countrymen on the mainland, but, not finding them, returned to England. In another fortnight, Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well appointed ships, and, after seeking for the vanished colony, left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke, furnished with stores for a couple of years, that the possession of the country might still be retained for Queen Elizabeth. This garrison, if it can be so called, was far too small, and the wretched men were soon overcome by the Indians, and killed.

Lane, on his return to England, introduced the Indian practice of smoking tobacco, which spread with extraordinary rapidity, as it had already done among the Spaniards and Portuguese. As an explorer, Lane had not done much. To the south, as we have seen, his discoveries extended to Secotan; to the north, they were bounded by the small river Elizabeth, which flows into Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk, Virginia; while, in the interior, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway.† This was but little, yet it was something. The settlers, moreover, had by their sojourn in the land acquainted themselves with most of its qualities. The report by Harriot is an admirable account of the country, its products, its climate, and its native population. The writer gives a very high idea of the capabilities of Virginia, and is eloquent as to the fertility of the soil and healthfulness of the air. The ground was never manured, and was cultivated in the rudest fashion; yet it appeared amazingly fruitful. The climate was so excellent that, notwithstanding the hardships the colonists were often compelled to endure—the change of temperature and of food, frequent deprivation, and occasional camping out in the open air, even in winter—the number of deaths, during the whole year of their stay, was not more than four out of a party of a hundred and eight. Of these four, all were feeble and sickly before they left England; and the wonder to Harriot was that they had lived so long.

The account of Virginia furnished by the colonists to Sir Walter Raleigh was such as to encourage that enterprising speculator to make another attempt. The faults of the previous expedition were now apparent, and could be guarded against. It was true that the Indians were not to be relied on, and that their hostility had resulted in very serious disaster; but the country itself was a prize worth winning. Raleigh, therefore, determined on an effort of a more elaborate character. This time the male emigrants

* In the days of Queen Elizabeth, when there was no Aborigines Protection Society, the rights of feeble races were not so tenderly looked after as they are now; but even at that time the conduct of Lane and his comrades found some severe impugners. Hakluyt, describing the embarkation of the colonists on board Sir Francis Drake's fleet (Vol. III., p. 323, ed. 1810), says:—"For feare they should be left behinde, they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey."

† Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 3.

should be accompanied by their wives and children, and a real colony, not merely a settlement of explorers, should be formed. To the community thus about to be created, Sir Walter granted a charter of incorporation, and at the same time established a municipal government for a contemplated city, which was to be called after the great adventurer himself. The Governor was to be one John White, and under him were placed twelve assistants. The fleet of transport ships consisted of three vessels, all fitted out at the charge of Raleigh, for the Queen declined to bear any portion of the expense. Implements of husbandry were supplied to the emigrants; and when the ships set sail from Portsmouth, on the 26th of April, 1587, it might well have seemed that fortunate days were in store for the party. They arrived off the coast of North Carolina in July, and, on reaching Roanoke Island, made search for the fifteen men left there the year before by Sir Richard Grenville. But all was desolate and solitary. A few human bones lay scattered about, and, at the north end of the island, the fort erected by Lane was found levelled with the earth. The dwelling-houses of his men were still standing; but the lower rooms were overgrown with melons, already springing up in rank luxuriance under the enchantment of that exquisite climate; and deer were couched within, feeding on the fruit which there were no hands to gather.

This was far from an encouraging commencement; but the colonists set to work repairing the houses and building new ones. They had not been there many days when one of the twelve assistants of Governor White was slain by a party of savages who came over to Roanoke, and, hiding themselves among the tall reeds on the shore, transfixed the poor Englishman (who was alone, and two miles away from his comrades) with sixteen arrows, and then beat in his head with clubs. A good understanding was for a time established between the settlers and a certain tribe of Indians connected with Manteo; and it was agreed that the latter should wear a particular badge, to distinguish them from the tribes against which the English had grievances. But the distinction proved to be insufficient, or was not properly observed; for on one occasion the colonists, desiring to revenge themselves on the savages who had murdered the Englishmen left by Sir Richard Grenville, fell upon a company of the friendly natives, as they were sitting at night by their fires, and slaughtered at least one before the mistake was discovered. Notwithstanding these unhappy incidents, some approach was made towards organising a civilised state of society. Manteo, by the express direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, received Christian baptism, and was created a feudal baron, with the title of Lord of Roanoke. The colonists settled down in their houses, as far as the Indians would permit them to do so, and on the 18th of August the first child of English parents ever born in America drew its earliest breath. The mother was Mistress Eleanor Dare, daughter of Governor White, and wife of one of his assistant counsellors. The infant, which was a girl, was christened Virginia, after the country of her birth. A second child was born to the colonists shortly afterwards, and the community now consisted of ninety men, seventeen women, eleven children (including the two born there), and two friendly Indians—Manteo and another.

But the affairs of the colony did not prosper. Raleigh had directed that the settlement should be made in Chesapeake Bay, considerably to the north of Pamlico Sound; but the chief naval officer of the fleet, a man with the foreign name of Ferdinando, who seems to have acted throughout in a treacherous and underhand way, refused his assistance in exploring the coasts, being desirous to depart with the largest of the ships for the West Indies, on one of those expeditions which had much the character of buccaneering. White was therefore compelled to remain at Roanoke. When the time arrived for the return of the other two ships to England, the Governor was urgently requested to go back in one of them, and obtain further supplies; which he ultimately consented to do, though reluctant to leave the infant colony at so early a date. Shortly after his arrival in England, in November, 1587, the country became so agitated by the threatened Spanish invasion as to feel little disposition to consider schemes of colonisation. Nevertheless, Raleigh, in spite of the preoccupation of his mind by the national plans of resistance to the Armada, in which he was largely concerned, managed to fit out two vessels with necessaries for the colony. In charge of these, White once more set his face to the West; but during the outward passage the ships were tempted, according to the fashion of those days, to go in chase of prizes, and one of them, after a desperate battle with men-of-war from Rochelle, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were obliged to put back to England, and Raleigh, though greatly displeased at the result, was unable at the time to do anything more for the settlers. This was in 1588, the year of the Armada. In the following year, Raleigh made over his Virginian patent, with some reservations, to a company of merchants; being unable, after an expenditure of £40,000 out of his own purse, to prosecute the scheme any further.

Amongst these new adventurers was Richard Hakluyt, to whose enthusiasm on behalf of maritime discovery we owe that interesting and valuable collection of early English voyages which goes by his name. A fifth part of all the gold and silver ore raised in Virginia was reserved by Raleigh to himself; but in other respects the speculation was transferred to the company. In 1590, White made another attempt to relieve the settlers left at Roanoke; but on arriving at that island he found, by an inscription on a tree, that the colony had removed to Croatan. Thither he set sail, and would probably have reached the spot, had not a violent storm induced the commander to put back to Europe.

A singular fatality attended all these early efforts for the colonisation of America. Mismanagement, cupidity, bad faith, and insufficient resources, conspired with the rage of the elements, the cruelty of the Indians, and the distraction of the public mind at home, to ruin a project which at first promised well. Over the ultimate fate of the colonists sent out in 1587 hangs a cloud of mystery, through the obscurity of which we can dimly discern the outlines of a tragic catastrophe. The settlers were never heard of more. Either they were murdered by the Indians, or they perished of hunger; unless we adopt the suggestion of an American writer, that these deserted Englishmen, with their wives and children, coalesced with the Hatteras Indians, and adopted their mode of life. This, it appears, was the tradition of the tribe at a subsequent period, and it is said that something of the English type of physiognomy was long observable among the members of that body. But in such a case it seems strange that none of the settlers should have been found, or even heard of as living, when Virginia was again colonised, twenty years after the attempt of White and his companions.

Raleigh has sometimes been charged with neglecting the unfortunate men whom he had transplanted to a distant and savage land; but the accusation does not seem just. Purchas, the compiler of two collections of voyages similar to Hakluyt's, says that Sir Walter made five attempts, at his own expense, to discover and rescue the fellow-colonists of Governor White. In 1595, on his return from Guiana, Raleigh intended to go in search of them, but was driven from the coast by stress of weather; and as late as 1602 he despatched thither Samuel Mace, mariner, of Weymouth, with no result. The end of the settlers must for ever remain an uncertainty; but that it was violent and terrible seems only too likely. The celebrated chieftain Powhatan afterwards told Captain Smith, whose romantic adventures we shall shortly have occasion to relate, that he was present at the murder of the colonists; and he showed him certain articles which had been theirs. William Strachey, one of the settlers of King James's reign, records that the Englishmen were slaughtered by Powhatan after having for many years "peaceably lived intermixed" with the savages. But, whatever their fate, the story of this desperate attempt at colonisation must always possess a melancholy and romantic interest, both for Englishmen and their descendants in the New World. The almost deserted island of Roanoke, where now are to be found only a few pilots and wreckers—men rugged with constant subjection to the fiercest moods of Nature—will remain through countless ages a place of pilgrimage for all who would trace the planting of English nationality in the great Republic of the West. The ruins of the fort erected by Lane are yet visible; and, by the spell of imagination and sympathy, the visitor may repeople the waste land with those settlers from afar who marvelled at the great cedars and the rich vegetation, the Bacchanal prodigality of the vines, and the flashing movements of the snow-white birds. But the colonising of English America was the work of others; and the genius of Raleigh, which conceived the design, was not destined to effect its fulfilment. None the less, however, must we regard him as its author; and when the Legislature of North Carolina, in 1792, determined that the capital of the State should be called by the name of Raleigh, they did no more than justice to one of the greatest intellects of a great age—a man, doubtless, with many moral blemishes on his public life, but one whose dominant mind was large enough to embrace two hemispheres, and prescient enough to anticipate the work of ages then unborn.



VIEW ON THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

CHAPTER IV.

English Colonising of America again suspended—Voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold across the Atlantic—Discovery of Cape Cod—Characteristics of that Region—Temporary Settlement on Elizabeth Island—Revival of Schemes of American Colonisation in the early years of James's Reign—Poverty of the Working Classes in England—Poetical Prophecies of the Greatness of the United States—Richard Hakluyt—Charter granted to two Companies (1606) for Settling in America—Terms and General Character of the Charter—Despatch of Three Vessels with Emigrants—Bacon on "Plantations"—Discovery of the Bay of Chesapeake—Foundation of James Town—Dissensions in the Ruling Council—Failure of Food—Terrible Pestilence among the Colonists—Death of Gosnold—Captain John Smith invested with Special Powers—Romantic Career of that Adventurer—His Vigorous Conduct in Virginia—Remarks on the Treatment of Aboriginal Races by European Nations.

Some years elapsed before renewed attempts were made by Englishmen to obtain a permanent position on the North-American continent. The company of merchants formed by Sir Walter Raleigh for prosecuting the Virginian scheme, confined their operations to carrying on a petty traffic with the natives in such articles of commerce as the country yielded, and took no steps towards establishing a colony—an enterprise which previous misadventures not unnaturally discouraged. "Thus," says Robertson, "after a period of a hundred and six years from the time that Cabot discovered North America, in the reign of Henry VII., and of twenty years from the time that Raleigh planted the first colony, there was not a single Englishman settled there at the demise of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1603."* This was partly owing to untoward circumstances, such as could hardly have been avoided without the help of previous experience, but more to the want of sufficient means for prosecuting such vast undertakings. In our days it is an accepted truth that the colonisation of new regions must be aided by the State, while in the sixteenth century it was left entirely in private hands. Elizabeth would grant nothing out of the public funds towards the formation of new English communities in America. The

* History of America, Book IX.

consequences were, that the colonies sent out were too small to cope successfully with the difficulties by which they were surrounded, and that they languished and died for want of due assistance.

From 1590 to 1602, little was done in the way of American exploration; but in the latter year, ever touched the soil of what is now New England. Cape Cod has been well described by an American author as "the bared and bended arm of Massachusetts," of which "the shoulder is at Buzzard's Bay, the elbow at Cape Mallebarre, the wrist at Truro, and the sandy fist at Provincetown."* The



CAPTAIN SMITH. (*From the portrait in his "Virginia."*)

very near the end of Elizabeth's reign, a voyage undertaken by Bartholomew Gosnold was attended by important results. This bold navigator sailed, as nearly as the winds would permit, due west across the Atlantic, instead of going in a south-westerly direction, and in seven weeks reached the Bay of Massachusetts. Turning then to the south, for want of a good harbour, he discovered a promontory which he called Cape Cod, from the abundance of cod-fish which he found there. On this rocky point, he and four of his men landed on the 14th of May; and they were the first Englishmen who land is for the most part desolate and uncultivated, though dotted here and there with widely-separated towns and villages, small in size, and inhabited by a hardy and humble population. Wild and sandy plains are succeeded by sterile hills, intersected by ravines of rock. In some parts, nothing will grow but a species of grass which the inhabitants call "poverty-grass." Along the savage and dangerous coast, bleak beyond expression in winter, and at no season of the year very inviting, stand the solitary

* Cape Cod, by Henry D. Thoreau, 1865.

lighthouses which hold their warning beacons out to sea, and the lonely huts that serve as dwellings for the pilots, fishermen, and sailors of that maritime land. Talk with these men, and they will tell you of nothing but storms, shipwrecks, and marvellous escapes—the perils of the great deep, or the feats of daring and heroic self-devotion by which men rescue their fellows from the fury of the winds and waves. It is here that the rugged Scandinavians of Norway and Iceland are said to have come in the tenth century; but, whether or not they really reached Cape Cod, it is certain that this particular part of the American coast was not generally known to Europe until the voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602.

On returning to his vessel, Gosnold pursued his course in a south-westerly direction, and touched at two islands, to one of which he gave the name of Martha's Vineyard, and to the other that of Elizabeth—a designation now applied to the whole group of islands in that vicinity. He next visited the continent, and traded with the Indian inhabitants. The savage character of Cape Cod had given place to softer and richer scenery. Magnificent forests clothed the shores; delicate flowers sprang forth in abundance, recalling the fairest blooms of the old country; and strawberries, raspberries, and grapes gave promise of a fruitful land. The commander and his fellows took up their residence on an islet in the midst of a small lake in Elizabeth Island. They built themselves a storehouse and a fort, and, thus entrenched, carried on their traffic with a sense of security. It was originally intended by Gosnold to leave a small colony on this islet, while he himself returned to England; but the natives in a little while ceased to be friendly, and the small party of Englishmen, fearing an assault by the savages, and being doubtful whether there would not be a failure in the food-supplies, refused to remain. Accordingly all returned to England, which they reached in five weeks, after an absence of about four months, and a stay in Massachusetts of little more than one month.

Several other voyages to the north-eastern shores of America followed in rapid succession in the early years of King James's reign, and resulted in the discovery of many new portions of the continent. The attractive description of Massachusetts given by the original explorers was fully confirmed; and the great shortening of the voyage between England and America, effected by the more direct route first followed by Gosnold, considerably mitigated the reluctance of untravelled Englishmen to quit their country for the western world. Schemes of colonisation began once more to be formed. The pacific policy of James I. threw a number of active and adventurous spirits out of employ. Rough soldiers, who had seen active service in Ireland and the Netherlands, found themselves suddenly deprived of means; and the favouritism of the monarch, extended chiefly to his own countrymen, disgusted a large number of the English gentry. Writers for the stage took up the great question of the day, and vaunted the attractions of Virginia in a tone half playful, half serious. In "Eastward Ho!"—a comedy by Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston, first published in 1605—some of the characters are introduced talking in a London tavern about the land that had been christened after Queen Elizabeth. A roysterer tells his companions that there is a whole country of English there, descended from the earlier colonists, who had married with the Indians; that the latter had given up to them all their treasure; that gold was more plentiful than copper in England; that the very prisoners were fettered in gold; and that rubies and diamonds were gathered on the sea-shore, to stick on the coats and caps of children. The clergy advocated emigration as a means of converting the heathen; and many thoughtful observers favoured the transplantation of some part of the English race, on the ground that the pressure was too great at home. Even in that age, England had a larger population than she could well support out of existing resources. We are apt to think of the tyranny of capital, the fierce eagerness of competition, and the painful contrasts of excessive wealth and extreme poverty, as characteristics of comparatively recent times; but the disease existed even in the reign of James I. Although the population of England and Wales at the beginning of the seventeenth century must have been under five millions, while it is now nearly twenty-four millions, the pressure on the means of life was relatively as great at that period as in the present, or probably greater. Some remarkable evidence of this is to be found in a sermon by William Symonds, preacher of St. Saviour's in Southwark, delivered on the 25th of April, 1609, at Whitechapel, before "the adventurers for the plantation of Virginia." The great object of this sermon was to impress on the congregation the miserable state of many Englishmen, and the necessity of seeking relief by emigration. The people, said the preacher, swarmed in the land, so that there was hardly room for one man to live by another. The mightier thrust the weaker out of their hives. Great lords of manors had converted populous townships into sheep-walks. The labouring husbandman, who had formerly employed many poor, and paid more taxes for his small proportion

of earth than his landlord paid for ten times as much, could hardly escape the statute against rogues and vagrants. The landowner had got the soil of the country into his possession, and sold his produce at such a price that the people would have starved had not "the honest and Christian merchant" (we have seen that Drayton denounced the merchant as "gripple," or grasping) imported corn,—for which he had "many a bitter curse of the cursed corn-mongers." The rich shopkeeper had the poor labourer at such advantage that he could grind his face when he pleased. The mechanic worked his bones out, and could barely keep himself from the alms-box. The poor woman toiled at her needle early and late, "often deluding the bitterness of her life with sweet songs, that she singeth to a heavy heart;" yet at the end of the week she could scarcely earn salt to her water-gruel. Therefore did worthy Master Symonds exhort honest labourers, who brought all the honey to the hive, to take the opportunity which offered, of bettering their fortunes in Virginia. In a similar strain, the Rev. Patrick Copland preached at Bow Church, on the 18th of April, 1622, a sermon in aid of Virginian colonisation, in which he said that many starved daily in the streets of London, and that he had heard several of the best labourers of the city bemoan, with tears in their eyes, the desolate state of their wives and children, for whom, with their utmost exertion, they could hardly obtain the barest necessaries; "and all because work is so hard to be come by, and there be so many of the same trade that they cannot thrive one for another."*

Men had been taught by the great success of Spain to seek a natural outlet for their cooped-up energies in the virgin lands of America. Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana in 1595, and the alluring account of that land which he published the following year, fired the popular imagination with dreams of empire and riches, not to be paralleled but in a fairy tale.

"Sail like my pinnace to these golden shores,"

exclaims Sir John Falstaff in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," deriving his metaphor from the recent explorations of Raleigh in the country of El Dorado. Shakespeare's contemporary, Samuel Daniel—a writer whose powers of thought were stronger than his fancy—contemplated America with a prophetic glance, and in some striking lines anticipated the vast expansion of the English race on the further side of the Atlantic. He asks:—

"—— Who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in the yet unformed Occident
May come refined with the accents that are ours?"†

In a similar spirit, Shakespeare, in "Henry VIII." (Act V., sc. 4), makes Cranmer, at the christening of the infant Elizabeth, predict the coming of James I., and say of him:—

"Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
His honour, and the greatness of his name,
Shall be, and make new nations. He shall flourish,
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
To all the plains about him."

Other authors of the time wrote in the same vein, and Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, said in a sermon to the Virginia Company:—"You shall have made this island, which is but as the suburbs of the Old World, a bridge, a gallery, to the New, to join all to that world that shall never grow old,—the kingdom of Heaven."

The sentiments thus expressed must have been strongly felt by Richard Hakluyt, who, though a clergyman, seems to have given his chief attention to the encouragement of maritime enterprise and colonisation. His first production was a small set of "Voyages and Discoveries," issued in 1582; and his better-known work of the same nature appeared in 1589, 1599, and 1600. He also translated books of travel from foreign authors, and, as we have seen, was one of the company formed by Raleigh for carrying on the plantation of Virginia. Such was his repute in these matters that he was frequently consulted by Elizabeth's ministers with regard to the establishing of colonies, and he corresponded with the officers of the various expeditions, whom he aided by his counsel and his scientific knowledge This energetic Londoner, whose thoughts were as much upon the ocean, and in the strange places beyond the main, as if he had been a native of

* Both these sermons are quoted at considerable length in "The English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century," by Edward D. Neill, United States Consul at Dublin (1871)—a work of interest and value, supplying the omissions and correcting the errors of previous American historians, by a reference to the manuscript transactions of the London Company of Virginian Adventurers, and other documents before passed over.

† From the poem entitled "Musophilus: containing a General Defence of Learning"—first published in 1599. Daniel was a man in whom the feeling of nationality was very strongly developed. The growing prospects of the English race in those days form frequent subjects of allusion in his poems. In his "Panegyric Congratulatory," addressed to James I. on his accession to the united thrones, he says:—

"The pulse of England never more did beat
So strong as now; nor ever were our hearts
Let out to hopes so spacious and so great
As now they are."

some sea-washed town, died in 1616, at the age of sixty-three; and, though he had been so long endeavouring to advance his favourite views, he only just saw the beginning of a lasting English settlement in America. Towards that settlement he contributed largely; and at the present day we think of him, not as a prebendary of Westminster, but as a citizen of the world, who promoted the intercourse of nations, and helped to found the United States. His grave in Westminster Abbey should be a place of interest to all Americans in England.

To two distinct associations of speculators, James I., in the year 1606, granted a charter authorising them to settle in Virginia. But the territory was previously divided into two nearly equal portions: one called the first or south colony; the other, the second or north colony. It was in the first that the association of which Hakluyt was a member, and which consisted of persons chiefly resident in London, was to carry on its experiment. The second district was allotted to certain knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other towns in the West of England. The conditions of tenure in each case were homage and rent; and the rent was to consist of one-fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one-fifteenth of copper. To the settlers was conceded the right of coining money. The government of both the colonies to be thus created was vested in a council resident in the parent country, to be named by the King according to such laws and ordinances as should be given under his sign manual; and the subordinate jurisdiction in each settlement was committed to a council resident in America, which might likewise be nominated by the King, and which was to act conformably to his instructions. The emigrants and their descendants were to enjoy all the rights of denizens, as much as if they had remained or been born in England; and they were to hold their lands in America by the most free and least burdensome tenure. Whatever was necessary to the sustenance or commerce of the new colonies was to be exported from England, during the space of seven years, without paying any duty. Moreover, the colonists were to have liberty of trade with other nations; and, finally, a duty to be levied on foreign commodities entering the harbours of the two Virginias was, for twenty-one years, to be made over to the infant communities for their exclusive benefit. At the close of that period, the duty was to be appropriated by the King.

The lands which by this charter were assigned to the two companies extended from Cape Fear in the south to Halifax in the north, with the exception, probably, of the part called Acadia, then in actual possession of the French. The London Company had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude, of which the northern boundary was the south of Maryland. The other body of adventurers were free to colonise between the forty-first and the forty-fifth degrees, including the whole of the present New England States. The intermediate district was open to both Companies; but the proviso that each was to possess the soil for fifty miles north and south of its first settlement, acted as a safeguard against collisions. The most questionable element in this charter was the arbitrary nature of the government appointed for the colonies. The emigrants were to be without the slightest voice in the management of their own affairs. They were to be ruled by a council resident in England, and by sub-councils resident in America, the members of which were to be nominees of the throne; and, in general terms, the King reserved to himself supreme authority over the settlements, in every particular. A constitution so framed must in time have led to abuses and to tyranny; and it is a singular comment on the state of political opinion in England in that age, that the terms imposed by the King should apparently have met with not the least objection. It is possible, however, that such a mode of rule may have been the best adapted for the early days of a colony, especially in times when representative government was not understood.

This remarkable charter bears date the 10th of April, 1606; but the expedition did not immediately start. The patentees spent some months in making preparations, and in the meanwhile James I., by a stretch of the Royal prerogative which has been questioned as illegal, framed a code of laws for the new colonies. The superior council at home was permitted to name the local councils. The religion was to be that of the Church of England. No emigrant was allowed to withdraw his allegiance from the British Crown, or in any way to dissent from the established creed. Lands were to descend according to the common law of England. Death was to be the punishment for murder, manslaughter, adultery, dangerous tumults, and political seditions; but against extreme exercises of power, the colonist, as in his native country, had the protection of trial by jury. Civil causes entailing corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment might be summarily dealt with by the president and council. The Indians were to be converted by all proper

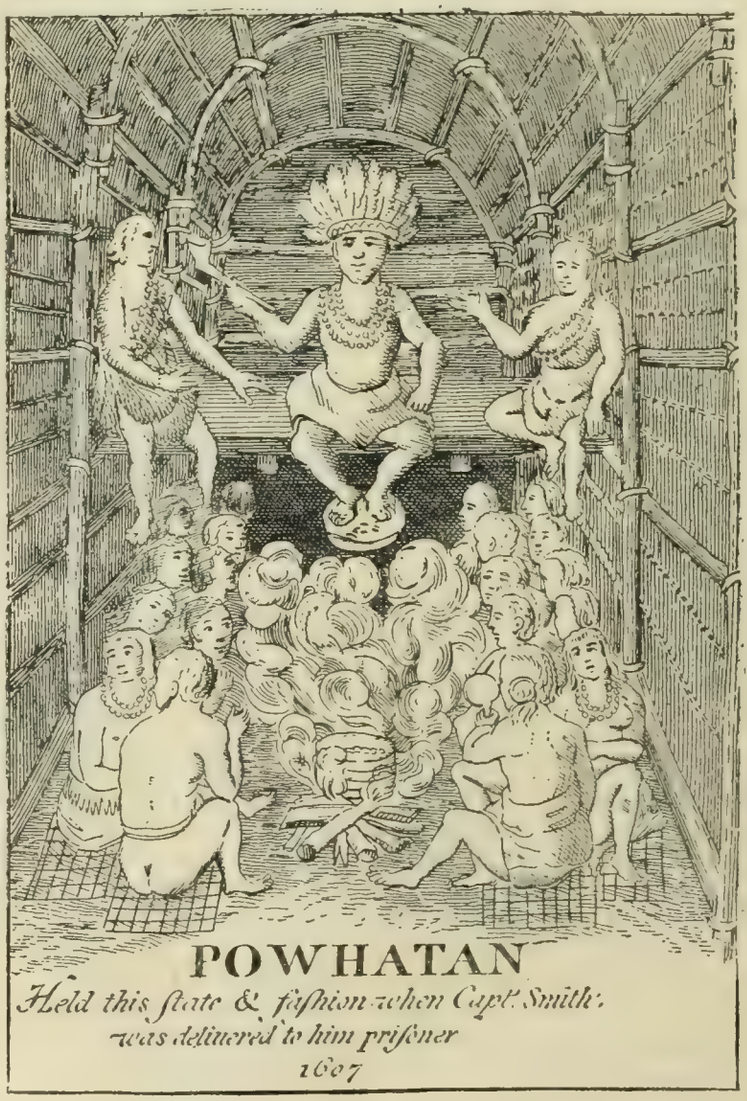
means, but at the same time were to be treated with kindness. The industry and commerce of the respective colonies were, for five years at least, to be conducted in a joint stock; and all future legislation was to be the exclusive right of the King.

Under these regulations, three vessels (of which the largest did not exceed 100 tons burden) set sail from England on the 19th of December, 1606, carrying one hundred and five emigrants, belonging to the London Company, for settlement in Virginia. This was an extremely small number for so large an undertaking; but the speculators seem to have wanted means for doing more. Amongst the emigrants were a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and several officers who had served under Elizabeth. But the men more especially required for the rough work of colonising were present in but spare numbers. Of labourers there were only twelve; of mechanics very few. The men were not accompanied by their wives and families; and the first essentials of a prosperous new community were absent. When Bacon, several years later, wrote his essay "Of Plantations," he gave some excellent advice as to the proper ordering of a colony, which it would have been well if the adventurers of 1606 could at that time have read. "The people wherewith you plant," he observes, "ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers." Bacon evidently thought the mere *dilettante* or fine gentleman adventurer a superfluous being in such undertakings; though he preferred that the governing body should consist of noblemen, rather than of merchants, "for they look ever to the present gain." He gives it as his opinion that "the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years" had been the destruction of most plantations; and he recommends that there be freedom from custom till the plantation be of strength, "and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution." In other respects, also, his counsel is admirable. "Moil not too much underground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things." "Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury." "If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss." It is probable that in some important respects Bacon approved of the charter granted by King James to the new Virginia Companies. His instincts were despotic, and he would have had colonies governed by martial law, "with some limitation." He was also in favour of sending out none but men in the first instance. "When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations, and not be ever pieced from without." His final words convey a serious reproach, the application of which it is not difficult to guess. "It is the sinfullest thing in the world," he exclaims, "to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons." Who can doubt that, when he wrote this, Bacon was thinking of the culpable apathy of Queen Elizabeth's Government with respect to the unhappy men, women, and children left by Governor White at Roanoke in 1587?

The expedition of 1606 was under the command of Captain Newport, who, neglecting the more expeditious route discovered by Gosnold, sailed by the circuitous course of the Canaries and the West India Islands, and consequently did not reach the coast of North America until four months had elapsed. The voyage promised ill for the future colony; for the instructions to the Provincial Council, and even the names of the councillors, had by the orders of the King been enclosed in a box, which was not to be opened until after the arrival of the expedition in Virginia. The motive for this vexatious concealment it is impossible to divine. Jealousies and dissensions sprang up amongst the emigrants, and no one was in a position of sufficient power to repress them. Nevertheless, a fortunate circumstance occurred towards the latter end of the passage. A violent storm drove the three vessels to the north of Roanoke, and, passing two promontories, to which the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles were given, in honour of the King's sons, they entered the bay of the Chesapeake, towards the end of April, 1607. The magnificence of that vast natural basin, receiving the waters of many great rivers, and offering the most admirable harbours for shipping, greatly impressed the voyagers; and the appearance of the surrounding country was such that it seemed to be one of the chosen spots, for utility and delightfulness, of all the world. Sailing along the southern extremity

of this bay, Newport entered a river called by the natives Powhatan, but by the English redesignated James River. They continued up the stream for about forty or fifty miles from its mouth, and at length determined that here would be the best locality for their projected settlement.

Having accordingly landed, they explored the country for seventeen days, during which they had a slight hostile encounter with one of the smallest of the Indian tribes, but were otherwise not molested. The few rough houses of wood which they began to build, and which were situated on a peninsula connected with the north bank of the river, received the name of James Town; and this was the first city of English origin ever established in America. It remained the chief seat of the colonial government of Virginia until the latter part of the last century, and was at one time a place of considerable size and importance; but in more recent days it was abandoned, and not a house now remains. The United States are so wanting in places of old historic interest, that the loss of this particular town is to be regretted.



POWHATAN IN STATE. (*From Smith's "Virginia."*)

The Royal deed containing the names of the Provincial Council, and the instructions for their guidance, was opened the day after the landing of the emigrants. The Council, after being duly constituted, chose for their president a West of England merchant of good family, named Edward Maria Wingfield. Their next act was one of which the reasons and motives are not very apparent. They excluded from the legislative body one of their number, with respect to whom a feeling of jealousy prevailed. The person so stigmatised was Captain John Smith, a promoter of the London Company, and afterwards a distinguished hero of Anglo-American adventure. Smith was accused of sedition, and subjected to the indignity of being watched. It is said that he contemplated a mutiny at sea; but the facts are not clear. His colleagues proposed to bring him to trial—an intention which was ultimately abandoned, and, by the persuasions of Robert Hunt (an excellent clergyman attached to the expedition), Smith was restored to his former rank. In May he accompanied Captain Newport and twenty others in an ascent of the James River as far as the falls near the present city of Richmond, where the explorers had an interview with the chief Powhatan, who, dissembling his dislike of the strangers, received them in a friendly manner. The day before their return, however, two hundred savages attacked the settlement, and, in repelling their assault, Wingfield displayed great bravery. On the 22nd of June, Newport set sail for England.

He left the colony in a state which threatened the worst results. The Indians made continual attacks on the settlers; and although, owing to the small numbers of each tribe, and their own internecine feuds, they could not inflict the most serious disasters, they were capable of causing no little annoyance and alarm. What was of much graver consequence was the discovery that the store of provisions, left for the subsistence of the colonists on the departure of the three vessels, was insufficient in quantity and bad in quality. It was found necessary to put the whole body on short rations; and the want of proper nourishment, combined with



POCAHONTAS SAVES CAPTAIN SMITH'S LIFE.

other influences, brought on a deadly epidemic. The heat of the climate was intolerable to Englishmen unprovided with shelter, and compelled to labour at the cutting down of timber and the construction of temporary houses. The vast and melancholy forest, cloud-like, impenetrable, mysterious, full of lurking possibilities of danger, full of strange noises, and stealthy movements, and inexplicable shadows, spread around them. The country which had looked so inviting from the deck of a ship became mournful and ominous on a closer inspection. The men grew depressed and homesick. Their drink was unwholesome water; their food, a small dole of humble fare (consisting for the most part of bran), such as the authorities could afford to serve out from the resources of their scanty stock. They would probably have perished to a man, had not the Indians from time to time voluntarily relieved them with provisions—a fact which should always be recollected to the credit of that oppressed race. The humidity of the air, caused by the rank luxuriance of wood that covered the whole face of the land, added to the unhealthy conditions from which the white men were suffering. In less than a fortnight after the departure of the fleet, hardly ten of the number were able to stand. The fort which had been hastily erected resounded night and day with the groans of the afflicted. Many died during the hours of darkness, and in the morning their bodies were dragged out of the miserable cabins where they lay, and buried in the quickest and most unceremonious manner. George Percy, one of the survivors, who relates these particulars in a narrative to be found in Purchas's "Pilgrims" (Book IX., chap. 2), says that these unfortunate men died for the most part "of mere famine," though some succumbed to violent attacks of disease. "We watched every three nights," says the same authority, "lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather soever came; which brought our men to be most feeble wretches." The bulwarks of the fort were left almost entirely unguarded, for at no time during the pestilence could so many as five hale soldiers be got to man them. No crops could be planted, for want of hands; the necessary works of the colony were at a standstill while the little party of emigrants were fighting for life. Nearly half the entire colony died in this grim struggle, and among those who thus perished was the brave and enterprising Gosnold, one of the originators and animating spirits of the expedition.

As the summer advanced, the dissensions existing in the Council reached their climax in the deposition of Wingfield from the presidency, on charges of misappropriating the chief stores, and meditating an escape to the West Indies. He was for a time imprisoned on board the pinnace, but whether justly or not it seems now impossible to determine. In the defence of his conduct which he afterwards submitted to the London Company, Wingfield asserts that the opposition of the others was owing to his refusing them a larger daily allowance of food, which he saw the slenderness of the stores could not afford, and to their desire to feast on the sack and aqua vitæ which he had reserved for the sick, and for sacramental purposes. Whichever side spoke the truth, one thing is certain—that the highest degree of rancour prevailed among the leading men of the settlement. Smith lost no opportunity of vilifying Wingfield, and Wingfield gave Smith the lie to his face, and afterwards told the London Company that it was proved "he begged in Ireland, like a rogue, without a licence."

Another president, named Ratcliffe, proved a failure, and he was glad to confer a kind of dictatorship on Smith, who had preserved his health during the sharpest visitations of disease, and whose fertility of resource, calm self-reliance, and brilliant audacity pointed him out as the fittest person for restoring the damaged fortunes of the colony. This man with the humblest and commonest of names is really one of the most romantic figures in history; at least, he is the reputed hero of a number of adventures of a highly exciting description. He was a native of Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, where he was born in 1579: his family on the father's side belonged to Lancashire; on the mother's, to Yorkshire. His parents dying while he was still a youth, he was enabled to indulge in that love of strange and perilous adventure which was a passion with him throughout his life. Ere he had fully attained to manhood, he fought, as the heroic Sidney did, for the independence of the Dutch. Afterwards he travelled in France, sailed along the Barbary coasts (at that time infested with Mohammedan pirates, as they were in the later days to which Defoe refers in his immortal work), made the voyage of the Levant, and passed through Italy. Then he took service under the German Emperor, and, on the borders of Hungary,

> "Defied the best of Paynim chivalry
> To mortal combat, or career with lance;"

comporting himself, in comparatively modern times, like a Roland of the days of Charlemagne. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the very existence of Christendom was threatened by the Turks, whose fiery attacks on the south-eastern parts of Europe spread terror even into the north and west. It was therefore considered a virtuous act in any

spirited young man to go forth, and help to vanquish the common enemy. Smith was a crusader at a date when crusades after the old fashion were out of date. He repeatedly engaged in single combat with Turkish warriors, and brought away the heads of three whom he slew on the field. For this achievement he was presented by the general with a horse richly caparisoned, a scimetar, and a costly belt; and Sigismund Bathori, the Vaivode of Transylvania, conferred on him a patent of arms, viz., a chevron in combination with three Turks' heads. This was allowed by the English heralds —a fact which seems in some degree to warrant the truth of the story. One day, however, he and others were overpowered in a wild valley in Wallachia; and Smith, being sorely wounded and taken prisoner, was publicly sold by his captors, and sent as a slave to Constantinople. Here he fell into the hands of a benevolent Turkish lady, who removed him to a fortress in the Crimea, intending ultimately to release him; but, her commands being disregarded, he was treated with so much brutality that he turned on his oppressor, slew him, and escaped into Russia. Again he passed into the south-east, and, bidding farewell to his old companions in Transylvania, set his face towards England. On his way home, however, he heard of fighting in Morocco, and went thither in search of new adventures.* When, after many delays and feats of arms, he once more reached his native land, nothing was so much talked of as the planting of colonies in America; and into these plans he threw himself with all the ardour of his temperament.

At the time when practically, though not nominally, he was called to the head of affairs in Virginia, Smith was still under thirty years of age. Long acquaintance with the world, however, had fitted him for his new position. He inspired confidence by the promptitude, vigour, and good sense of his administration. The attacks of the Indians were repelled, and the colonists grew more united under the firm hand which now guided them, though this result was not attained without a collision, in which one of the malcontents was killed. The little nucleus of a town was surrounded by fortifications of sufficient strength to serve as a protection against the savages; and, in order to raise the spirits of his men, and at the same time to relieve their necessities, Smith led a small detachment into the forest in quest of the enemy. The policy was successful. To any tribe which showed a disposition to friendliness, Smith made presents and flattering speeches, and so procured in exchange a supply of provisions. The hostile tribes he attacked, and struck such terror into them that they were glad to purchase peace by giving up a portion of their winter stores. The milder air of advancing autumn at the same time improved the health of the settlers, and the good fortune of these dashing raids restored their self-reliance. They were now fairly provided with food, and a still further stock was obtained in the early days of winter, when wild fowl and game were added to the resources of the colony.†

Such was the state of matters at the close of 1607. Smith appears to have proved himself the fittest man for the conduct of affairs. Though disposed to deal in a soldier-like style with the Indians, he did not treat them with treacherous double-dealing. From a strictly moral point of view, all such violent incursions into other people's territory, for the sole benefit of the invaders, are unjustifiable; but in the days of Smith scruples of this nature troubled the minds of few. It was, indeed, generally accepted as an irrefragable truth that Providence had given the waste regions of the earth, and the wild races inhabiting them, to the monarchs and nations of

* See that strange collection of wonderful experiences, "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Africke, and America: beginning about the Yeere 1593, and continued to this Present 1629." Fuller, in his "Worthies of England," throws great discredit on the statements in this book, and, speaking of the captain, says that "it soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds, that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." The work, however, was issued under distinguished auspices, being written at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, the antiquary, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke (Lord Steward of the Royal Household), the Earl of Lindsay (Great Chamberlain of England), and Lord Hunsdon. In this dedication, Smith speaks of having written the book himself; but it is mostly composed in the third person. It is not improbable that Smith put his materials into the hands of a professional book-maker, who may perhaps have coloured and heightened some of the details; but the record of the captain's career in the south-east of Europe is for the most part in harmony with known historical facts. In the present work, the edition consulted is that reprinted at Richmond, Virginia, in 1819, from the London edition of 1629.

† The authority for these assertions with regard to Captain Smith's conduct of affairs in Virginia, and to the antagonism which he experienced at the hands of his fellow-councillors, is to be found in the statements of several of the emigrants, contained in Book IX., chap. 4, of Purchas's "Pilgrims," and in a relation of "The Proceedings and Accidents of the English Colony of Virginia," extracted from the narratives of various persons concerned by William Simons, Doctor of Divinity, and forming Book III. of "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Iles"—a work published, and to some extent compiled, by Smith. The edition here referred to is that reprinted at Richmond, Virginia, in 1819, from an early London edition, issued in Smith's lifetime. The book is dedicated to the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox; for Smith seems never to have wanted high patrons.

Christendom. Had the seizure of such countries resulted in the civilisation of their savage denizens, there would have been much to say in favour of this theory. It may fairly be questioned whether a few barbarous tribes, thinly distributed over a vast expanse of land, living in abject ignorance and superstition, ferocious, unprogressive, idle, disgusting in many of their ways, constantly engaged in desolating wars with one another, and doing little more than camp on the ground whose varied capabilities they possess no skill to develop, have any right to exclude for ever those higher races which can show the sovereign prerogatives of knowledge and power. They have every right, however, to fair and even generous treatment; and this they have very seldom obtained. The colonising countries of modern Europe have rarely educated the savages they have vanquished. They displace the aborigines, or exterminate them; they do not add new communities to the domain of culture. The ancient Romans had small regard for the independence of other peoples; but they could at least plead in justification that the Slave and the German, the Iberian, the Gaul, and the Briton, were rescued by them from the death of savagery, and brought within the light and warmth of civil government, literature, and the arts. In the later ages of their majestic rule, Christianity was unquestionably spread by those legions which marched under the banner of Constantine, as the pure Theism of Islam was imposed on many idolatrous nations (to the benefit of themsleves and of the world) by the fiery valour of the Saracens. But Spain, Portugal, France, and England have little to say in palliation of their rapacity; England, perhaps, least of all. In America the red man has dwindled, degenerated, and decayed before the advance of the white, and is now nothing but a miserable wreck. Yet for this result no special blame can be charged on Smith, who acted according to the ideas of his time, and in a better spirit than some of his predecessors and followers.

CHAPTER V.

Smith's Voyage up the Chickahominy—His Capture by the Indians—Preparations for Slaying him—His Life Saved by Pocahontas, Daughter of Powhatan—Friendly Conduct of Pocahontas to the Settlers—Romantic Story of the Indian Princess—Her Conversion to Christianity, and Marriage to an Englishman—Her Visit to England, and Early Death—Dissensions in the Colony at James Town—Arrival of New Settlers—Their Indifferent Character—Gold-mining Fever—Smith's Two Voyages of Exploration in Chesapeake Bay—His Discoveries and Adventures in the Surrounding Country—He succeeds to the Presidency of the Council—Further Arrival of Settlers—Disagreements between Captains Newport and Smith—Embassy to Powhatan—A Sylvan Masquerade—Difficulty of dealing with Savages—Smith's daring Treatment of an Indian Chief.

Captain Smith was not to continue long without another of those perilous adventures of which, if we may believe his own account, his life was made up. One of the duties imposed on the colonists by the superior Council in England was to seek a communication with the Pacific Ocean, then generally called the South Sea; and accordingly Smith sailed up the Chickahominy as far as he could advance in boats, when, leaving them in a sheltered bay, with strict commands to his men that they should not go on shore till his return, he proceeded still farther up the stream in a canoe, accompanied by two of the settlers and two Indians. The men left in the boats disregarded orders, got into a collision with the natives, and lost one of their number, from whom, just before his death, the savages obtained news of the direction in which the captain had gone. In the meanwhile, Smith had reached the marshes at the river's head, twenty miles in the desert, and, while engaged fowling, was beset by two hundred savages. He killed two of the enemy, and so intimidated the rest that he was enabled to draw off towards the river, but, while keeping a watchful eye on the Indians, fell into an oozy creek, and, being after a time numbed with cold (for it was near the close of the year, and therefore in the dead of winter), was compelled to throw away his arms, and solicit a parley. The Indians then dragged him out, and conducted him to their chief.

The cool intrepidity of Smith was now shown in a very striking manner. Though he had every reason to fear the worst, he bore himself in so unconcerned a fashion that the savages were impressed by his gallantry. He displayed to them a small mariner's compass. "Much they marvelled," says the account compiled by Dr. Simons, "at the playing of the fly and needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch, because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated by

that globe like jewel the roundness of the earth and skies, the sphere of the sun, moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world continually,—the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters,—they all stood as amazed with admiration." About an hour afterwards, they tied their captive to a tree, and prepared to shoot him; but the chief, holding up the compass, commanded them to lay down their bows and arrows.

The Indians appeared divided in their minds between admiration of this extraordinary Englishman and desire to put an end to him. They permitted him to send a letter to the fort at James Town, in which he conveyed to his countrymen intimation of an intended attack; and they wondered at the strange way in which he seemed to impart his mind and will to the paper on which he wrote. Next they conducted him from their settlements on the Chickahominy to villages on the Rappahanock and the Potomac, and subsequently to the residence of the chief Opechancanough, at Pamunkey. There he was well fed and strictly guarded, yet with a certain honourable state and ceremony; and during three days a series of frightful incantations and mysterious rites was gone through, probably with a view to testing the courage of the prisoner. It was left to Powhatan to decide whether he should live or die; and to the seat of that potentate Smith was conducted through the forest. In a description of Powhatan afterwards written by Smith, and published in Purchas's collection, he is described as a tall, well-proportioned man, with a sour look; his head somewhat grey, his beard so thin as to be almost none at all (which is generally the case with Indians); his age near sixty, but his constitution still vigorous and fresh, so that he was able to endure any labour. He was usually attended by a guard of thirty or forty men, and the watch at night was set with as much regularity and observance of form as in the palaces of civilised monarchs.* On the present occasion Powhatan sat before a fire on a high seat, surrounded by his chief warriors, and himself arrayed in skins of animals with the tails attached. Many women were present, with their faces and shoulders painted red, their heads crowned with white feathers, and chains of white beads round their necks. On Smith being brought in, the people gave a great shout; one of the squaws offered him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers with which to dry them. Afterwards he was feasted with barbarian hospitality, and then a long consultation began as to his fate. It might have been supposed from this mode of treatment that they intended to spare the captive's life, and to advance him to some position of dignity; but they probably held him in more fear than reverence, and it was decided that he should die. A number of the savages seized him, fastened him to the ground, and were about to dash in his head with their clubs or tomahawks, when Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, begged that he might be spared, and, not meeting with a favourable response, threw herself upon the prostrate Englishman, and laid her head upon his to save him from the threatened blows. At the sight of this devotion, even those ferocious warriors were touched. They consented that Smith should live, and Powhatan comforted himself with the thought that the man who understood so many singular arts and sciences might make hatchets for himself and his warriors, and bells, beads, and copper ornaments for his daughter.

In a letter to the Queen of James I., written about eight years later, and published in the account of Captain Smith's adventures already alluded to, Smith describes Pocahontas as being, at the period in question, "a child of twelve or thirteen years of age;" and other narratives speak of her beauty, wit, and spirit. It is not unlikely that Pocahontas, young as she was, felt a tender regard for the handsome, brave, and strangely-gifted young Englishman who was doomed to a cruel death before her eyes. The love of Indian women for Europeans has been frequently exhibited; and ultimately Pocahontas was wedded to an Englishman, though not to him whom she had saved. A strange account is given by one of the early colonists of the wild gambols of this Indian girl with the English boys at James Town; from which it would appear that she had in her something of the mad frolic and joyous animal audacity of Mrs. Stowe's little negress, Topsy.

Smith being thus rescued from death, the savages sought to make him one of themselves, and tried, by promises of great rewards, to gain his assistance in an attack on his fellow-countrymen at James Town. This atrocity being of course rejected, they allowed him, by the persuasion of Pocahontas, to return to the settlement in the early part of 1608, after an absence of six weeks. Here he found the colonists once more in want, and we have the testimony of Smith himself that, had the Indians not fed them, they would have starved. "And this relief," he continues, in the letter to the Queen previously referred to, "was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Book IX., chap. 3.

to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not; but of this I am sure: when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury; which had he known, he had surely slain her. James Town, with her wild train, she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of three or four years, she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion."

Such is the account given in "The Generall Historie of Virginia," &c., first published in 1624, and partly compiled by Smith himself from the writings of several colonists. Its authenticity has been questioned by Mr. Neill, United States Consul at Dublin,* on the ground that a precisely opposite statement is made by Smith himself in a work of his issued in 1608, under the title of "A True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as hath happened in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony." The statement here is



CAPTAIN SMITH TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INDIANS. (*From Smith's "Virginia."*)

* The English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century, 1871.

that Smith was kindly received by Powhatan on the occasion in question, and was sent home with an escort and a large quantity of bread. It is not certain, however, that this earlier account is by Smith himself, some copies of the volume having on the title-page the name of Thomas Watson as the author, though other copies state that the work was "written by Captaine Smith." The apparent contradiction, also, seems capable of explanation by supposing some error as to date. It is known, on

ledge of the English language, and was converted to Christianity. The story of her conversion is as romantic as that of her previous adventures. The foraging party who had captured Pocahontas demanded of her father a ransom, which he indignantly refused. One of the Englishmen who sought an interview with Powhatan about the matter was a young man named John Rolfe. He had conceived a strong affection for the Indian girl, and he was also powerfully moved to convert her to Christianity.



MAP OF VIRGINIA. (*After Smith.*)

the authority of Captain George Percy, whose narrative is published in Book IX., chap. 2, of Purchas's "Pilgrims," that in May, 1607, Smith and Newport were well received by Powhatan; and this may have been the interview referred to in "The True Relation" as having occurred at a later period of the year. The story of Smith's rescue from death by Pocahontas has been received by the best historians, and is sculptured over one of the doors of the Capitol at Washington.

In the course of some transactions with the Indians after Smith's departure, Pocahontas was treacherously seized by the settlers, and detained two years; during which time she acquired a know-

This design haunted his thoughts night and day, and caused him much trouble and agitation of soul. There were times when he remembered that the Israelites of old had been frequently punished for allying themselves with strange women. Might he, then, lawfully marry with one of a cursed race? for so he chose to regard these poor children of the wilderness, who on many occasions had shown themselves more humane, considerate, and magnanimous than their English invaders. He conferred much with himself upon the subject; wrestled with the spirit in prayer, like a Puritan of Cromwell's army; and finally came to the conclusion that he was bound to save this maiden from the

corruption of heathenism. Pocahontas was as much attached to him as he to Pocahontas. He had daily opportunities of seeing the girl during her detention at James Town, and he at once gained her affections and persuaded her mind. A woman but seldom remains apart from the faith of him whom she really loves. Pocahontas soon accepted the religion of the stranger; and in the small church of James Town, constructed in primitive fashion out of timber hewn from the adjacent forest, and in which the font was hollowed from the trunk of a tree into the shape of a canoe, this princess of the desert, whom the colonists delighted to designate as such, openly renounced the faith in which she had been brought up, and was baptised a Christian by the name of Rebecca. The marriage followed shortly afterwards. It took place early in April, 1613, when Pocahontas must have been about seventeen or eighteen years of age; and it had the entire approval of her father and other relatives, who were represented at the ceremony by Opachisco, the brother of Powhatan. The conduct of Rolfe, however, lies under a serious imputation. From a passage in Purchas (p. 1746), and from certain entries in the books of the London Company, it would appear that this gentleman had a white wife at the time he was married to Pocahontas, and that at his death in 1622 he left a widow and children. It is possible, however, that there were three wives in succession —an Englishwoman, Pocahontas, and again an Englishwoman.

In 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, Rolfe returned to England with his Indian wife. It was then that Captain Smith wrote his letter to the Queen, the object of which was to recommend the converted heathen to her Majesty's favour. Pocahontas was by this time a mother; and Smith describes her as "the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spake English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman." He pleaded her cause with fervour. He spoke of her "exceeding desert," her "birth, virtue, want, and simplicity," and of "her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend" upon the Queen personally. He feared that, "being of so great a spirit, however her stature," her love of England and of Christianity might turn to scorn and fury if she were not well received; whereas, if she were kindly and honourably treated, she and all her kindred would be so well affected towards the conquering race as to aid in the complete establishment of English rule in Virginia. Smith has also given a very striking and dramatic account of his last interview with the Indian princess a little before he returned to America. Hearing that she was at Brentford, with several of his friends, he went there to see her. "After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, [and] obscured her face, as not seeming well contented." Whether this was coquetry, or was attributable to some rush of old emotions, or to a sense of difficulty in the use of English, it is impossible now to say; but after Smith and the other gentlemen had left her for two or three hours, they found on their return that she was willing to talk. Addressing Captain Smith, she said, "You did promise Powhatan that what was yours should be his, and he the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger; and by the same reason so must I do you." Smith replied that he durst not accept such a title from her, because she was a king's daughter; but to this she responded, "Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and cause fear in him and all his people but me; and fear you here that I should call you father? I tell you, then, I will, and you shall call me child; and so I will be for ever and ever your countrywoman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakin to seek you, and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much."

It is to the credit of the Londoners of those days that they treated Pocahontas with kindness and courtesy. She was received at court and at the houses of the nobility, and was a spectator of the masks and other stately entertainments of that pompous epoch. Her manners, which doubtless retained something of the simplicity of the forest and the wild grace of desert ways, charmed all who saw her, and for a season she was the most popular of ladies. She was about to return to America, when, while waiting for the ship at Gravesend, the rigour of the English climate struck her with a mortal malady, and she died, in 1617, at not more than two-and-twenty years of age, leaving behind her a son, from whom some of the best families in Virginia are descended. There are grander female figures in history than that of Pocahontas; none with a sweeter bloom and freshness, nor with a more unbroken sanctity of love and truth.

The brief story of this interesting woman has obliged us to anticipate the course of events by a few years; we must now return to 1608, when Smith, released from captivity by Powhatan, re-entered James Town, and found all in disorder. The colony was reduced from one hundred and five to eight-and-thirty or forty men, and the strongest of these were once more preparing to escape in the pinnace. Smith was again compelled to stop the

design by firing on the fugitives; but on the following day some of the emigrants sought to put him to death by the Levitical law, for having, by his mismanagement, caused the slaughter of those of his companions who were killed by the Indians on the recent occasion. In this distracted condition the colony continued for some time; but help was approaching. The Council in England was enlarged, both in its numbers and its powers, and it determined to send out new settlers and fresh supplies. Newport was again despatched—this time with a hundred and twenty emigrants. A very ill-judged selection, however, had been made. The newly-arrived colonists proved to be for the most part broken-down tradesmen and gentlemen of ruined fortunes, who went to Virginia in the same spirit in which they might have sought for the philosopher's stone—with the hope of becoming suddenly rich, and at one blow retrieving the injury of many wasteful years. Here, again, Bacon's advice might well have been followed, had it then been published. "It is a shameful and unblessed thing," he writes, "to take the scum of people, and wicked, condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation." It would, perhaps, be too much to say of the new emigrants that they were "the scum of people, and wicked, condemned men;" but they were a demoralised, improvident set of waiters upon fortune—adventurers in the bad modern sense of the word, not in the honest old sense. Captain Smith, in a report on the character of Virginia and on the progress of events there, says of some of those over whom it was his difficult task to rule, that "though they were scarce ever ten miles from James Town, or at the most but at the Falls," they exclaimed against all things, without doing anything themselves but devour the fruits of other men's labours. Because they found not English cities and fine mansions, feather-beds and down-pillows, taverns and ale-houses, prodigality of gold and silver, and the dissolute liberty they expected and desired, their principal care, after a little while, was to escape in the pinnaces, and get back to England. "For the country was to them a misery, a ruin, a death, a hell."* Newport brought out with him from England an ample stock of implements for clearing and cultivating the ground; but an unforeseen circumstance turned the attention of the idlers to considerations of a different nature.

A shining mineral sediment was one day discovered in a small stream of water issuing from a bank of sand near James Town. It was at once inferred that the soil abounded with gold. The fury that was always so ready to possess men in those days, seized on the whole colony, with but few exceptions. Smith was opposed to mining, and in favour of regular industry; but he was not listened to, and, as Dr. Simons records in his account of the colony previously quoted, "there was no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The mineral turned out to be worthless; though, when Newport re-embarked for England, he fancied himself a man of enormous wealth. Smith would have sent back in the ship a load of cedar, or some other useful commodity; but he was over-ruled, and a quantity of glittering rubbish was despatched to the mother-country, as the first yield of mines which soon proved to be imaginary and vain.

Shortly after this, Captain Smith started upon an expedition which, more than any of his previous adventures, showed the sterling character of his genius, whatever may have been its drawbacks in the way of violence and haughtiness. He undertook to explore the immense Bay of the Chesapeake, and the rivers which flow into it; and this task he accomplished under circumstances of the greatest difficulty. He made two voyages in an open boat, with a feeble crew and an insufficient stock of provisions, and during the summer months of 1608 traversed nearly 3,000 miles. Chesapeake Bay was surveyed to the Susquehannah; the countries on both shores were examined; the most considerable of the creeks were entered; and many of the great rivers (including the Potomac) were ascended as far as was practicable. Some islands were discovered in the bay, and a great many tribes of Indians hitherto unknown were encountered. These for the most part showed a friendly feeling towards the explorers: even when for a time they exhibited signs of hostility, it seems to have been rather from fear than from actual malice. They would come dancing out of the woods, making strange gestures of surprise or invitation; but, with fair treatment, and sometimes with the persuasion of a little force, they generally manifested a disposition to enter into negotiations, and to exchange water and other commodities for small pieces of copper, beads, bells, and looking-glasses. One of the greatest difficulties which Smith had to encounter was the half-heartedness of some of his fine-gentlemen companions. They had started with

* Smith in Purchas's Pilgrims, Book IX., chap. 3.

a vain expectation that the captain would soon turn back; but when, after twelve or fourteen days, they perceived that he had no such intention, the continual labour at the oars, and the poorness of their food (which had become mouldy with the salt washings of the sea), broke their spirits, and induced them to beseech an abandonment of the design. Smith replied by reminding them of the noble resolve of Lane's men in 1586, when, rather than give up their exploration of the Roanoke, they supported themselves on the flesh of a dog, boiled with sassafras-leaves. "You cannot say," he added, "but I have shared with you in the worst which is past; and for what is to come, of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to me. As for my losing myself in these unknown, large waters, or being swallowed up in some stormy gust,—abandon these childish fears; for worse than is past is not likely to happen, and there is as much danger to return as to proceed. Regain, therefore, your old spirits, for return I will not (if God please) till I have found the head of this water, which you conceit to be endless." Two or three days later, however, Smith was compelled by the illness of some of his men to put back to the settlement; but, after a brief rest, this energetic voyager again started in his open boat, and, penetrating farther than before, discovered the warlike tribe of the Mohawks, explored a large tract of country, and accumulated a vast amount of information with respect to the natural products of the land and the habits of the people. With some of the tribes Smith laid the bases of friendly relations; others he cowed by the vigour of his action. Occasionally a hostile encounter would take place; but oftentimes, when the English were on shore, the savages would gather about them while at prayers, and respond to their psalms with strange outcries and gesticulations, embracing Smith, and offering to adore him as a god. Returning from their second expedition, the little party of explorers reached James Town on the 7th of September; and so exact were the observations they had made, that the map which Smith at once prepared and sent to the Company in London—a map comprehending the modern States of Virginia and Maryland—is said to be the original upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been founded.

Although Smith had in effect been head of the colony ever since a period shortly after the deposition of Wingfield (the first president), the nominal direction of affairs was still in the hands of that officer's weak and incompetent successor, Ratcliffe. A change, however, now took place. Smith was made president of the Council three days after his return from the second voyage of discovery in Chesapeake Bay and its tributary streams. It was but a small body of colonists which he had to rule, but the work was no light or easy charge. The question of food was still one of the most engrossing importance. Hardly thirty acres of ground were yet cleared so as to be capable of culture. The colonists were thinking of gold-mines rather than of regular industry; and the most desperate privations would once more have been endured, had not Smith, by his dealings with the natives, provided for the necessities of his countrymen. The civil and military government of the little community was also reformed by being rendered more exact and regular, and the vigour of the new administration was soon felt in the greater comfort and self-reliance of the colony. James Town now consisted of some forty or fifty timber houses with thatched roofs, a wooden church, and a strong fort well provided with cannon; the whole surrounded, as a protection against sudden attacks, by high palisadoes. All the materials employed were very combustible; and at one time a fire broke out, which consumed the little town, and inflicted severe loss on the settlers.

Shortly after Smith had been raised to the presidency, Newport again returned with a fresh contingent of settlers. They were about seventy in number, and included two women. This accession of strength might in itself have been an advantage; but, unfortunately, the two captains, Newport and Smith, did not agree. The former had been instructed by the London Council to demand of the local Council a lump of gold, a certainty of the South Sea, or one of the lost company left by Governor White at Roanoke, more than twenty years before. The expenses of this new voyage of Captain Newport were nearly £2,000; and Smith was given to understand that, if commodities to that extent were not sent back by the ship, the settlers would perhaps be left to themselves as banished men. Smith wrote a letter to the governing body at home, severely criticising these demands, and accusing Newport of circulating extravagant reports, and acting to the injury of the colony. He also complained of the kind of emigrants that were sent out to him, and, using language similar to that of Bacon, wrote:—"When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for, except we be able

both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything." The fine gentlemen and ruined traders were not fit hands at cutting down forests, tilling the land, building houses, and doing the other rough work of an infant settlement in the wilderness.

Among the commissions of Captain Newport was an embassy to Powhatan, with divers presents. The savage chieftain was to be crowned, – as a means, it would appear, of gaining his good-will by flattery; and Captain Smith undertook to visit him, and request that he would come to James Town to receive his gifts. Powhatan, however, would not consent to any such course: the presents must be sent to him. "Your father," he said to Smith, "is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort; neither will I bite at such a bait." Ultimately the presents were despatched to the woodland court of this petty monarch, and with much ado he was invested with a scarlet cloak and a copper crown. This idle and ridiculous ceremony, the only effect of which must have been to increase the arrogance of the old chieftain, was much against the wishes of Smith, and, in writing to the London Council, he expressed a fear that it would lead to unfortunate results. The expeditions to Powhatan, however, had the advantage of adding to the settlers' knowledge of the Indians whom he ruled; and on one occasion a singular piece of savage life was presented to their view by Pocahontas and her women. The account of this incident given by Dr. Simons in Book III., chap. 7, of his work on Smith, is so curious as to demand quotation in full.

"In a fair, plain field," says the doctor, "they made a fire, before which, he [Smith] sitting upon a mat, suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shrieking that the English betook themselves to their arms, and seized on two or three old men by them, supposing Powhatan with all his power was come to surprise them. But presently Pocahontas came, willing him to kill her if any hurt were intended; and the beholders, which were men, women and children, satisfied the captain there was no such matter. Then presently they were presented with this antick: thirty young women came naked out of the woods, only covered behind and before with a few green leaves; their bodies all painted, some of one colour, some of another, but all differing. Their leader had a fair pair of buck's horns on her head, and an otter's skin at her girdle, and another at her arm, a quiver of arrows at her back, a bow and arrows in her hand; the next had in her hand a sword, another a club, another a pot-stick: all horned alike: the rest, every one with their several devices. These fiends, with most hellish shouts and cries rushing from among the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions, and solemnly again to sing and dance. Having spent near an hour in this mascarado, as they entered, in like manner they departed. Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited him to their lodgings, where he was no sooner within the house, but all these nymphs more tormented him than ever, with crowding, pressing, and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? love you not me?' This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of all the savage dainties they could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them: which mirth being ended, with firebrands instead of torches they conducted him to his lodging."

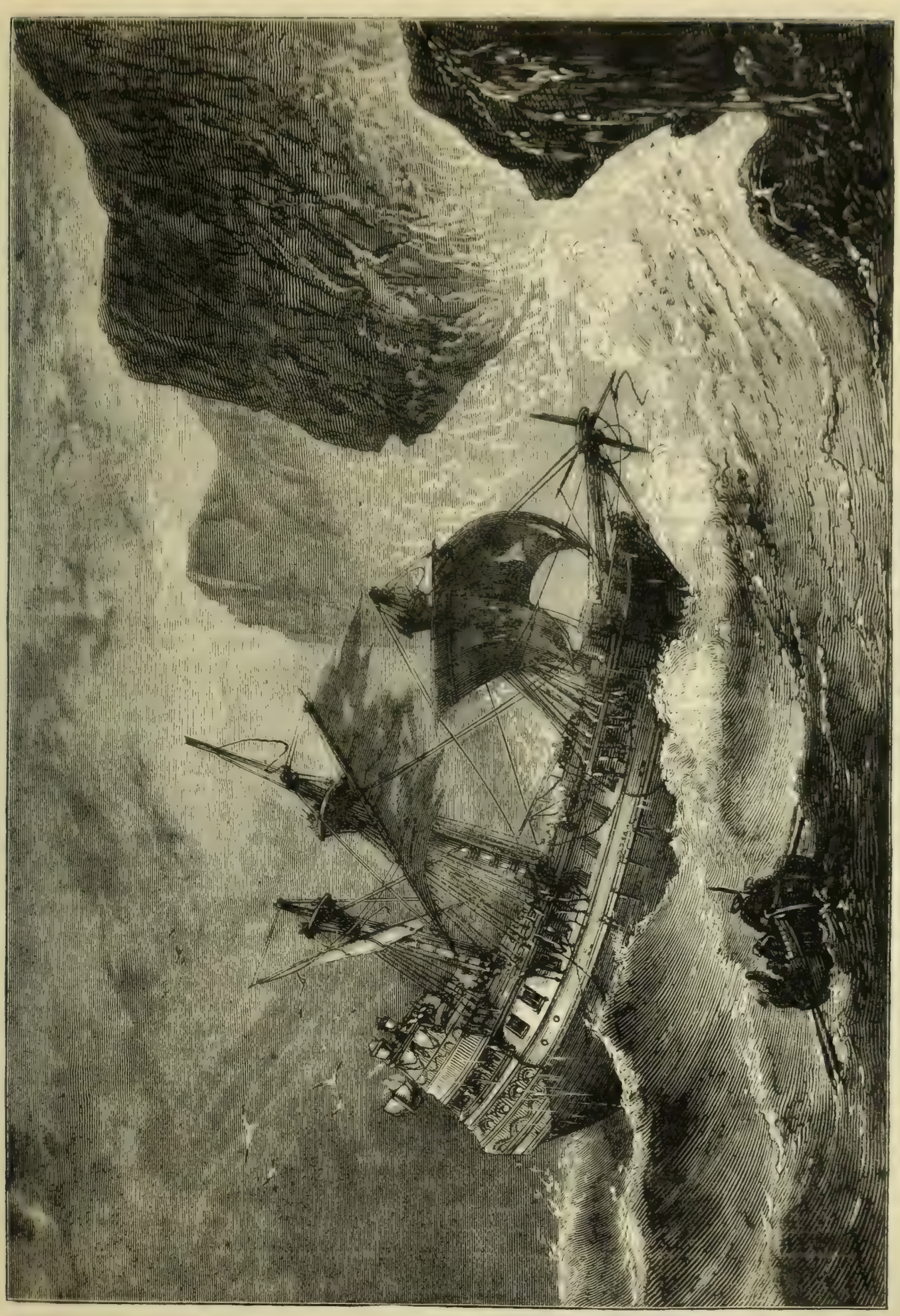
Captain Newport had imprudently given swords and muskets to the savages in exchange for what he wanted; and the ill effect of this was seen when hostilities again broke out between the settlers and the Indians. Who was chiefly to blame for these hostilities—which occurred frequently, and sometimes gave considerable trouble—it is impossible to say. Powhatan seems often to have manifested a friendly disposition; but he was certainly very exacting on the score of personal dignity, and may perhaps have been treacherous in his designs. On the other hand, Smith was rather too peremptory in his mode of dealing with the native tribes, and may sometimes have imagined an evil intention when it did not exist. By his personal enemies in the London Council, he was even accused of treating the Indians with cruelty; but the charge seems to have been a malicious exaggeration. The intercourse of civilised men with savages is always a matter of extreme difficulty. Self-interest, it is to be feared, is the leading principle with both; and this, the only idea which they have in common, is the very thing most likely to bring them into collision. In all other respects, their notions, principles, and motives of action are as distinct as they can be. The want of a common language leads to endless misunderstandings; and fear and suspicion on both sides exasperate small differences into open broils. In their transactions with savages, civilised men should observe a mean between indulgence and rigour—but this advice it is easier to give than to follow. The fault is generally on the side of cruelty; but there may be a feeble pampering also.

It cannot be doubted that the extraordinary

boldness and audacity of Smith often prevented disasters by striking a panic into the savages. One day towards the latter end of 1608, he and fifteen others went to Pamunkey, with a view to obtaining supplies of Opechancanough, the ruling chieftain in that direction, from whom he had been led to expect some assistance of this nature. The savage appeared with a warlike array, but with so poor a stock of provisions that it was not worth having. Smith, suspecting treachery, addressed his followers first, and, having obtained their promise to stand fast even in the greatest danger, challenged the chieftain and his companions to fight him and his men openly; the Indians to stake a large quantity of corn, and the Englishmen an equal value in copper; the conqueror to take all. He was answered by fair speeches, but immediately afterwards it was found that the wigwam was beset by armed men, with their bows ready prepared for shooting. Angered at the manifest intention of the savages, Smith seized Opechancanough by the long lock which Indians wear in front of their heads, presented a pistol to his breast, and dragged him out into the midst of his armed followers, whom he reproached with their design, daring them to shoot him, and vowing to exterminate the whole tribe if one of his men were hurt. At the same time he professed his friendly intentions, if he were allowed to trade peacefully for their commodities. This produced



INDIAN WEAPONS. (*After Catlin and Schoolcraft.*)



SOMERS RUNS HIS SHIP ON SHORE.

the desired effect; though, later in the day, a renewed demonstration of a threatening character obliged Smith once more to make a display of force. Such were the incidents which distinguished the early days of the English in Virginia. They form the romance of American history, and belong to the heroic ages of New World adventure. Moreover, they reveal in very striking colours the difficulties and dangers which beset those men who go out into the wilderness to found new states and nations.

CHAPTER VI.

Energetic Rule of Captain Smith in Virginia—Reform in the Constitution of the London Company—Lord Delaware appointed Governor of the Colony—Despatch of Five Hundred Emigrants—Bad Character of the New Settlers—Anarchical State of Affairs at James Town—Accident to Captain Smith—His Return to England—Another Famine among the Colonists—Somers, Gates, and Newport shipwrecked on the Bermudas—Evil Reputation of those Islands—Their Real Character—Dissensions among the shipwrecked Sailors and Emigrants—Their Escape from the Islands—Desperate Condition of the Virginian Colony—Arrival of Lord Delaware—Daily Life at James Town—Lord Delaware's Return, owing to Illness—Sir Thomas Dale and Martial Law—Further Despatch of Emigrants—Formation of a New Settlement—Missionary Efforts—Another Reform of the London Company—Private Property in Land—Submission of Indian Tribes.

UNDER the guidance of Smith, the colony of Virginia acquired greater cohesion with each successive week. Even the fine gentlemen from London, who in happier days had lounged with other gallants in Paul's Walk, or hung about the court at Westminster, became expert woodcutters after awhile; though the pain of their blistered hands forced from them many an oath, until Smith put a stop to that practice by ordering that, for every profane exclamation uttered during the day, the offender should at night have a can of cold water poured down his sleeve. Six hours a day were to be spent in toil; the rest was given to pastime and manly exercises. Smith plainly told his countrymen that he who would not work (unless he were ill) should not eat; that authority rested solely with himself; that he would use his powers to the utmost to repress offences; and that he would not suffer the labour of thirty or forty industrious men to be consumed by a hundred and fifty idlers. At the same time he had many collisions with the Indians, who, having obtained swords and guns from certain Dutchmen introduced into the colony for the prosecution of glass-making and other industrial arts, and from some injudicious Englishmen, seem to have meditated an attack on the settlement. In these encounters Smith exhibited all his wonted vigour; but it is to be feared that his actions were sometimes more hasty and violent than the present age would approve. His government was in truth a despotism; but it had the effect of preserving the young colony from internal dissolution and external treachery. Whether by fear or by policy, the savages were reduced to submission; food was obtained from them in abundance; additional ground was brought under cultivation; new dwellings were built, together with block-houses and a strong fort; some useful manufactures were begun; weirs for fishing were constructed; and various other operations of a serviceable character were diligently prosecuted. Not to trench too much on the stock of provisions in hand, some of the colonists were billeted on the natives; and such was the dread which Smith had inspired, that these solitary Englishmen placed in the midst of savages were in no case molested. The colony, also, was now healthy; and, by the spring of 1609, only seven or eight men out of two hundred had died natural deaths since the pestilence of 1607.

In the meanwhile, a great change was taking place in England in the constitution of the London Company to which this part of Virginia belonged. It was felt that the association had not sufficient powers to induce men of rank and property to embark their fortunes in it. The King, it will be recollected, had reserved to himself the supreme control of all operations; and this was seen to be too great a tie on the discretion of those who had the more immediate management of affairs. James was accordingly induced to grant a new charter with more ample privileges. The document bears date May 23rd, 1609, and is no less important than its forerunner. The boundaries of the colony were enlarged; the jurisdiction of the colonial Council was abolished, and the government was vested entirely in a Council resident in London. To the proprietors of the Company was conceded the right of electing, by a majority of votes, the persons who were to compose the Council, which was to establish such laws, orders, and forms of

government and magistracy as should appear best. A Governor was also to be appointed by the Council; in short, the complete direction of affairs was handed over to the proprietary body and the committee of management appointed by them. The powers of the Governor were to be very great. He was to rule the colonists according to the tenor of the instructions given by the Council, but, failing such instructions, was to act according to his own pleasure, in capital and criminal cases as well as civil. In the event of mutiny and rebellion, he might declare martial law without consulting any other authority, and proceed to carry it out by his own immediate orders. So despotic a power could only be properly used by a man of high principle and exalted wisdom. Even in the hands of the wisest and best, it could not endure beyond the early days of a colony, when concentration of rule is of greater value than individual rights and the principles of popular government.

After this reform in the constitution of the Company, the number of proprietors increased, and the nobility and gentry of England (amongst whom was Cecil, the Prime Minister of James I.) joined the association in large numbers, together with the merchants of London. It is painful to be obliged to record that Sir Walter Raleigh, the originator of all schemes of Virginian colonisation, had no share whatever in the body which was now mainly concerned in the planting of the English race in America. The daring and romantic adventurer of Elizabeth's reign had fallen beneath the malice of James, and was a prisoner in the Tower. Had he been free, he would not improbably have received the appointment of Governor, to which, in many respects, his antecedents entitled him. Yet, on the whole, such a choice would hardly have been the best. Raleigh was not a man of the highest principle, and his genius seemed often to want the balance of sober sense. He was at the mercy of a brilliant conception, and could never entirely rid himself of the instincts of the sea-rover, and the habits of the soldier of fortune.

This important post was conferred by the Company on a nobleman of unexceptionable character. The first Governor of the colony was Thomas West, Lord Delaware, who was appointed for life, with the additional title of Captain-General, and whose semi-regal state was surrounded by a retinue of officers with pompous titles and high-sounding functions. It was a mistake to import the paraphernalia of an ancient monarchy into a remote and humble settlement; but against Lord Delaware himself nothing was to be alleged. He was a man of ability, integrity, and honour, not unacquainted with affairs of state, and prepared to sacrifice his comforts at home, and his prospects of advancement, in an honest attempt to promote a speculation which promised great results for the country.

The clergy took up the idea of colonisation with enthusiasm, as a means of converting the heathen; and, with this especial view, William Crashaw, preacher at the Temple, and father of the poet, delivered before Lord Delaware, on the 21st of February, 1610 (for the Governor did not leave England until several months after his appointment), a very eloquent sermon, enlarging on the noble opportunities of spreading the Gospel which lay before the settlers. Many persons professed a desire to join the expedition, and even contributed free-will offerings to the general fund. More than five hundred emigrants (including women) were despatched in a fleet of nine vessels, of which the chief officers were Sir Thomas Gates (Lieutenant-General), Sir George Somers (Admiral), and Newport (Vice-Admiral), who were authorised to administer the affairs of the colony until the arrival of Delaware. The expedition set sail from England on the 8th of June, 1609. The three commissioners, Gates, Somers, and Newport, were all in the same vessel, and it unfortunately happened that a hurricane, which came on near the coast of Virginia, separated that particular ship from the rest, and drove it towards the rocky shores of Bermuda. A small vessel perished in the storm; the other seven arrived safely at James Town in the month of August. It soon proved that they brought with them nothing but the elements of discord. The new settlers were even worse in character than those of the previous year. They consisted of libertines and desperadoes, many of whom, it is plainly hinted in Dr. Simons's account, lay in peril of criminal sentences at home. The natural tendency of such men is towards anarchy, and circumstances favoured their disposition. It was known by report that the government of the colony had been remodelled, and that the old officials were superseded; but neither the new Governor nor the three commissioners who represented him had yet appeared, and all the legal documents necessary for the transfer of power were with the latter. Everything, therefore, was thrown into a condition of uncertainty, and the new-comers vexed the settlement with continual factions, and with the turbulence of their ill-regulated desires.

Smith was not the man to endure this state of things. He asserted his own authority in the absence of any other, sternly repressed the mutinies of the disaffected, and projected new expeditions to give occupation to the restless spirits who had

descended on the colony. But shortly afterwards he was so much injured by an accidental explosion of gunpowder that he found it necessary, about Michaelmas, to return to England for better surgical aid than Virginia could afford. This, at least, is the reason given by Smith and his friends why the former quitted the plantation which he had done so much to establish. But Mr. Neill, in the work before alluded to, says that Smith was sent to England to answer several charges, one of which was that he had a design of wedding Pocahontas, and forming an alliance with Powhatan, for the purpose of building up an Anglo-Indian nobility in America. If so, it does not appear that any proceedings were taken upon these charges, and in after times Smith was consulted by the Government on Virginian affairs. But it is certain that everything like an endeavour to form an alliance with the natives was regarded with great jealousy at home. It was doubted for awhile whether Rolfe might not be prosecuted for high treason on account of his marriage with Pocahontas. Such unions, nevertheless, occasionally took place, and Sir Thomas Dale, when Governor, is said to have made proposals to Powhatan for his youngest daughter, though his wife was still living in England. Powhatan refused the offer.*

According to a statement made by Smith some years later,† the colony, at the time of his leaving it, owned three ships, seven boats, commodities for trade, a newly-gathered harvest, eight weeks' provision of corn and meal, nets for fishing, tools of all sorts, a large quantity of apparel, six mares and a horse, five or six hundred swine, many more poultry, three hundred muskets, shot, powder, and match, with arms for more men than they had. The manners and language of the Indians were known to two hundred expert soldiers, and the plantation altogether was in a more hopeful state than had been seen since the beginning of the enterprise.

A fellow-emigrant of Smith has described him as one who "in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second; even hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; that loved action more than words, and hated falsehood and covetousness worse than death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose loss our deaths."‡ There may be something of the exaggeration of eloquence and of friendship in this really splendid eulogy; but it seems to have had a solid basis of truth. We shall see more of Smith farther on, but for the present he disappears from the scene. In his own day he enjoyed great popularity in his native country, and his marvellous adventures were even brought on the stage with many embellishments, much to Smith's annoyance; but in modern times a strange neglect has settled on this remarkable man, and it may be safely affirmed that a large number even of well-read persons know nothing of the fiery soldier and courageous explorer who is so intimately associated with the English colonisation of America. His name is not to be found in some of the Biographical Dictionaries, and even such a work as the "Biographia Britannica," the object of which is to commemorate all the worthies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, passes him over in silence. He is better known in the United States than in the country which gave him birth.

The excellence of Smith's rule in Virginia was convincingly shown by the terrible results which followed his departure. The turbulence of the last settlers increased with the absence of a strong controlling will. Idleness and profligacy prevailed. The stock of provisions left by Smith was rapidly consumed, and the Indians refused to supply the colony with more. In a little while, scarcely anything remained but the stores brought out from England, and the domestic animals which had been imported with a view to breeding, but which were now devoured from sheer necessity. When these were gone, utter and desperate famine seized on the community. The miserable creatures were compelled to eat such horses as they possessed, or to keep body and soul together with roots, herbs, berries, acorns, and starch. It is even recorded that cannibalism was practised; but one of the stories to that effect is at least of doubtful accuracy. "This was that time," says a survivor, "which still to this day we call the starving time." Numbers died of exhaustion and disease. Some, who strayed from the town in search of provisions,

* "A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia," by Ralph Hamor, junior (for a time secretary of the colony, and son of a member of the London Company), 1615.

† Brief Relation written by Captain Smith to the Royal Commissioners for the Reformation of Virginia, 1623.

‡ "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith," &c. The horrible assertion, contained in this work, that some of Smith's enemies plotted, when he was distracted by the torment of his injuries, to murder him in his bed, may be lightly passed over; as, without more certain evidence, we should not be justified in assuming the truth of so dreadful a charge.

were decoyed by the savages; others, who humbled themselves so far as to beg for food in the cabins of Indian warriors, received no answer but the blow of a tomahawk. Thirty men took possession of a ship, escaped to sea, and lived as buccaneers. From four hundred and ninety persons, the colony dwindled in six months to sixty; and into the hearts of this unhappy remnant, sick, feeble, and demoralised, despair itself had entered when two barks arrived.

The tempest which separated the chief vessel of Somers's fleet from its companions, had spared the lives of those on board. When it became evident that the ship could not float much longer, owing to the vast body of water which poured in through her shattered timbers, Somers, Gates, and Newport, perceiving land ahead, determined, as being the lesser of two evils, to run her on the shore. It was a resolution requiring great courage; for the commanders judged that the craggy land they saw was that of the Bermudas, and it was known that those islands were most dangerous to approach, by reason of the broken cliffs by which they were girdled. Moreover—an important consideration in superstitious days—the islands had the reputation, according to an old writer, of being enchanted, "and inhabited with witches and devils, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunderstorm and tempest."* Nevertheless, as there was plainly no chance at sea, the captains resolved to dare the perils of the land, and accordingly made for the coast. A high tide bore the vessel between two rocks, where it stuck fast without breaking; and the whole ship's company, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, landed safely in their boats on the 28th of July, 1609. Very little was at that time known of the islands, though an English sailor, named Henry May, had been shipwrecked there in 1593, and an account of his experiences had been published by Hakluyt in his great work. The original discovery of the Bermudas dates as far back as 1503, when they were named after the Spanish navigator who lit on them; but they were not taken possession of by Spain or any other Power, and in 1609 they lay as waste and desolate as Robinson Crusoe's island before the coming of the savages. Where there is no human life, men are apt to imagine the presence of supernatural beings; for the mind shrinks from vacuity, and peoples with airy phantoms, with visions and mysterious influences, the desert or abandoned regions of the earth. This probably had as much to do with the particular character imputed to the Bermudas as the frightful storms which glared and clamoured about their coasts. To the ancient Greek or Roman, Thule was the land of the gods. Marco Polo records of the desert of Lop that it was believed to be inhabited by portentous shades, and filled with delusive voices. In like manner, the voyagers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries looked with dread towards the Bermudas, as being the scene of wicked necromancies. What, then, must have been the surprise of Somers and his companions when, advancing inland, they found that the unruly violence of those seas encircled a Paradise! Cedars and palmettos clothed the sides of the rising grounds, or overarched the valleys with buoyant shadows and the play of broken light. Laurels set forth their shining leaves beneath the statelier foliage; oranges, pears, figs, olives, and other fruits, offered themselves unsought; the ground was richly carpeted with creeping plants; and no savage beast or venomous reptile appeared, to mar the beauty of that happy land. When the storm had abated, a mild and delicate air breathed over hill and dale, and birds were vocal in every leafy path and every bowery hollow. Herds of swine roamed about the sheltered places, the progeny of some which in former years had swum ashore from a Spanish wreck; turtles and turtles' eggs were numerous among the rocks; and the fish that swarmed among the bays and creeks were so tame that they were caught with the greatest ease. A sky of exquisite blue was reflected in waters as cerulean, and everything spoke of peace and security to the storm-beaten mariners who had suffered shipwreck in that lonely archipelago.

Several years after this landing of English sailors on one of the Bermudas, Edmund Waller wrote a poem on the group, in which he described the largest as

"That happy island where huge lemons grow,"

and commemorated its beauty, fruitfulness, and enchanting climate, with the pleasant lives passed there by the descendants of English settlers. But a much greater poet than Waller is thought to have derived some hints for the wondrous isle of Prospero, and for its wild and supernatural population, from the island where Sir George Somers landed, and the stories that had been current of its monstrous dealings with the infernal world. Be this as it may, the Bermudas are now inseparably associated with the most exquisite creation of Shakespeare's fancy; and to a lettered mind the mention of the one calls up at a touch the varied enchantments of the other.

* Addition by Howes to Stowe's Annals.

Delicious as the land and climate were, the three commissioners were naturally desirous of communicating with their countrymen in Virginia. As there was very little chance of any vessel passing by the Bermudas, they provided their long boat with a deck made out of the ship's hatches, and sent her with nine men to the settlement at James Town, to require a vessel of sufficient size to take off the whole shipwrecked party. It was but a few days' sail to the Virginian coast, yet months passed away without tidings or assistance. The probability is that the boat foundered at sea; at any rate, nothing more was ever known of her or of her crew. In the meanwhile, a quarrel arose between Gates and Somers on the question of authority; and the shipwrecked men divided themselves into two antagonistic sections, and lived apart in a sullen enmity, which even community of misfortune could not assuage. The situation was rendered still more painful by the mutinous conduct of some of the crew and of several of the colonists, who, desiring to settle permanently in the islands, defied the authority of Sir Thomas Gates, and talked of establishing a government of their own—like Trinculo, Stephano, and Caliban in the enchanted isle. It would appear that amongst this party there were certain Puritans, who objected to conformity in religion, and who were probably inclined to Republican ideas in matters of state. The rebellion was quelled with some difficulty, only to burst out again with greater force. It is said that the lives of Gates and others were to be attempted; and a gentleman named Paine was shot for attacking his commanding officer, and insulting the Governor. But ultimately all the disaffected save two returned to their obedience, and were restored to favour.*

While these events were proceeding, the adherents of Gates and of Somers were engaged in building two vessels of cedar-wood, aided by the wreck of the old ship. The artificers having an insufficient stock of tools, no iron bolts, and no pitch, the construction of these barks (which were called the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*) was an affair of great difficulty; but it was accomplished by amazing perseverance and fertility of resource, and on the 10th of May, 1610, the two parties set sail. During their stay in the Bermudas (now alternatively designated



VIEW IN THE BERMUDAS.

* A full account of these transactions will be found in Purchas's "Pilgrims," Book IX., chap. 6. Further details of the doings of this body of Englishmen in the Bermudas are contained in "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Iles" (1629), compiled by Captain Smith.

the Somer Islands, after the brave Admiral who, on a subsequent visit, died there), they had had factions and tumults, a marriage, a birth, two christenings, and five deaths, including a murder; so that their history was very much that of the great world in little. Reaching James Town on the 23rd of May, they found, instead of the prosperous colony which they expected, a handful of miserable men, reduced by famine and disease to the utmost extremity. Captain George Percy was acting as president of the colony, and was at the time living in a fort which had been erected on a point of land some way from the town. The fort and the town itself were in a state of great dilapidation; for the settlers had used for burning whatever spare wood they could get, rather than venture into the woods for fuel, knowing that the Indians were always lying in wait to murder them. Of provisions there was so scanty a store that it could not have lasted more than ten days, and that which was brought by the two vessels from Bermuda was insufficient to satisfy for long the needs of the additional numbers who came with it.

Sir Thomas Gates, having assumed the government of the place, determined, when actual death from famine appeared but four days off, to remove the whole colony to Newfoundland, where it was hoped that assistance might be obtained from the English fishermen who frequented that island. All had, in fact, embarked on the 7th of June in two pinnaces which lay in the roads, and in the vessels from Bermuda, and had reached the mouth of the James River on the following morning, when, to their great joy, they were met by Lord Delaware, with three ships, a large quantity of provisions, and a considerable number of new settlers. By night they were once more at the fort of James Town,



MOUNT DESERT ISLE.

and on the next day but one—Sunday, June 10th—the restoration of the colony was signalised by a solemn religious service held in the wooden church, for the repairing of which Lord Delaware gave immediate orders. The new Governor then caused his commission to be read, and a consultation took place on the affairs of the settlement. A few weeks showed that the helm was in firm hands. Everything brightened under the change. Two new forts were built, commanding a large tract of country. Faction was repressed, authority was asserted, and all set to work with renewed heart.

A very interesting account of the daily lives of

the colonists at this period is given by a gentleman named Strachey, who was shipwrecked with Somers on the Bermuda Islands, and whose narrative is published in Purchas, Book IX., chap. 6. The church, by the directions of Lord Delaware, was always "kept passing sweet, and trimmed up with divers flowers." In this edifice, which was built of cedar and black walnutwood, sermons were preached twice every Sunday; a sermon was also delivered on Thursdays; and every morning, at the ringing of a bell, about ten o'clock, each man addressed himself to prayers, and again at four o'clock in the afternoon, "before supper." When the Lord Governor went to church on Sundays, he was accompanied by his councillors, officers, and gentlemen, and by a guard of halberdiers in the Delaware livery and red cloaks, who stood, to the number of fifty, on each side of and behind the Governor's seat. The Governor himself sat in the choir, in a green velvet chair, with a velvet cushion before him, on which he knelt; and, on returning to his house, he was always waited on to the door by his chief advisers and military captains. The town soon began to recover a look of prosperity. The houses were better built than before the fire, and were now roofed with the bark of trees, which was said to be as proof against winter weather as tiles, and to repel the heat in summer much better than the mixture of bitumen and clay which had at first been used. In the principal chambers were wide and large country chimneys, filled in the cold weather with immense wood fires, and the walls were frequently adorned with a fine kind of mats made by the Indians. At the middle of the town was the market-place, guarded by a demi-culverin; and all round the habitations, at a little distance, ran a circle of palisadoes, with gates, bulwarks, and planted cannon.

The vigorous rule of Lord Delaware, his willingness to investigate the grievances of the colony, his care to prevent similar misfortunes in the future, the dignity of his manners, mingled with natural kindness, and his determination to maintain order and encourage industry, led to the most happy results. The violence of the Indians was restrained by military expeditions in various directions,* and prosperity returned to the little settlement, which had suffered so many and such various misfortunes. It is impossible, however, not to condemn the frightful severity of the code of laws established by Lord Delaware, and enlarged by some of his successors. Crashaw, in his sermon preached before the Governor ere he had yet left England, had recommended him to make Atheism and other blasphemies capital offences; and Delaware unfortunately acted on the cruel and foolish advice. We all know what factious and intolerant preachers too often mean when they talk of "Atheism" and "blasphemies:" they mean any opinion which does not harmonise with their own. The religion of the colony was to be that of the Church of England, and all departures from it were to be severely punished. Death was the penalty for blaspheming "the Trinity or the King," for profane swearing (on a third conviction), and for persistent non-attendance at church, or at the Sunday catechetical lesson. Disrespect to a clergyman was punished by whipping, and so was the refusal of a colonist on his arrival to give an account of his faith. In the latter case, the offender was to be flogged daily until he complied. Such a code is given over to reprobation in the mere act of stating it; but it appears to have been tempered and restrained by the goodness of Lord Delaware's disposition. Fortunately for the world, human nature is often a great deal better than the theological standards it sets up.

After a while Lord Delaware fell ill, and with much reluctance was compelled to return to England in March, 1611, leaving the government in the hands of Captain Percy. His reappearance in the mother country produced a most disastrous effect on the public mind with reference to Virginia. It appears to have been assumed that the colony lay under an evil fate, and that nothing would make it succeed. The London Company lost heart. Many of the subscribers sought to withdraw their payments. The little community at James Town was held up to ridicule by the wits and playwrights of London; and in that dark hour it seemed as if everything would have gone to wreck. Lord Delaware considered it necessary to make an explanation of his conduct to the Company. In this document, which was read at a court held on the 25th of June, 1611, and which was afterwards printed in a tract preserved in the British Museum, and included in Purchas's "Pilgrims" (Book IX., chap. 8), the writer speaks of his having been attacked by ague, dysentery, cramp, gout, and scurvy. "These several calamities," he adds, "I am the more desirous to particularise unto your Lordships (although they were too notorious to the whole colony), lest

* In "The Generall Historie of Virginia," mention is made of an act of great atrocity towards the Indians, which, for the credit of Lord Delaware, it is to be hoped is not true. "To correct some injuries of the Paspaheghs," says the writer, "he [Lord Delaware] sent Captain Percy, Master Stacy, and fifty or three-score shot, when, the savages flying, they burnt their houses, took the queen and her children prisoners; *whom not long after they slew.*" As this most infernal deed is not alluded to in other accounts, and as Lord Delaware has the credit of being a just and even an amiable man, it is but fair to suppose that the circumstances were not precisely as alleged, or that, at least, they had not his sanction.

any man should misdeem that under the general name and common excuse of sickness I went about to cloak either sloth or fear, or any other base apprehension, unworthy the high and general charge which you had entrusted to my fidelity." Notwithstanding the ill effect of the Virginian climate on his health, Lord Delaware expressed his willingness to lay all he was worth "upon the adventure of the action, rather than [that] so honourable a work should fail; and to return with all convenient expedition." This resolution he afterwards endeavoured to carry out; but in the meantime the management of the colony was placed in other hands.

The provisional Governor was Sir Thomas Dale, a soldier of experience in the Low Countries. Before the arrival of Lord Delaware, he had been despatched from England in command of three ships, with men, cattle, and provisions for a year; all which arrived on the 10th of May, 1611. He immediately took the management of affairs out of the hands of Captain Percy, and was afterwards confirmed by the London Company in his post. It happened at the same time that the treasurer of the Company, Sir Thomas Smith, sent out to Dale, solely on his own authority, a code of martial law, with instructions to govern the settlement on that basis. This code was in the main a translation from the rules of war enforced in the army of the Low Countries—the most rigid military school then to be found in Europe. The power conferred upon Dale was a fearful one; but, on the whole, he appears to have used it with discretion, tenderness, and good effect, though not without some cases of hardship. The prospects of the colony seemed to Dale excellent. He wrote home to the Council, urging them to pursue the enterprise with their utmost endeavours, and assuring them that they might take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom without equalling Virginia, either for commodities or goodness of soil. This report, which was confirmed by Lord Delaware, and by Sir Thomas Gates (who had now returned to England), did much towards removing the feeling of despondency which had lately prevailed. In the councils of the King, the great influence and authority of Cecil were given in favour of maintaining the American possessions of the country; and it was quickly resolved to despatch Gates to Virginia with six ships, three hundred emigrants, provisions, ammunition, one hundred kine, and other cattle. These arrived about the commencement of August, 1611—less than three months after Dale had written to the Company. Gates assumed the government, and Dale, with his consent, sailed up the river to found a new plantation, the old colony now consisting of seven hundred men.

The settlement thus commenced was called Henrico, after the eldest son of King James, a great favourite of the English people up to the time of his premature death in the following year. In this remote situation some attempt at missionary work was made by Alexander Whitaker, who has been called the Apostle of Virginia. But savages are not readily converted to the religion of those who are evidently bent on appropriating their possessions. It is easy to bring charges of treachery against Powhatan and other Indian chiefs; and doubtless it is true that, finding themselves weaker than their adversaries, they fell back on the great resource of feebleness, a temporising craft. But let us be just to human nature, whatever its colour or its faith. No people can be expected to see with equanimity an alien race seizing its lands, disputing its predominance, and driving it farther and farther into the wilderness. It is idle to vituperate one side where the motives on both sides are the same, and on neither very exalted. When Lord Delaware sent a message to Powhatan, requiring him to release certain English prisoners, with their arms, and to punish, or deliver up for punishment, some of his own people who had offended, the savage returned for answer a demand that the settlers should quit the country, or confine themselves to James Town, without searching further into his lands or rivers; otherwise, he would do them all the mischief that he could. This was the defiance of a race sure to be beaten in the long run; yet it was not unnatural, nor wanting in a kind of proud heroism. In the interests of civilisation, we may be justified in subduing an inferior people; but it should be done after the old Roman fashion—by military occupation, by industrial instruction, by a severe yet beneficent discipline, and by a constant regard to the interests of the vanquished. Preaching on the one hand, and rapacity on the other, are poor arguments for Christianity, or for anything else.

The interest felt by the King in his western settlement seems by this time to have been fairly roused; and in March, 1612, a third patent was granted, by which the Bermudas, and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginian shore, were made over to the London Company. These acquisitions, however, were soon after transferred to another association. By the new charter, James confirmed all the former privileges of the adventurers, prolonged the term of exemption from payment of duties on the commodities exported by them, and granted to the Company more extensive

rights than it had previously possessed. The supreme power was now vested in the corporation at large, and not simply in a council. Weekly or even more frequent meetings of the whole body might be convened for the discussion of ordinary affairs, while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands were reserved for four general courts, at which all officers were to be elected. The constitution of the London Company was thus reformed in a popular sense; and at a little earlier date the right of private property had been authoritatively recognised by Sir Thomas Dale. In the first years of the settlement, no individual property in land had been permitted. The woods had been felled and the fields cultivated by the joint labour of the emigrants; the crops (such as were produced) were carried to the common storehouse, and a weekly distribution was made to every family in proportion to its numbers. It was a perfect system of communism, such as modern speculators have frequently desired, and occasionally attempted. But such a system is not suited to human nature, which needs the incentive of personal reward to bring out all its powers of exertion. So strongly did the communistical principle operate in the promotion of idleness that, as we find related in "The Generall Historie of Virginia," many would escape from their labour, or slumber over their tasks, knowing they would be fed out of the common store; while even the most honest would hardly take so much pains in a week as they would afterwards take in a day. To each man three acres of ground were allotted by Dale, on condition that he gave to the colony, every year, a month's labour, and two barrels and a half of corn, to be kept in store for the use of new settlers; and in a little while it was seen that the labour of three or four men, working for themselves, produced more corn than that of thirty under the previous arrangement. A servile class, however, still remained. Those who were sent out at the cost of the Company were compelled to give for the benefit of their employers the labour of eleven months in the year. The remaining month belonged to themselves, together with three acres of land, and an allowance of two bushels of corn from the public store.

The additional expenses incurred by the London Company were defrayed by a lottery, which was specially authorised for the benefit of the colony, and which produced £29,000. Lotteries, however, were always regarded with disfavour in England, and in 1621 were suspended by an Order of Council, in consequence of complaints in Parliament. All this while, the colony increased in strength. By one of those acts of injustice common in colonial histories, the lands, cabins, and granaries of the Appomattocks were seized; and, shortly after the marriage of Pocahontas, a treaty of amity was concluded with her father, Powhatan, by whose influence the Chickahominies, in 1613, consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the King of England, to assume the name of Englishmen, to refrain from all acts of enmity, to deposit in the English stores, at the beginning of harvest, a tribute of two bushels of corn for each fighting-man (receiving so many hatchets in exchange), and to be always ready to furnish the settlers with three hundred men against the Spaniards, or any other enemy: all which was to be rewarded by a gift to each of the eight chieftains of a red coat, a copper chain, a portrait of King James, and the title of one of his noblemen!

CHAPTER VII.

Expedition against French Settlers—Grants of Land to Emigrants—Cultivation of Tobacco—Death of Lord Delaware—Unsparing Administration of Martial Law—Reforms introduced by Yeardley—An Elective Colonial Council summoned to assist the Governor—Increase in the Number of Colonists—Jealousy of King James at the growing Power of the London Company and of the Plantation—Introduction of Slavery into the Settlement—Origin of that System on the American Continent—The Indians incapable of Hard Work—Virginia under the Government of Sir Francis Wyatt—A Coming Tragedy—The Native Population of America: their Personal Appearance, Habits, Warfare, Religion, and Arts—Reasons for their desiring to Exterminate the English Settlers.

THE Virginian colonists, being now restored to heart and confidence, would not permit any foreign rival near their dominions. In the year 1613, Sir Thomas Dale, understanding that there was a plantation of Frenchmen in what was then called Northern Virginia (though the part indicated was in the modern State of Maine, and therefore in land belonging to the Plymouth Company), sent Samuel Argall, a young sea-captain, to Mount Desert Isle, near the Penobscot, to put an end to the colony in the most summary manner. He at once sailed to the spot, cannonaded the entrench-

ments, and gained possession of an infant hamlet, which had already received the name of St. Sauveur. The cottages on shore, and a French ship in the harbour, were pillaged. Some of the colonists were put on board a vessel for their own country, while others were transported to the Chesapeake. For these actions Argall was afterwards called to account in England, but does not seem to have been subjected to any punishment; and on a second expedition to the same part of America, he raised the arms of England where those of France had been planted, demolished some fortifications that had been built on the Isle of St. Croix, and set fire to the deserted settlement of Port Royal.

In 1614, Sir Thomas Gates embarked for England, leaving the government of the James Town colony, as well as that of Henrico, to Dale. Gates, on arriving in the home country, did his utmost to promote the interests of the settlement. A petition for aid was presented to Parliament, and found an earnest supporter in Lord Delaware, who moved for a committee to consider the question of relief. Nothing, however, came of it, and the colonists were left to their own energies for extending the prosperity of the plantation. As an inducement to emigrants, large grants of land were made to those who came themselves, or who sent others, at their own expense—at first, a hundred acres to each person, afterwards fifty, with the understanding that the actual occupation and culture of those would confer a right to another fifty at some future time. Land was also apportioned, to an extent not exceeding two thousand acres, to persons who had greatly distinguished themselves in the colony; and, by a payment to the Company's treasury of £12 10s., any one could obtain a title to a hundred acres of such land as was not already granted or possessed, with a reserved claim to as much more.* Sir Thomas Dale was the author of these enactments, which show the wisdom, and the essentially popular character, of his rule. As if with a prophetic feeling that the future communities of America must be democratic, he made provision for giving to the people themselves the ownership of the territory. The essence of feudalism consists in granting to a small privileged class the entire soil of a country, on which the mass of the population labour for bare subsistence. In America, amongst men of English race, there could be no privileged orders and no feudalism. A new nation was being founded in the virgin lands of the West, and it was the policy of a statesman to invest those who laboured on that fruitful earth with the fullest title to the raw material of their skill and toil. The farmers of America, cultivating their own land, have always been among the most respectable, courageous, and reliable classes of the United States.

Dale returned to England in 1616, after having appointed George Yeardley deputy governor. The latter was succeeded in 1617 by Captain Argall, who was also created Admiral of the country and of the surrounding seas. At this time great attention was given to the cultivation of tobacco. The manufacture of ashes and soap, of glass and tar, which had been practised for some few years, was abandoned for a branch of industry that seemed likely to be much more profitable. Tobacco was planted everywhere—in the fields, in the gardens, in the very streets of James Town. When Captain Argall arrived in the colony to take the governorship, he found the settlers dispersed about the open country, planting and tending the Indian weed, and James Town itself almost deserted, and partially in ruins. Only five or six of the houses remained. The church was down, the palisadoes were broken, the bridge lay in pieces, the well of fresh water was spoiled, and savages loitered at their pleasure within the limits of the settlement. Everything was neglected for the sake of tobacco, the sale of which in England yielded the planters a fair return for their labour, although it fetched no more than three shillings a pound, while that imported from the Spanish West Indies commanded as much as eighteen shillings for the same quantity. That tobacco was destined to be the staple of Virginia was very evident; but its cultivation was now being pursued to the injury of more immediate and more vital interests. The growing of cereal crops was abandoned, and the colonists were compelled once more to trust to the Indians for necessary supplies. This condition of things would probably have been amended by Lord Delaware, who in 1618 was again appointed to the governorship of the colony; but unfortunately he died on his passage out, according to most authorities on the subject, though it has likewise been reported that he died on his passage home after a second time reaching Virginia, and also that his demise took place on the 7th of June, 1618, near his seat at Wherwell, in Hampshire. However this may have been, the colony had not the benefit of his renewed direction, and the conduct of affairs remained in the hands of Argall, a man of violent and arbitrary character, who administered martial law (then the only law of the colony) with unsparing rigour. The most trifling offences were punished with servitude, and death was decreed with a readiness which nothing

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 4.

but the preservation of the state from ruin would have justified. Argall, too, was not only a tyrant, but a man of loose principles. He extorted various sums of money from the colonists, took advantage of his position to trade on his own account, and misappropriated the property of the Company. Finally he withdrew from Virginia, leaving it without a Governor. An order had previously been issued by the Company to send him back to England under arrest; but this he managed to evade.

Argall was superseded by Yeardley, who returned to his former post as captain-general. His rule was distinguished by important reforms. Martial law was quietly laid aside, and trial by jury introduced. The planters were confirmed in the possession of their estates, and compulsory service to the colony was abolished. Yeardley also summoned a local council, which was to be elected by the colonists. The first of these assemblies met in June, 1619. It was returned by eleven separate communities, scattered in different parts of Virginia; for the territory occupied by the English was now very extensive, and the planters were dispersed far and wide in the pursuit of tobacco-culture. Yeardley seems to have introduced this popular element on his own responsibility; but in July, 1621, an ordinance of the London Company created for the colony a written constitution. The model of the English constitution was closely followed. The legislative authority was vested in the Governor, who was equivalent to the monarch, though in fact he represented the general body of the proprietors; in a Council of State, nominated by the Company, which was the colonial House of Lords; and in a General Assembly, or House of Commons, to be convened annually, and to consist of the members of the Council, and of two burgesses for each of the plantations, who should be elected by the inhabitants. All laws passed by this Parliament—for such it really was—were to be sent over to England for ratification by a general court of the corporation; and without such ratification they were null and void. But, on the other hand, no orders of the court in London were to bind the colony unless they were sanctioned by the local assembly. The courts of justice were to conform to the laws and manner of trial existing in England. The colonists expressed the utmost thankfulness for these concessions, and set to work with renewed vigour under the stimulus of free institutions.

Several fresh emigrants were sent out from England, owing mainly to the exertions of the new treasurer of the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys, who exhibited great energy, judgment, and good feeling in connection with the affairs of the plantation. The number of colonists at the beginning of 1619 was no more than 600. Sandys, in the course of that year, provided for the passage of 1,261, including ninety young women, who soon found husbands. Sixty more women were despatched two years later, and it was stipulated that, when married, their husbands should repay to the corporation the costs of their transmission from the old country. The colony had now been in existence nearly fifteen years. It had already cost more than £80,000, and had undergone a career of varied fortune. Pestilence, famine, open warfare, secret treachery, internal dissensions, repeated changes of government, ill-directed industry, and mistakes innumerable, had been survived, and it seemed at length as if the settlement would really be consolidated. The new arrivals were to be counted, not by hundreds, but by thousands. Fifty patents for land were granted in three years. The deliberations of the London Company, at their meetings for the despatch of business, were second in importance only to those of Parliament. Attention was very generally directed to the affairs of the colony, and people at home began to believe in its success. Unknown well-wishers sent sums of money to the treasurer, and several persons at their decease left large bequests to the plantation, for building churches, opening colleges and schools, educating the children of Indians in the Christian religion and in industrial arts, and promoting the general good of the new society. The Rev. Patrick Copland, chaplain of the East India Company, was particularly earnest in these works.

The prosperity of Virginia was indeed already producing some jealousy in the mind of King James, whose arbitrary instincts were irritated at the rise of what even then seemed likely to become a rival power to the power of princes—a commonwealth founded on labour and on trade, without noblemen, and without Divine-right theories of kingcraft. This jealousy was exhibited on two occasions. The first had reference to the commerce of the colony, and the question of its liability to or immunity from Imperial taxation. Virginia could now produce such large quantities of tobacco that, besides supplying the home market, it sent a considerable amount to Holland, in which country some warehouses were opened for its sale. To this, James and his Privy Council objected, on the ground that the divergence of the trade into a foreign channel operated to the injury of the English revenue, which derived great profit from duties on the Virginian product. The colonists contended that their charter secured to them freedom of trade; and in

the end the matter was adjusted by a species of compromise. The other difference had to do with the powers of the London Company. When Sir Edwin Sandys resigned his office as treasurer, the King endeavoured to appoint his successor, giving the association four names to choose from. This interference was resented and successfully opposed: the King's nominees were passed over, and the Earl of Southampton, the illustrious friend of Shakespeare, was elected in 1621. One of the earliest from the coast of Guinea brought a cargo of negroes to the colony, and a certain number were sold to the planters. A year earlier, some had been brought to James Town by the captain of an English vessel belonging to Argall, but were not landed. The Dutchman, however, found a market for his human freight, and it was soon perceived that these children of a tropical climate were better adapted to work under the violent heats of Virginia than a number of Englishmen reared in the mild,



RED INDIAN WARRIORS.

victories of English popular rights over monarchical aggression was thus gained in connection with Virginia.

It is a strange and mournful circumstance that, about the very time when these great advances were being made towards free government in the New World, and in the English corporation which had formed the settlement, an accidental occurrence laid the foundations of a system which is the greatest outrage on natural rights that human beings can commit, which for many generations continued to be the curse of English America, and which nothing but a long and bloody civil war could eradicate. In the year 1620, a Dutch ship moist air of a northern island. Slavery has certain superficial advantages in all hot climates, and its enormous evils are either not seen beneath the allurements of wealth and ease which it brings to the master, or remain unobserved until custom has rivetted the system, and vested interests are opposed to change. This detestable institution, the parent of crimes innumerable, and of mischiefs which hyperbole itself could hardly exaggerate, was first brought into the Anglo-American plantations without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the London corporation; and it was afterwards confirmed and extended out of a false idea of policy, and the greed of present gain. But negro bondage

was no new principle in America. It was almost coeval with the presence of Europeans in that quarter of the globe. The Spaniards and the Portuguese had been accustomed, from a period rather earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, when the western continent was still unknown, to traffic with the African Moors for negroes, who were held in a sort of qualified serfdom in the cities of Andalusia. When, therefore, Columbus discovered portions of insular America, in 1492 and 1493, the great nation which acquired those new countries was thoroughly familiar with the practice of enforced labour by an inferior race, the very colour of whose skin seemed to mark them out as hardly belonging to the human family. Even so soon as 1503, negroes swarmed in the infant colony of Hispaniola, and were actually a drug in the market.

The system was perpetuated and spread abroad wherever the Spaniards or the Portuguese obtained possessions; for it enabled the conquerors to live in luxurious idleness, and to wring from the toil and suffering of many miserable creatures the wealth which otherwise they must have won by the sweat of their own brows. The oppressors sought to cover the naked brutality of their act by a specious pretence of proselytism. It was said that none but Christianised negroes were sent out to the plantations, and it was suggested that they would be useful in converting the native population. But historians concur in representing that a perfectly unscrupulous trade in African slaves was carried on for purposes of gain. A brief experience showed that the feeble race of Indians could not perform the terrific tasks required of them in the mines. This did not have the effect of restoring them to their native liberty, for they were constantly sold into bondage in foreign lands, and, in English as well as in Spanish America, the red man was frequently kidnapped for service abroad, during a period of nearly two centuries. Let it be remembered, to the credit of a religious community which has often been the remorseless persecutor of men, that the crime of slavery was on several occasions denounced by the Church of Rome, though without effect. The Spaniards and Portuguese of the sixteenth century were certainly not wanting in devoted submission to the Papal See; but in this particular case interest was stronger than faith and duty. When Catholic countries were thus regardless of the fulminations of the Vatican, it was not to be expected that Protestant England would be deterred from dealing in slaves, or employing them, by the opposition of a priestly power no longer recognised as possessing any authority over men's consciences and souls. That brave and in many respects noble sailor, Sir John Hawkins, engaged in a regular trade in negroes with the Spanish colonies of the New World. He set fire to the thatched dwellings of Africans, seized as many of the dismayed wretches as he could secure, and sold them to the planters of Hispaniola.* Queen Elizabeth was not ashamed to share in the profits of this abominable traffic; and the Virginian colonists of 1620, in buying slaves of a Dutch merchantman, only followed an evil precedent with which the annals of their own country had made them acquainted.

The ordinance of the London Company establishing the new colonial constitution was brought to the plantation in 1621 by a new governor, Sir Francis Wyatt. He found the English communities in a more prosperous condition than they had ever before enjoyed, and everything seemed full of promise. A terrible tragedy, however, was being prepared with fatal secrecy and consummate craft. Before relating the massacre of the English, which throws a lurid stain over the followng year, it may be as well to consider the general character and position of the native tribes, and in what way they were affected by the foreign occupation of their country.

In the opinion of most ethnologists, the aboriginal population of America (with the exception, perhaps, of the Esquimaux, who, it is thought, belong to the North Asiatic stock) form a distinct division of the human race. This great branch includes several varieties, though probably not a larger number than may be noted in the Caucasian division, nor more strongly discriminated than the highly-cultured Greek, Roman, or Western Asiatic of the ancient world from his barbarous and distant relatives in the forests of Germany and Britain. The Peruvians and Mexicans were people possessing arts and sciences, cities and buildings of considerable splendour, an elaborate religious system, a pompous ritual, and a settled polity in affairs of state. The Indian of most other parts was a savage, but a savage with some capacity of civilisation. The term "Indian," it should be observed, is a misnomer, which neither on geographical nor ethnological grounds conveys any true idea of the race. It was first used by Columbus, who, on discovering the outlying islands of America, supposed them to be portions of Asia, and so entitled them the West Indies. The designation, in spite of its absurdity, has continued to the present day; but, without a due consideration of the facts, it is

* Mr. Bancroft has given an excellent summary of facts on the question of slavery in Vol. I., chap. 5, of his History.

likely to mislead. When the English settled in North America, the native tribes with whom they came in contact dwelt apart from one another in the midst of great woods and wilds, and each claimed an extensive tract of land as its peculiar hunting-ground—claims which often conflicted, and led to war. They formed seven distinct groups, but were characterised by a general similarity. All were of a reddish or copper hue, though with some diversity of shade; the hair black, long, coarse, and shining; the beard thin, and growing in tufts; the forehead low; the cheek-bones prominent; the nose aquiline. In figure they were well-proportioned and active, and their lives were such as to develop some of the physical faculties of man to the highest extent. They ran with the swiftness of roes; they crept through the matted overgrowth of woods with the noiseless stealthiness of cats; their hearing and their sight were rendered exquisite by a constant habit of watchfulness, by the practice of savage warfare, and by the necessity, for sheer subsistence, of outwitting the wild creatures of the forest and the prairie. The missionary, Alexander Whitaker, gave rather a good account of them in some respects. "These men," he wrote, "are not so simple as some have supposed them. . . . . They are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, sudden in their despatches, subtle in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour. . . . . Finally, there is a civil government amongst them, which they strictly observe, and show thereby that the law of Nature dwelleth in them: for they have a rude kind of commonwealth, and rough government, wherein they both honour and obey their kings, parents, and governors, both greater and less. They observe the limits of their own possessions. Murther is scarcely heard of; adultery and other offences severely punished." The last two sentences are contradicted by a great mass of testimony; and it must be said of the Indians that they had the virtues and the vices that are commonly found among barbarians. To those who trusted them, and whom they in turn trusted, they would exhibit kindness and hospitality; and there is something touching in the readiness of the Virginian Indians to receive the colonists of 1584 in a friendly spirit. But they were suspicious and cunning when once their apprehensions were aroused; their enmity was bitter, their vengeance remorseless.

The methods of life among these savages were of the simplest. Their clothing consisted chiefly of deer-skins, covering the body, and leaving the arms and legs naked. The humbler orders, indeed, had little else on them but leaves and grass; but the bodies of all were to some extent protected against weather by the unguents and colours with which they were liberally plastered. The more dignified among them wore mantles of feathers, ingeniously and even elegantly wrought. The women were often tattooed, and loved to wear beads, bits of copper, and such other adornments as they could obtain. The men tricked themselves out with the wings of birds, the skins of hawks, dead rats tied by the tail, live snakes, or the dried and bony hand of some vanquished enemy. Their weapons were bows of witch-hazel and arrows of reeds, truncheons of wood, and tomahawks made of sharpened bones stuck through wooden handles. Of defensive armour, they had nothing but targets of bark, and some few coverings fashioned out of sticks wickered together with thread. Except on special occasions, they were indolent, listless, addicted to gambling and to smoking, and oppressed with that *tædium vitæ* which is common among savages. The little villages in which they lived consisted of a few cabins constructed of wooden stakes covered with bark or with matting. So small were these towns (if such a term can be applied to them) that Thomas Harriot, in the expedition of 1585, saw none containing more than thirty houses. The greatest chiefs at that time had but eighteen towns under their command, and could not bring into the field above seven or eight hundred fighting men at the most. Very little intercourse existed amongst the tribes, so that the language of every government, according to the same authority, was distinct from all the others, and the farther they were apart the greater was the difference. When at war with one another, they generally operated by sudden surprises, in the dawn or by moonlight. Ambuscades were frequently resorted to, and pitched battles very seldom risked, unless where there were many trees, behind which the combatants could leap after the delivery of every arrow. On some occasions, however, they seem to have shown a good deal of military skill and capacity. These contests were chiefly for revenge, or for the possession of women and children; and it appears to have been an understood thing that the victor should make prize of what belonged to the vanquished. Their warlike customs were cruel, and some of the early English explorers mention the habit of scalping. On all important occasions they painted themselves with more than usual care; but the war-paint was peculiar, and designed to strike terror by its exaggeration of ferocity. The men were essentially warriors and hunters, looking on all peaceful pursuits as derogating from their dignity, and leaving to their

women not only the management of the household, but the cultivation of the ground. Speaking generally, the relations of the males to the females were singularly passionless. The women were regarded simply as drudges and bearers of children, and were the objects neither of profligate desire nor of caressing tenderness.

The attacks of the Indians on their enemies were made to the accompaniment of hideous cries, and they had a war-song and a war-dance, which were distinguished by every circumstance of horror. In the fight itself, their actions were those of infuriated demons, or of men wild with some fierce intoxication. They would drink the blood of the slain, and then rub their faces and mouths with vermilion, so that the dreadful fact might be made known to all their comrades. The wounded of their own party were very carefully removed in litters; those of the adversary were killed on the field, and subjected after death to revolting outrages. Prisoners were sometimes allowed to live; at other times they were put to death deliberately, and in cold blood. In the latter case, death was generally preceded by the infliction of frightful tortures. The victim was bound naked to a stake, and subjected, at the hands of men, women, and children, to the utmost refinements of cruelty. As his persecutors were careful, at this stage of the proceedings, not to injure any vital organ, though the most sensitive parts were those chiefly attacked, they often prolonged the sufferings of the captive for several days. All this while, the victim, with a fortitude which it is difficult to realise, continued to sing his death-song, to boast of his own exploits, to insult his executioners, and to threaten them with future vengeance. When at length he was despatched, his body was eaten; for, although not cannibals habitually, the Indians considered it a noble form of triumph to devour their enemies. It is a strange but well-ascertained fact, that the savage tribes who practise cannibalism are not the lowest, but the highest, in civilisation. This is seen, according to a distinguished traveller (Dr. Schweinfurth), among the communities in the heart of Africa.

The extraordinary patience of the Indians under torment was a result of their physical education. The utmost pains were taken in youth to inure them to suffering, and they were taught that it was disgraceful in men, whose chief occupation in life was to prevail in battle, to shrink from any anguish which it was in the power of other men to inflict. The discipline of the ancient Spartans did not equal theirs in severity. This was especially the case in some of the South American tribes; but among the North American Indians also, boys and young men were compelled to submit to trials of their constancy of a very sharp and painful nature The punishment of malefactors was generally such as to tax the powers of endurance to the utmost. Captain Smith relates that Powhatan, whose rule was of a most despotic kind, caused certain persons who had offended him to be slowly broiled to death, by placing them in the centre of a ring of fire. When he would take vengeance on his enemies, he commanded them to be tied to a tree, and ordered the executioners to cut off their joints one by one, to strip the skin from their heads and faces, and finally to disembowel and burn them. In this way, as the Indians themselves reported, they executed an unfortunate Englishman whom they had seized. Sometimes Powhatan directed that the heads of prisoners or criminals should be laid upon the altar or sacrificing-stone, and that their brains should be beaten out with clubs. We have seen that Captain Smith himself would have suffered this fate had he not been saved by Pocahontas. For ordinary offences, men were beaten with cudgels till they fell senseless, yet without making the slightest cry or complaint.

The execution of prisoners was often preceded by wild and mystical ceremonies, or by certain processes of divination, as in the case of Captain Smith; and it was debated in full conclave whether or not the captive should be saved. When the question was decided in the affirmative, it was expected that the warrior so spared should make himself in every respect one of the tribe into which he was adopted. This adoption of former enemies (which, however, was not general until a period later than the early part of the seventeenth century) seems to have been a matter of policy, prompted by a desire to fill up gaps left by war or other casualties. Indian women are not prolific; the families of Indian couples are but small; and in days of frequent warfare it often became necessary, in order that communities might be saved from total extinction, to resort to this method of recruiting. It would seem that the fighting men thus spared always acted with fidelity to their new comrades. Treachery to foes appears to have been reckoned by the Indians as a virtue; but they were faithful to one another, and the respited prisoner made the interests of the adopting body his own, knowing that, even if he could escape, he would be killed by his former associates for the disgrace of having been captured. Protestations of friendship among these savages often taxed to the utmost even the extravagant oratory of the race. In their addresses, the speakers would

rave and gesticulate until they dropped with exhaustion.

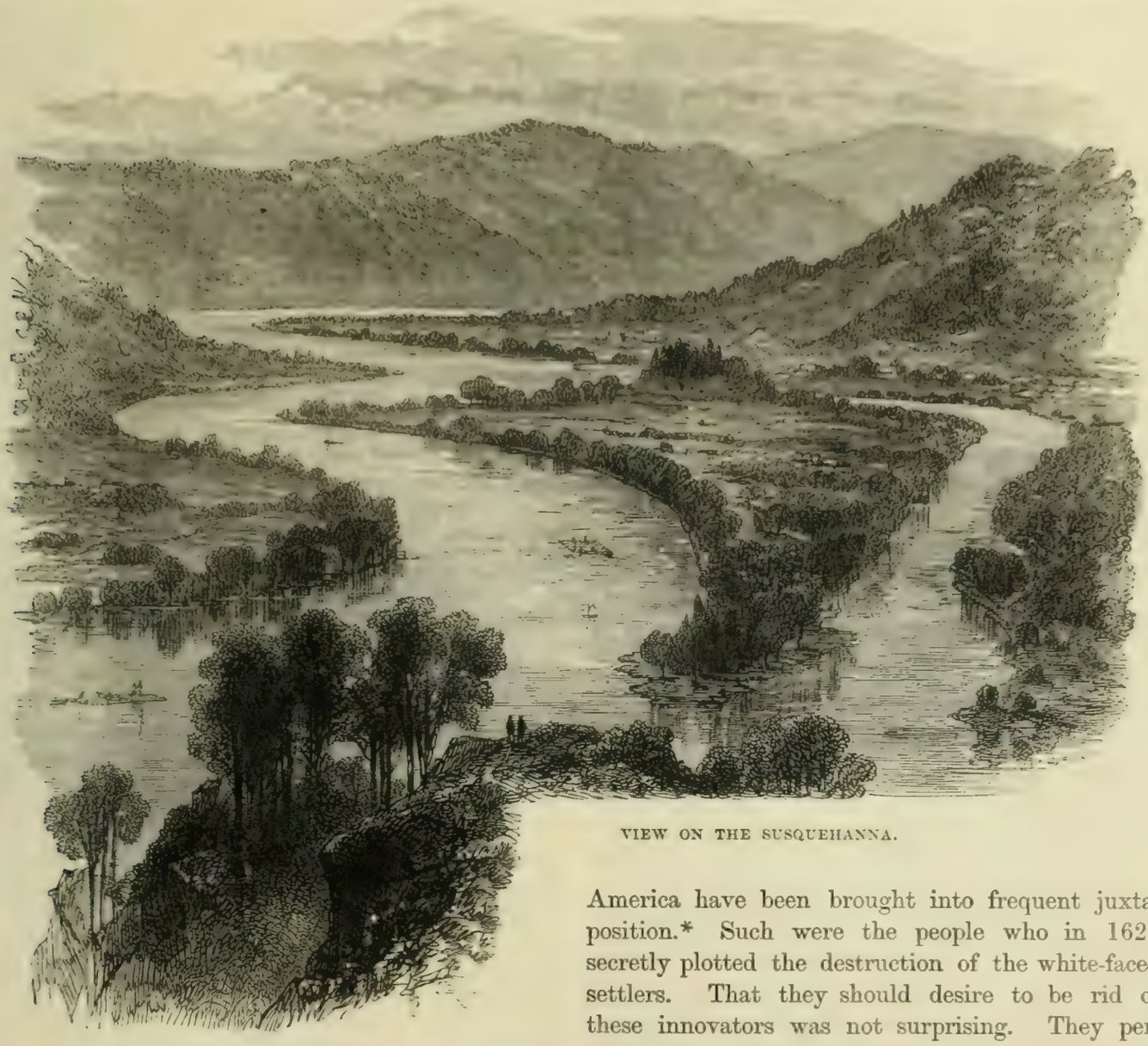
The religion of the native Virginians, at the time to which we are referring, was a species of Polytheism. If we may rely on the accounts handed down to us by early settlers (which, however, were liable to error, owing to want of familiarity with the Indian languages, and to the prepossessions of the narrators), they believed in several gods, having various degrees of power, but subject to one Great Spirit, who had existed from all eternity, and who, when he purposed to fashion the earth and stars, created the inferior deities to serve as his instruments and agents in the making and government of the universe. The sun, moon, and planets were a kind of petty gods, considerably removed from the Supreme Being. The waters were made first, and out of these all kinds of living creatures, visible and invisible, were derived. The gods of this system were, among some tribes, represented by images of human shape, to which offerings were made in a kind of rude temples. Mr. George Catlin, the author of a work on the North American Indians published in 1841, states that at that time no idolatry was to be found amongst them; that all worshipped a single god; that they knew nothing of any mediator; and that they were a highly moral and religious people. But this was apparently not the case at the period of the English settlements. We have the testimony of Harriot, of Smith, of Whitaker, and of others, that the Indians who came under their notice were idolaters; and indeed this is the natural tendency of all savage races. It requires a high degree of mental culture to conceive the abstract idea of a Divine Intellect, to be worshipped in the spirit, and not in any material form. A savage oppressed by the mystery of creation takes refuge in the visible shape of some monstrous image, and thinks that the work of his own hands is invested with a mysterious power to bless, to save, or to punish. The theology of the Indians, however, partook in some degree of characteristics which we observe among the Greeks of old. The system of many gods working under one Supreme Deity was that of Olympus; and if the savage of Virginia was an idolater, so also was the polite Athenian, whose fellow-citizens have given laws to the art, the literature, and the intelligence of Europe and America. The Indians, moreover, believed in the immortality of the soul, and that after death the spirit of the deceased was carried, in accordance with the deeds he had done while in the flesh, either to a place of perpetual bliss, or to a great pit which they thought to be in the remotest regions of that part of the world, towards the sunset, there to burn continually. Such is the account given by Thomas Harriot, who adds that the Indians told him two stories of men who had returned to life from the grave, one of whom had been saved from the place of torment by the interposition of a god, while the other had travelled far in a delightful country, planted with pleasant fruit trees, and abounding in fine houses. Captain Smith paints a darker picture of the Virginian faith. He says that the people adored all things that were able to do them hurt beyond their prevention; that their chief god was the devil, and that him they served more out of fear than love. From the same principle, they paid a kind of divine worship to fire, water, lightning, and thunder, and even to the ordnance, arquebusses, and horses of the English strangers. According to Whitaker, their religious services were performed with a great fear and attention, and with many strange dumb shows, "stretching forth their limbs and straining their body, much like to the counterfeit women in England, who feign themselves bewitched, or possessed of some evil spirit." Their priests he described as "a generation of vipers, even of Satan's own brood." These men went naked, and lived alone in the woods, after the manner of hermits, no one being permitted to approach them unless called. Yet that there was a degree of scepticism among the Indians as to the reality or all-sufficiency of their deities, seems evident from the readiness they manifested to acquire some knowledge of the religion of the colonists, and to admit that the God of so powerful a race must exceed their own in mightiness as much as guns exceeded bows and arrows. They would frequently send to the Governor at James Town with entreaties that he would pray to his God for rain, as theirs would not grant them any. This, however, may have been nothing more than a prudent deference to the stronger power; and, from whatever cause, Christianity has never made much progress with the North American Indians, notwithstanding the devoted exertions and temporary success of Whitaker, Eliot, and later missionaries.

The Indians of New England were perhaps even more rude and savage than those of Virginia. By some writers it has been doubted whether they had any religion at all. Thomas Morton, one of the early settlers, writes:—"Methinks it is absurd to say they have a kind of worship, and not able to demonstrate whom or what it is they are accustomed to worship." But there is a great deal of testimony to the effect that they had religious ideas similar to those of the Virginians. Edward Winslow, in a letter to a friend, took the same view as



MASSACRE OF SETTLERS.

Morton; but afterwards, in his "Good News from New England," confessed that he was in error. His account is too detailed and precise to permit the supposition that he spoke merely from vague impressions. All the North American Indians, moreover, had a species of magical ceremonies for the casting out of devils, which implied the elements of religious belief.



VIEW ON THE SUSQUEHANNA.

Art was in a very rudimentary state among the natives of this part of America; but it was not wholly wanting. The dresses of the people, their ornaments, their weapons, their canoes, their houses, their temples and idols, all showed a certain amount of constructive skill; and we read in Purchas of a kind of palace belonging to Powhatan, which was fifty or sixty yards in length, and which had at the four corners images of a dragon, a bear, a leopard, and a gigantic man. This house was situated in the midst of a wood, and, excepting Powhatan, was approached only by priests. The degree of civilisation varied in the several tribes, and differences of manners were observable in different localities. Setting aside the Mexicans, however, the divergence was not very great among the Indians of North America; and in this brief sketch we have in the main noted what was common to the numerous bodies of savages with whom the English and their descendants in America have been brought into frequent juxtaposition.* Such were the people who in 1622 secretly plotted the destruction of the white-faced settlers. That they should desire to be rid of these innovators was not surprising. They perceived themselves being driven every year more and more into the wilderness. They found their cultivated lands taken from them by a race possessed of powers and resources so much beyond their own as to be absolutely mysterious and inexplicable. They had seen their customs derided,

* Thomas Harriot, in Hakluyt, Vol. III.; Captain Smith, in Purchas, Book IX., chap. 3; Alexander Whitaker, in Purchas, Book IX., chap. 2; The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith; Robertson's History of America, Book IV.; Catlin's North American Indians; Neal's and Palfrey's Histories of New England; Edward Winslow's Good News from New England; and some minor authorities.

and their beliefs set down as folly. They had felt the heaviness of the white man's hand when he would chastise them, and they had little to expect from his generosity. They knew that they were weak. Even the great Powhatan, who had brought several tribes under his sway, and who enjoyed a sort of imperial position and dignity, could not count on more than 2,400 warriors, and these were so widely dispersed over a large extent of country as to have but little strength for a concerted movement. The Indian chief, therefore, was compelled to use dissimulation; and in silence and deceit the terrible catastrophe of 1622 was matured and brought to bear.

CHAPTER VIII.

Injudicious Treatment of the Indians—Neglect of Self-defence—Treacherous Designs of the Natives—The Massacre of March, 1622—Effect of the News in England—Acts of Retaliation—Renewed Dissensions between King James and the London Company—Determination of the King to Sequestrate the Patent of the Company—Arbitrary Measures—The Former Charter superseded by a New One—Virginia again placed under Royal Control—Resistance of the London Company—Royal Commissioners sent out to the Colony—Proceedings of the Colonial Legislature—Judicial Decision in favour of James—Dissolution of the London Company—Death of James I.—Unprosperous State of Virginia up to 1625—Liberal conduct of Charles I. towards the Virginians—Misapprehensions of some Historians—Freedom in Virginia coeval with Despotism in England—Disputes about Land Tenure—Happy Condition of the Colony—Another Massacre by the Indians—Death of Opechancanough—Devotion of the Virginians to the Cause of the Stuarts—Measures of the Commonwealth—Submission of the Plantation to the Rule of Cromwell—Its complete Self-government—State of Society in Virginia in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century.

MISMANAGEMENT and undue confidence were largely instrumental in bringing about the massacre which we have now to relate. Owing to the rage for tobacco-planting, the emigrants were scattered abroad throughout the open country, from the banks of the James and York Rivers very nearly to the Rappahannock and the Potomac; so that all concentration of numbers had ceased. In James Town there were as many Indians as English. The savages made familiar acquaintance with the superior race, and acquired a knowledge of some of their arts, including the use of fire-arms. Several European weapons had by this time found a way into their hands, partly by the folly of Captain Newport, partly by the treachery of the Dutch settlers. Indians were even employed by the English as fowlers and huntsmen, though it had formerly been death to show a savage how to use a musket. For some time, an appearance of great friendliness had existed between the colonists and the natives. It was thought that the latter were on the eve of being converted to Christianity, and they were permitted to come and go as they liked. One worthy gentleman, inflamed by missionary zeal, treated the red men like spoiled children, whose idlest caprices were to be gratified. The solitary houses of the tobacco-growers were at all hours open to Indian stragglers, who were fed at the tables and lodged in the bed-chambers of their former enemies. The emigrants of the last few years, moreover, were a different set of men from those who had preceded them. They were agriculturists rather than soldiers, and they neglected the commonest precautions of self-defence. Captain Smith, in his answers to certain questions put to him by the Royal Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, said that in his opinion the causes of the massacre were the want of martial discipline, the dispersion of the colonists, the false security that prevailed, and the permission to the natives to use English arms. In another document, addressed to the same Commissioners, he complains that during his rule in Virginia his hands were tied by instructions from England not to hurt the savages; that they knew this, and presumed upon it; and that he was compelled to break his orders, and take severe measures—after which he had not a man slain in two years. Captain Smith was above all things a soldier; but his instructions in this respect (though rightly set aside upon provocation) may have been necessary to restrain the cruelty and greed of some of the settlers.

What added to the peril of the situation in 1622, was the fact that the Indians in that part of the country had fallen under the rule of one who neither loved the English nor dreaded them. Powhatan, who since the marriage of his daughter to John Rolfe had shown uninterrupted good-will towards his civilised allies, died in 1618, and was succeeded by Opechancanough, who is said to have been a man of great courage, ability, and craft, and who appears to have resolved on the extermination of the English shortly after his accession to power.

During four years he cherished this design, and prepared for its execution; perhaps recollecting, and desiring to avenge, his humiliation by Captain Smith in 1608. The secrecy of his proceedings was so perfect, that not the slightest suspicion of a plot was entertained until the moment that it burst. It was concealed with entire success even from such of the Indian tribes as were suspected of an attachment to the strangers. All the other tribes were gained over, and to each was allotted the station it was to occupy and the part it was to act. At the same time, a treacherous show of good feeling towards the intended victims was sedulously maintained. Some of the colonists having occasion to send to Opechancanough about the middle of March, 1622, he used the messenger well, telling him he held the peace so firmly that the sky should fall before he would dissolve it. Only two days before the massacre, some Indians guided a party of English through the woods with much kindness. They borrowed boats of the settlers, in order to cross the James River and consult with tribes on the other side as to the coming tragedy. They went unarmed into the houses of the tobacco-planters on the very morning of the murderous outbreak, to sell provisions; and in every conceivable way promoted an impression amongst the English that their desires and their interests were alike in favour of amity. After marketing with several of the settlers on the morning of March 22nd, and eating at their tables, they returned about noonday, and fell simultaneously on the defenceless people, whom they slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, some in their houses, some at their work in the fields. The blow was so sudden, and so entirely unanticipated by those on whom it fell, that little could be done in self-protection. The massacre extended over one hundred miles on both sides of the river, and in a single hour three hundred and forty-seven persons were pitilessly slain. Even men who had on several occasions shown kindness to the savages were murdered with the rest; and the dead bodies were subjected to all those brutal indignities which are common to barbarian tribes when once the spirit of ferocity is fully roused.

The horrible plot, however, was far from a complete success. It had been hoped that the whole body of colonists would be swept away; but the larger number were saved. Some few defended themselves with firearms and other weapons, and so intimidated the Indians that they fled; for in no case did they dare to encounter the slightest resistance. The majority of the settlers—those at James Town and the stations nearest to it—were saved by a converted Indian, who disclosed the plot to his English master. This Indian was made aware of the design only the night before its partial execution; but he had sufficient time to put several of the settlements on their guard. They were hastily prepared for an attack, and the murderers, finding on their arrival that the colonists were ready to receive them, took to flight without striking a blow.

The effect of these disastrous events was very prejudicial to the colony. The cultivation of the fields was abandoned; people crowded into the town for protection; sickness supervened; and many returned to England. The settlements were reduced from nearly eighty plantations to less than eight. Nevertheless, the emigrants, in the main, were not disheartened, but after awhile engaged in expeditions which had for their object the extermination of all the neighbouring tribes. In England, the news of the massacre only intensified the national determination to prosecute the colonisation of Virginia with the utmost vigour. The King made a present of arms from the Tower to aid in the subjugation of the savages. The City of London sent one hundred fresh emigrants at its own cost. Several persons of wealth came forward with funds; and Captain Smith made an offer to the Company to go out to Virginia with one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, to be employed first as a flying army to scour the country and subdue the natives, and then to settle in some place, which should remain as a strong garrison for the defence of the possessions, and as a school of instruction in military matters for the English planters. This offer was not accepted, the Company being short of funds; but it was intimated to Captain Smith that he might engage in the project on his own responsibility, if he would yield to the corporation half the pillage. As the whole amount of pillage, in Smith's opinion, would not have been worth £20 in twenty years, the suggestion of the Company was declined. The colonists, however, were quite equal to fighting their battles for themselves; and for nearly ten years the Indians were hunted down by continual and remorseless attacks, sometimes accompanied by circumstances of treachery equal to their own.*

The year 1622 and the following year mark an

* Some details of these atrocities may be read in "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Iles," where the writer (apparently, in this instance, not Captain Smith himself, but one of those from whom he compiled) observes:—"It seems God is angry to see Virginia made a stage where nothing but murder and indiscretion contends for victory."

eventful period for the colony. Besides the massacre of March, the first of those years saw a renewal of former dissensions between King James and the London Company. Repeating his unsuccessful attempt of 1621, the monarch once more sought to control the election of the treasurer by restricting the choice of the proprietors to one of a number of names supplied to them. Notwithstanding this dictation, or perhaps rather in consequence of it, the Earl of Southampton was in 1623 re-elected by a large majority. Exasperated by his second defeat, James now resolved to sequestrate the patent of the Company. He had many reasons for wishing to get rid of the power he had created. The general courts of the Virginian proprietors had been distinguished by a freedom of debate surpassing that of Parliament. The Company consisted of a thousand adventurers, and the courts were usually attended by not less than two hundred persons. It was evident that a popular force was growing up, in England and America, which might prove a formidable rival to the throne. Large commercial corporations, possessed of extensive tracts of land in other parts of the globe, and endowed with certain independent powers of government, occupy, it must be confessed, a somewhat equivocal position towards the State, and also towards those who are in a manner their subjects. In our own times it has been found necessary to take the administration of East Indian affairs out of the hands of the Company which had so long held sway in Hindostan; and this was what James proposed to do with the Virginia Association. But the reform in the government of India was effected by Parliament, and the powers forfeited by the Company were transferred to a Minister responsible to the representatives of the English people. This was a very different thing from that exercise of the Royal prerogative which James contemplated, and in the result contrived to carry out. This monarch was despotic in all things, and, with a kind of fatal success, prepared the way for his son's execution a generation later. Yet it cannot be denied that in the present instance he had at least some plausible grounds of justification for his act. It was alleged that the disasters of Virginia were caused by the misgovernment of the Company; and in some respects this was true, though it was true rather of earlier than of later years. The Royalist party in the general courts got up a petition to the King, alleging certain grievances; the opposing party replied; and James, on the 9th of May, 1623, appointed a number of commissioners, consisting of some of the judges and other persons of note, to investigate the affairs of the corporation. The records were seized, and two of the officers imprisoned. Private letters from Virginia were intercepted and read; and the proceedings were in all respects carried on in the most high-handed manner, as if the Company had been a set of criminals, who had forfeited all civil rights and all claim to decent treatment. Seven questions were addressed by the commissioners to Captain Smith, who was required to give his opinion on the causes of the colony's misfortunes, and the most likely way of remedying them. He pronounced against the Company, and recommended that the direction of affairs should be taken into the King's own hands.

An Order in Council was accordingly issued on October 8th, setting forth that his Majesty had resolved to supersede the former charter by a new one, by which he would reserve to himself the appointment of the officers in England, a veto on appointments in Virginia, and the supreme control of the colony. The administration of the Company was to be vested in a Governor and twelve assistants, to be resident in England; and the executive power in Virginia was to consist of a council of twelve, to be chosen by the Governor and his colleagues. In the first instance, the governing body of the Company was to be nominated by the King; but it was afterwards to have a power of self-renewal, though in this, as in all other matters, both in England and in the colony, the decisions of the constituted authorities were to be subject to nullification or revision by the Privy Council—that is to say, by the sovereign himself. Private property was declared sacred, and all grants of land already made were to be renewed and confirmed. In virtue of these reforms, James commanded the proprietors at once to surrender their charter into his hands; but this was refused with a spirit and courage remarkable in those times, when so many asserted the will of the monarch as superior to all law. They required a month's delay for deliberation, but were met by a peremptory demand for the surrender of the charter within three days. The mandate was resisted, and both sides prepared for war. The popular form of government existing in the Company itself, and in the legislative assemblies of Virginia, had been set aside by the King in favour of a system which was purely arbitrary. The proprietors determined to oppose this change to the utmost of their power. They denied the right of the King to deal with them and their property as he pleased; and they resolved to defend their privileges by process of law, if those should be called in question in any court of justice. James, therefore, on the 10th of November, 1623, directed that a writ of *quo warranto* should be issued against the

Company, so that the validity of its charter might be tried in the Court of King's Bench; he also despatched a body of commissioners to Virginia, to examine into the state of the plantation, and to report on its prospects. At the next general court of the Company, the proprietors, with only seven dissentients, confirmed the former refusal to surrender the charter; and, to enable them to conduct their defence, their papers were for a time restored to them.

The Virginian commissioners arrived in the colony early in 1624, but soon found that the opposition of the General Assembly was equal to that of the London Company. An agent was sent to England, to represent in the home country the views of the settlers; but he died on his passage. The commissioners from England in vain endeavoured to intimidate the Colonial Legislature by threats of what the King would do, or to cajole them by promises of Royal favour, if they would advance his projects. They asserted the excellence of popular assemblies, as the best means of promoting the interests of the community. They severely punished a clerk who, for a money bribe, had revealed their consultations to the King's representatives. They passed several acts confirming the right of the colony to levy and apply its own taxation. They insisted on the principle of personal freedom, and defined the powers of the executive. They established the practice of free trade, by removing restrictions on production, and leaving commerce to the operation of natural laws. And they made an enactment "that no person within the colony, upon the rumour of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present Government."* Nothing, in short, could be more admirable than the bearing of the colony under the difficult circumstances of the time. The Royal Commissioners, on returning to England, reported in favour of abrogating the powers of the Company, and of once more vesting supreme authority in the hands of the King. Shortly afterwards, the judges pronounced for the sovereign in respect to the matters at issue between the throne and the Company—a foregone conclusion in days when the exponents of the law, holding their seats at the monarch's pleasure, usually interpreted doubtful points in accordance with the wishes entertained at court. This decision was given during the Trinity term of 1624, and in July of that year the charter was forfeited, and the Company dissolved. It is worthy of note, however, that the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, as against the Company and their charter, was based simply on the technical ground of a mistake in pleading, which would seem to imply that in more vital respects their case was a good one.

The power with which James thus became invested he used with moderation and some liberality. Sir Francis Wyatt, who had been appointed to the governorship of the colony in 1621, was retained in his post, though he was known to have been a warm supporter of the London Company. In appointing the new Council in Virginia, the King omitted the more extreme members of the court party; and the Colonial Legislature was not interfered with. James was still proceeding with his work of reconstruction, and was contemplating a code of fundamental laws for the plantation, such as he may have hoped would add to his title of the British Solomon that of the British Justinian, when death brought his projects and labours to an end. He expired on the 27th of March, 1625; but the principles of government by which his conduct had been swayed were in the main adopted by his son. Charles declared Virginia to be a part of the Empire annexed to the Crown, and immediately subordinate to its jurisdiction; at the same time, he conciliated the planters by confirming to Virginia and the Somer Isles their monopoly of the supply of tobacco to the English market. It was hoped that in this way the prosperity of the colony would at length be secured; for, in those days, protection to industry, which at the present day is very differently regarded on the two sides of the Atlantic, greatly to the detriment of both nations, was an accepted principle in the fiscal policy of England. The Virginian colony certainly required help of some kind, though this was not the wisest form in which to give it. The enterprise had never been a success. At the dissolution of the London Company, more than £150,000 had been expended in the attempt to found another England beyond the Atlantic. Upwards of nine thousand persons had been sent out to the wilderness; of whom, many had died of sickness, many had been slaughtered by the Indians, and not a few had returned disheartened to their native land. Yet the annual importation of commodities from Virginia did not exceed an average of £20,000 in value; and the population of the colony diminished instead of increasing. Smith attributed these evils and shortcomings to the idleness and improvidence of the emigrants, the frequent changing of Governors, the multiplicity of officers in the colony, leading to endless delays and formalities (so that "as much time was spent in compliment as in action"), the rapacity of some of the speculators, and the absence

* Bancroft's History, Vol. I., chap. 5.

of martial precautions against the savages.* His views in many respects were just; yet the destruction of self-government would not have been the best way to amend the errors of colonial administration.

This course, however, Charles did not adopt. He suffered the Legislative Assemblies still to meet; he sent out as Governor Sir George Yeardley, who had been the first to introduce those Assemblies, and who, to the great grief of the colonists, died in 1627; he permitted the Council to supply vacancies in their ranks; and in 1628, when making an offer to contract for the whole crop of tobacco, he desired that a representative body should be convened to consider his proposal. The Assembly which met in the following year protested against this monopoly, rejected the proffered terms, and for a time at least put a stop to the scheme. The reply was signed by the Governor, by five members of the Council, and by thirty-one burgesses, as the members of this colonial House of Commons were called. It is remarkable that, at a time when Charles I. was governing without a Parliament in England, and doing his utmost to suppress the principle of popular representation at home, he suffered a democratic body in his American dominions to exercise considerable power. The Virginian Council frequently elected their own Governor, while the Legislative Assemblies levied and appropriated the taxes, made all necessary local enactments, and maintained, paid, and managed the small army necessary for the protection of the infant state. On this point there has been considerable misapprehension. Robertson and other historians, American as well as English, have stated that for several years Charles governed in Virginia as despotically as in England, and that taxes were imposed and laws made without the representatives of the people being asked for their sanction. But Mr. Bancroft, by an appeal to early records, has convincingly proved that this was not the case. The Virginians were virtually independent, and enjoyed all the substantial benefits of freedom with the advantages necessarily resulting from connection with an old and powerful monarchy. Why Charles I. should have been thus friendly to the principles of liberty in a distant possession, while he was doing his utmost to trample them out at home, is a problem not easily solved; but the fact appears unquestionable. Perhaps he thought it a matter of slight importance what was done so far from the centre of government, and on so small a stage; perhaps, absorbed in his struggle with the popular party in the old country, he had no time to follow a similar course in America. Be that as it may, Englishmen in Virginia enjoyed the conduct of their own affairs while, from March, 1629, to April, 1640—a period of eleven years—Englishmen in England were taxed and governed without a Parliament, by the arbitrary will of the monarch, and by the devices of those whom he selected to do his bidding. This is a very instructive fact. It shows how soon the theory and practice of popular liberty took root in America; how early the colonists were taught to value the right of self-taxation; and how infatuated were the Ministers of George III. in seeking to destroy a privilege which had then existed for nearly a century and a half.

With settled government, and that interest in the maintenance of social order which freedom generally creates, Virginia prospered. In one year alone, a thousand emigrants arrived; the commerce of the plantation increased; and internal peace was for a time secured. Continual attacks upon the Indians had had the effect of entirely extirpating some of the tribes, and of driving others into the woods at a considerable distance from all but the most recent of the English settlements. Everything looked bright and hopeful when, in the autumn of 1629, John Harvey, who had been one of the commissioners sent by James I. to Virginia in 1623, arrived in the colony as Governor. His antecedents were such as to render him unpopular, and it soon became evident that he entertained designs not in accordance with the general interests. He was specially appointed by the King to act on behalf of those noblemen and gentlemen on whom Charles had bestowed grants of land. Some of these territorial gifts were of immense extent, and, as their boundaries had in several instances been inaccurately defined, they frequently conflicted with estates already in the possession of others. Contentions thus arising signalised the administration of Harvey for some years; and the same cause of bitterness existed in other plantations as well. In Maryland (the progress of colonisation in which we shall have presently to relate), a hostile collision took place in 1635, in connection with this very question; and one of the colonists, named Clayborne, was banished from the colony for having killed a man. Coming to Virginia, he was seized by Harvey, and sent to England to answer for his alleged crime. The Virginians were so indignant at this that, by their own authority, they deposed their Governor, and summoned an Assembly in May, 1635, to receive complaints against him. Resolving to anticipate the action of that body, Harvey signified his willingness to return to England and meet his accusers; and the latter were

* Answers of Smith to the seven questions of the Royal Commissioners, 1623.

received with so very little favour in the mother country that they were not even admitted to a hearing. Harvey returned to his post in 1636, and remained there until 1639. His rule was by no means a happy one, but he was succeeded by other Governors who repaired the mischief he had done.



VIEW ON THE POTOMAC.

The disputed questions about the titles of land were now adjusted, and Virginia every year acquired a more perfect command over the machinery of self-government. For a time the King took away from the Executive Council the privilege of supplying its own vacancies, and reserved that power to himself; but the former state of things was soon restored. A veritable England of the untrodden West sprang up daily into stronger life. The courts of justice enforced laws, and acted on principles of jurisprudence, similar to those which were declared at Westminster. Together with a very natural feeling of local patriotism, the colonists retained a strong affection for the country of their birth. While acting, for the most part, on principles of liberality, they were nevertheless highly loyal. The respectful obedience which Charles I. forfeited in England by his tyranny, he still received in Virginia because he had acted there in a precisely opposite spirit. The Church of England went to wreck in its ancient home because it was associated with cruel oppressions; but in Virginia, while as yet it had acquired no such evil reputation, it flourished with a scarcely disputed sway. Puritans were indeed to be found in the colony; but at first they were quietly tolerated, and do not appear to have aimed at any disturbing influence. Unfortunately, however, this condition did not last long. In 1643, when nonconformity in religion began to be identified with revolutionary principles in politics, it was ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, otherwise than in harmony with the doctrines and practices of the Church of England; and all Dissenters were banished from the colony. Some ministers, who had been invited from Boston by the Puritans of the more southern settlement, were ordered to leave, notwithstanding that they carried with them letters of recommendation from the governing authorities of New England to those of Virginia. This, no doubt, shows that the rulers of the latter colony still held to the absurd opinion that, in a free state professing Pro-

testantism, the minds of men can be crushed into uniformity on a subject the most volatile, eccentric, and difficult to fix, of any that can engage their thoughts. But it also proves the loyalty of the Virginians to the established order of things. In the civil war between Charles and the English Parliament, their sympathies, with but few exceptions, were with the monarch. They had no desire for change, but were satisfied with their growing fortunes and their sober liberties.

Another massacre by the Indians was attempted on the 18th of April, 1644. The attack was made on the frontier settlements; but the savages seem this time to have been frightened at their own act, and at the contemplation of that vengeance which would surely follow. They suddenly broke off the work of carnage, after three hundred of the colonists had been killed, and, flying into the woods, endeavoured to escape detection. A war of retaliation at once set in; armed bodies marched up and down the border lands, slaying whatever Indians they could find; and Opechancanough himself was taken, and some time after died, in captivity, of wounds inflicted by a soldier. The vigorous measures of the English struck such terror into the native tribes that ten men were considered sufficient to protect any threatened locality. In 1646, articles of peace were agreed to between the colonists and the successor of Opechancanough. Submission to the superior race was promised by the savages, and a large quantity of land was ceded. The Indians retired still farther inland, and the supremacy of the conquering nation became still more absolutely assured.

So satisfied were the people of Virginia with their condition, that, after the execution of Charles I., they at once recognised his son. Large numbers of cavaliers emigrated to the newly-settled lands on the Bay of Chesapeake, and received a welcome of the heartiest description. The exiled Charles Stuart regarded Virginia as a part of his dominions over which he could still exercise the rights of sovereignty. From Breda, in the Netherlands, he sent a new commission to Sir William Berkeley, the then Governor of the colony, confirming him in his office; and this act was cheerfully recognised by the Virginians. The Commonwealth, however, very naturally resisted such assertions of power, and prepared to vindicate its own authority. A fleet was despatched to the New World in October, 1650, to reduce to obedience those colonies which had shown a disposition to acknowledge as still valid the rule of the Royal fugitive. An ordinance was also issued, by which it was declared, that, as the plantations had been formed by the people of England at their own cost, they ought to be subordinate to and dependent on the English Commonwealth, and subject to such laws and regulations as might be made in Parliament; that, instead of this dutiful submission, certain of the colonists had disclaimed the authority of the State, and audaciously rebelled against it; and that on this account they were to be regarded as notorious traitors. All vessels, either of English ownership or belonging to foreign nations, were by the same ordinance prohibited from entering their ports, or carrying on any commerce with them, unless by virtue of a licence from Parliament or the Council of State. This ordinance had the desired effect; and, though in itself a severe measure, it was accompanied by signs of a disposition on the part of the English Government to adopt a conciliatory course if met in a similar spirit by the colonists. Three commissioners were appointed to arrange matters pacifically with the Virginians, if that were possible; and two of these were selected from among the planters themselves. They were instructed to offer the Virginians the entire management of their own affairs, on condition of their acknowledging the Commonwealth; in the contrary case, a state of war was to be considered as established. After but slight deliberation, the local authorities determined on acceding to the demands of the mother country, and, by the articles of capitulation agreed to in 1652, it was stipulated "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, should enjoy such freedom and privileges as belong to the free people of England; that the General Assembly should convene as formerly; that the people of Virginia should have free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations; that Virginia should be free from all customs, taxes, and impositions whatsoever; that none should be imposed on them without the consent of the General Assembly; and that neither forts nor castles should be erected, nor garrisons maintained, without their consent." Moreover, the colonists were not to be questioned for their past loyalty to the Stuarts.

The submission of the Virginians was followed by a state of profound peace. During the whole of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the plantation was virtually independent. The people elected their own Governor, together with members of the Council; and, for the former office, their choice repeatedly fell on adherents of the Republican party in England. Cromwell, in the plenitude of his power, never appointed any officers; and when a disputed question arose between the House of Burgesses and the Governor, and the latter proposed to refer the case to the Protector for settlement by

him, the popular body resisted any such reference, deposed the Governor, and, after completely establishing their own views, re-elected him as a proof of their confidence in his probity and honour. Nevertheless, a certain right of suzerainty on the part of the mother country was acknowledged by the colonists. On the death of the great Oliver, the rule of his son Richard was recognised, though not without a fresh assertion of popular privileges, which the new Protector fully granted; a similar course was taken on the restoration of the monarchy. The political condition of Virginia was that of a perfect democracy. Manhood suffrage, with certain exceptions, was established by the colonists, and worked so well that, after a temporary limitation, in 1655, of the right of voting to householders, the broader system was reverted to in the following year, on the express ground, as the statute set forth, that it was "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person should pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections." The exceptions to manhood suffrage indicate a serious blot in the social condition of Virginia. Those who could not vote were persons held in bondage; and this servile class included not merely negroes and Indians, but Englishmen, who were purchased in England, and resold by auction in Virginia, to act as menials to the wealthy colonists. The period of service, however, was limited, and at its expiration the servant at once became an elector, and might be chosen a burgess. The Legislative Assembly was convened once a year, or oftener if occasion required, and it was the supreme judicial tribunal of the settlement. What rendered this highly-popular constitution a safe one also, was the fact that, although there was a wealthy class, possessing in some instances estates of 2,000 acres, there were no paupers. A vast new country, of a most fruitful character, spread before the settler, and work freely offered itself to all who would do it. No great temptation to dishonesty existing, offences against property rarely occurred; and, under the benign influence of equal laws, rich and poor lived side by side without envy or distrust. Religious freedom existed with but few drawbacks; and commerce was in so flourishing a condition that, as early as 1648, trade was carried on with ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve from Holland, and seven from New England. A few years later, notwithstanding Cromwell's Navigation Act, the object of which was to confine the traffic of the colony to English vessels, or to those of the settlers themselves, trade continued practically unfettered, for the Act was not enforced. Even during the war between England and Holland, Dutch vessels traded with the American plantations.

The population of Virginia at this period is supposed to have been about 30,000. It had been largely augmented by a considerable importation of Royalist prisoners taken by the Republican forces in England, including several Scotch and Irish; and, as we have already stated, many of the aristocratic adherents of the fallen monarchy voluntarily exiled themselves to the New World, to escape the misery of their broken fortunes in England. The colony had also received several very questionable contingents, in batches of loose characters, male and female, sent out from time to time from London and other large towns, simply to get rid of them. Moreover, young marriageable girls were sometimes kidnapped, and conveyed to Virginia against their will: it is on record that a man was arrested in Somersetshire for this species of impressment.* But a large number of native Virginians had now grown up to maturity; families increased and multiplied; and the foundations of a new nationality had been fairly laid.

* Memorandum of Sir Edward Hext, Justice of the Peace of Somersetshire to the Privy Council, quoted in Neill's "English Colonisation of America."

CHAPTER IX.

First Colonisation of Maryland—Explorations of William Clayborne—George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore—His Career as an English Politician, and Conversion to Roman Catholicism—The Newfoundland Plantation—Maryland bestowed by Charles I. on Lord Baltimore—Terms of the Charter—Provision against the Introduction of Papacy—Powers granted to the second Lord Baltimore—Rights of the Emigrants—Departure of the Colonists from England, and Formation of the Settlement—Claims of the Virginians and of William Clayborne—Dissensions and Collisions—Celebration of Public Mass in Maryland—Ambitious Designs of Baltimore—Leonard Calvert's Attempt at Arbitrary Power—Successful Opposition of the Colonists—Roman Catholics and the Rights of Conscience—Disturbances in the Plantation—The Ordinance of Toleration—Civil War between the Partisans of Lord Baltimore and the Adherents of the Commonwealth—Settlement of Affairs—Death of the second Lord Baltimore.

That part of Virginia which now forms the State of Maryland was colonised early in the reign of Charles I. There had been previous explorations of the country towards the head of Chesapeake

Bay, and small settlements were planted here and there for the purpose of trading with the Indians in furs; but nothing like systematic colonisation on a large scale took place during those earlier years. In 1625, however, William Clayborne, a man of some mark in American history, received authority from the rulers of Virginia to discover the limits of the great bay, together with any part of the province lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of latitude, the latter of which had been included within the new boundaries of Virginia granted by James I. in 1609. Clayborne was by profession a surveyor, who in 1621 had been sent out to America by the London Company to make a map of the country, and who subsequently became a member of the colonial Council. His investigations in the countries bordering on Chesapeake Bay led to his forming a strong opinion in favour of pursuing commercial relations with the natives. A company was accordingly started in England for trading with the Indians, and a Royal licence was issued, conferring on Clayborne powers of government over those who should accompany him. In virtue of the authority thus bestowed, he planted a colony on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay, and another near the mouth of the Susquehanna. These new settlements formed a part of Virginia at the time of their establishment, but did not long continue under that jurisdiction. They fell into the possession of a powerful nobleman, who gave to the territory a separate colonial existence.

This was George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore—a man of intelligence, of varied capabilities, and of interesting life. His father was a Yorkshire farmer, living at Kipling, in the valley of the Swale, where the family, originally of Flemish extraction, had been settled for several generations. Having received a good education at Oxford, George Calvert became secretary to the famous Cecil, the clear-sighted, energetic, and intriguing Minister of James I. This gave him an introduction to public life, and in 1604 he was elected to Parliament by the borough of Bossiney, in Cornwall. He was afterwards sent by Cecil on a mission to the English Ambassador at Paris, and on his return was employed in several capacities, both in England and Ireland. Becoming very quickly a favourite with the King, he was knighted in 1617, and in 1619 made principal Secretary of State, in which post, as one of the followers of Cecil, who died in 1612, he had a difficult task to discharge. Whatever his faults, the Earl of Salisbury was certainly one of the most masterly and successful administrators that England has ever known; and his unsleeping vigilance kept at bay the ambitious designs of Spain and the plots of the Roman Catholics. Calvert had been educated in his school; but he acted from different motives, and to different ends. It was the policy or the humour of the King to be friendly to Spain; and this disposition, which Cecil had checked, Calvert did his utmost to gratify. He was, in truth, a courtier to the very depths of his nature. Whatever seemed good to the monarch, seemed good to him. Towards the latter end of James's reign, a strong opposition to arbitrary power arose both in Parliament and in the nation. Calvert devoted himself with fervour to the Court party, and did all he could towards counteracting the demand for popular liberties. He and Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) were elected for Yorkshire in 1620, by an extravagant use of undue influences; and, as a member of Parliament, Calvert supported the Royal pretensions whenever there was an opportunity. His abilities as an administrator were considerable, and his business habits were so exact that he submitted to the King every night a well-digested account of the progress of public affairs during the day. He worked hard to bring about the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain: that it failed was no fault of his. The failure, however, was a great mortification to him, and a few weeks before the death of King James he sold his office (according to the corrupt practice of those days) to Sir Albert Morton, for £3,000. Some time before, he had become a Roman Catholic, having been converted by Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, and by the Earl of Arundel, whose daughter had married Calvert's eldest son. His intimacy with Gondomar, and his leaning towards the Spanish alliance, told greatly against him in the popular estimation; and when he openly confessed his adoption of the Papistical faith, people saw in the change a natural consequence of too much familiarity with the great Romanist Power. It was rather, perhaps, the natural consequence of opinions held by Calvert all his life, though, but for the particular opportunity, those opinions might never have reached their legitimate development. What is to his credit is, that he did not show the usual bitterness of a convert. Jeremy Collier, the non-juring clergyman of William and Mary's reign, speaks of the temperate way in which he held his views, and adds that he was so little wedded to his own opinions that he could better bear a moderate censure than an affected applause.*

On resigning his place as Secretary, Calvert received the title of Lord Baltimore, after a town in

* Collier's Dictionary, 1701. Art. "Calvert."

Ireland. He resided for some time in the sister kingdom, and then, finding all public employment closed against him, as a Romanist, resolved to go to America. He had been a member of the Virginian Company, and had taken an active part in the management of its affairs. In 1620 he had purchased an interest in the Newfoundland Plantation, and shortly after the accession of Charles I. he resolved to go thither himself. His first visit to the island was in the summer of 1627; he was there again in the following year. One portion of his design was evidently to convert the colonists to his own faith; and much offence was given by the proselytising efforts of the priests by whom he was accompanied. But, apart from this vexed question, Lord Baltimore seems to have acted in Newfoundland with vigour, prudence, and good effect. He fitted out at his own expense two ships, with which he fought three hostile French ships, and compelled them to give up six fishing vessels which they had captured. By this spirited action, he delivered the colony from the piratical inroads with which it had been vexed; and he would probably have won the affection of the islanders but for the unfortunate difference of religion. He went to Virginia in 1629, with intent to settle there, but, refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, on the ground that they were opposed to his conscience as a Catholic, he was informed by the Council that he must depart by the first ship. Nevertheless, he soon went there again, and in 1631, when once more in England, obtained from King Charles a grant of lands north and east of the river Potomac, in the parts most remote from that portion of Virginia which was already settled. To this region, at the suggestion of the King, was given the name of Terra Mariæ—Maryland—in honour of the Queen, Henrietta Maria.

The first Lord Baltimore died in London on the 13th of April, 1632; on the 20th of June in the same year, the charter of the new colony was made out in the name of his son Cecil, the second baron. This document contained a clause granting to the said Lord Baltimore the patronage and advowsons of all churches to be built within the limits of the new colony, "together with the licence and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels, and places of worship in convenient and suitable places within the premises, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of England." The object of the last twenty words (which do not occur in a similar charter granted three years earlier to Sir Robert Heath, for colonising another part of America) was undoubtedly to restrain Lord Baltimore from establishing Roman Catholicism in the territory which had been made over to him. Such a restraint sounds in the present more tolerant days extremely illiberal; but it should be recollected that the circumstances of the seventeenth century, in regard to such affairs, were totally different from those of the nineteenth. Not more than seventy-four years had passed since the complete establishment of Protestantism in England. The ferocious persecutions of the last Papistical sovereign, Queen Mary, were yet fresh in the popular mind. It was believed that the Catholics were still plotting for a restoration of their supremacy; and it was only too clear that they had a powerful ally in Spain. All asserted the superiority of the Pope over the State, and many claimed for the faithful the right of assassinating heretic kings and magistrates. It is therefore not surprising that precautions were taken for preventing this enemy of the Reformation from getting a foothold in English dominions. Nothing, indeed, can excuse the cruelties that were frequently practised on Catholics; but some degree of restraint may at that time have fairly appeared justifiable. It was a question of life or death. Either the one religion or the other was to predominate. In those dogmatic times, a neutral course may well have seemed impossible. We can now afford to be tolerant, and are wisely and properly tolerant, because there is a third party to keep the peace between contending factions. The secular arm of the State is strong enough to bridle fanaticism and repress persecution, in whatever direction they may appear; whereas, in the seventeenth century, the State, though extremely powerful in many respects, was always in alliance with some religious body, whose support was necessary to its authority. Moreover, all the tendencies of the modern mind—the freedom of discussion, the spread of education, the increase of popular self-government, the power of the press, the growth of science, the progressive dilution and weakening of dogma in matters of faith and speculation—are such as to render safe the granting of entire religious liberty. But this was not the case in 1632.

The boundaries of the new colony, speaking roughly, were defined by the Atlantic Ocean on the east, the fortieth parallel of latitude on the north, the river Potomac on the west, and the lower part of the Bay of Chesapeake on the south. The country was granted to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, to be held by the tenure of fealty only, and by the payment of a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth part of all the gold and silver ore which might be found. The proprietor and his



FLIGHT OF INDIANS AFTER THE MASSACRE.

heirs were created true and absolute lords and proprietaries of the province, with free, full, and absolute power to ordain, make, and enact laws (with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the province), and with authority to appoint all judges, justices, and constables. The freemen, however, could only meet in assembly with the permission of the proprietor; and it was provided that the latter might of his own authority make laws from time to time, on the ground that it might be necessary to exercise such a power before the freeholders could be convened for the purpose. On the other hand, the jurisdiction of the proprietor was not to extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. The charter, it will thus be seen, contained a popular element; but this element was to a considerable extent neutralised by the restrictions imposed on it. The legislative power of the freemen was made dependent on the power of the great territorial lord, and laws might at any moment be promulgated at the sole will of that potentate. Still, there was the nucleus of a free system of government; and that counted for something. In other respects, Charles may be said to have conceded too much. Lord Baltimore was excused from the necessity of obtaining the Royal assent to his own appointments, or to the legislation of the province; and, by an express stipulation, the King covenanted that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should at any future time set any imposition, custom, or tax whatsoever, on the people of Maryland. The second of these provisions was wise, liberal, and just; but the renunciation of all control over the government of the plantation was not fair to the mother-country. A colony should be bound by some ties to the Power which created it, that the interests of the whole Empire may not be sacrificed to those of a small outlying department, but that all may work harmoniously for the common good.



CECIL, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.

Far too much credit has been given to this Balti-

more charter, as if it were the beginning of political freedom and religious toleration in America. A Representative Assembly had met at James Town thirteen years before, and it was certainly no part of Charles I.'s intention, in granting the charter, to establish universal toleration in the new province. We have seen that a special proviso was made, to the effect that the religion of the colonists was to be that of the Church of England. This stipulation appears to have been inserted on the advice of the King's Attorney-General; and several years afterwards, the then chief law-officer of the Crown gave it as his opinion that the proprietor of the province of Maryland was, by virtue of these words, precluded from doing anything contrary to the ecclesiastical laws of England. No doubt, the desire of the first Lord Baltimore was to secure a place of refuge for the Catholics of his own country; and this was afterwards effected, with some degree of tolerance for other religious bodies. But the charter included no such provision.

The rulers of Virginia were greatly displeased at the formation of a new State out of a portion of their territory. They made some attempt to contest the grant by process of law; but their endeavours were of no avail, and in November, 1633, after some delays, the emigrants set sail. It is generally stated that the party consisted of two hundred gentlemen belonging to good Catholic families; but Lord Baltimore, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford, said that he had despatched his two brothers, nearly twenty other gentlemen, and three hundred labouring men, well provided in all things. The gentlemen were probably Romanists; but Mr. Neill* believes that the labouring men were chiefly Protestants, though for this conclusion he does not give his authority. The colonists arrived at Point Comfort, Virginia, on the 24th of February, 1634, after pursuing a circuitous route by the West Indies. They were well received by Harvey, the then Governor of Virginia, but did not stay long. Sailing up the Potomac in their pinnace, they came to an island, to which, in token that they claimed it alike for the Christian religion and for the English race, they gave the title of St. George's Isle. At the same time, they planted a cross. The government of the colony, it had been arranged, was to be conducted by Leonard Calvert, assisted by Thomas Cornwallis and Jerome Hawley, both of whom were Protestants. From St. George's Isle, Calvert ascended the stream to Pascatoway, a few miles below the site of what is now the Federal capital of the United States. Here he conferred with Henry Fleet, an enterprising navigator, who, a short time before, had made a minute exploration of the Potomac and the adjacent country. Under the guidance of this experienced sailor, Calvert descended the river to an Indian village situated on a small tributary of the Lower Potomac. The ground was purchased of the Indians—a piece of common honesty and justice not always practised in colonial affairs, though the New England Puritans had already done the same; and on the 27th of March Calvert took possession of the spot, and named it St. Mary. Three days later, the adventurers began to erect a stockade and storehouse, and, shortly afterwards, Harvey arrived from James Town on a visit. The native chiefs exhibited every token of amity. They joined the new-comers in the chase, and pointed out in what portions of the great forest the best game was to be found; while the Indian women taught the wives of the English how to make bread of maize. Harvey, unlike those whom he governed, was favourably disposed towards the new colony; and for awhile the settlers of Maryland were fed by supplies sent to them from James Town. They were thus spared the sufferings that had fallen to the share of other colonists, and the plantation flourished with a rapidity which singularly contrasted with the slow and painful growth of Virginia.

In two years from the first arrival of the colonists, Lord Baltimore had expended upwards of £40,000 in prosecution of the undertaking. In less than a year, a popular assembly was convened, and one of the subjects it had to consider was the claim of William Clayborne to a part of the territory which the King had made over to Lord Baltimore. Clayborne had already represented to the Council of Virginia that his rights were being invaded by Leonard Calvert, and the Council had replied that they would maintain the privileges of the colony while the claims of Lord Baltimore were still being disputed in England. In the result, it was decided by the Commissioners for the Plantations that the King was entitled to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland on whomsoever he pleased. This may have been legal, so far as it can be said that there was any law at all in a matter resting on arbitrary power; but it certainly involved a great injustice to the Virginians in general, and to Clayborne in particular. At the dissolution of the London Company, the Virginians naturally relied on their former possessions being left intact. Clayborne had received a Royal licence from Charles, empowering him to settle in the territories near Chesapeake Bay, which he was the first to discover. Furthermore, the Privy Council had stated, on the

* "English Colonisation of America."

22nd of July, 1634, that it was not intended that the interests which had been acquired by the Virginians, when the colony belonged to a company, should be injured. It was therefore a serious hardship to Clayborne when, in 1639, his claims were set aside. Previous to that decision, a deplorable event had occurred. In the spring of 1635, Clayborne sent a pinnace to trade with the Indians near his plantation at Accomac, which was within the territory claimed by Lord Baltimore. The vessel was seized. Clayborne despatched another to recover the first, and a fight occurred between the second ship and one belonging to the Marylanders. Two of Clayborne's men were killed, and a sailor on the opposite side shared the same fate. This was the affair which led to the arrest of Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, who was suspected of acting secretly on behalf of Leonard Calvert. The King's decision was in favour of Harvey, and in 1636 he returned to Virginia. In the discussions preceding this judgment, it came out that public mass was celebrated in Maryland, in defiance of the laws of England and of the charter of the province. Such a result might have been anticipated, and it would be idle and ungenerous to blame the Calverts for acting as they did. They of course desired that those of their followers who agreed with them in religion should have the benefit of all Catholic observances, and they hoped, by these alluring ceremonials, to gain converts to the Romish creed. Yet their proceedings were none the less illegal—none the less a violation of the charter under which their colony was formed.

The position of the Calverts towards the plantation is not very clear. Regarded from some points of view, it seems to be that of far-sighted and liberal statesmen, with ideas beyond the age in which they lived; but a consideration of the whole body of facts gives an impression much less favourable. It has been shown that to Maryland was granted, excepting in the matter of religion, an almost entire independence of the mother-country. Lord Baltimore was likewise invested with the power of creating a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation. It seems to have been his design to erect in America a great Roman Catholic power, with a territorial nobility, perhaps in time supporting a local throne. He was certainly ambitious and grasping. In 1637, he sent a letter to the Secretary of the Privy Council, suggesting a way of advancing the King's service in Virginia. This proposition, as it appears from a memorial in file, was to increase the revenues from Virginia by £8,000, on condition that he was made Governor of that colony, with a salary of £2,000 a year.* The proposal was not agreed to; but Jerome Hawley, one of the Councillors of Maryland, had already been appointed by the King Treasurer of Virginia, with instructions to examine all land-patents, and demand thereupon a yearly rental for the Crown. This post he held while retaining his former connection with Maryland; so that Lord Baltimore had now two of his own partisans at the head of affairs in Virginia.

The conduct of Leonard Calvert in the new settlement was equally suspicious. He proposed to a thin assembly of delegates, in January, 1638, that the laws which had been prepared in England by his brother, Lord Baltimore, should be assented to after a first reading. This, however, was refused by a considerable majority, on the ground of so few members being present. After an adjournment to the following month, the delegates resolved that all proposed laws should be read three times on three several days before the vote should be taken; and they expressed a wish that all bills might emanate from a committee of their own choice. The Governor was visibly annoyed at this spirit of independence. He protested that he would be accountable to no man, and adjourned the Assembly. It was evidently not intended by the Calverts that the government of the colony should be on a popular basis. The people, however, were little inclined to vote simply as they were told. They rejected the code which Leonard Calvert submitted to them, and brought forward another instead. He in his turn refused to accept what the Legislative Body proposed, and the infant community remained for some time without a definite system of laws. In a subsequent Assembly, held in 1639, the representatives of the people emphatically asserted their rights. While acknowledging their allegiance to the English Crown, and fully admitting the prerogatives of Lord Baltimore, they affirmed on behalf of the inhabitants of Maryland all the liberties which an Englishman could enjoy at home, pronounced in favour of a system of representative government, and claimed for the Assemblies of the province all such powers as might be exercised by the Commons of England. The constitution was afterwards formed on the basis of an Upper and a Lower House, the members of the first of which were called by special writ, while those of the second were chosen by the hundreds.

It is said that in the oath taken by the Governor of Maryland occurred the words: "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest

* Neill.

any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." Under protection of this promise, not merely Roman Catholics, but various Protestant dissenters from the Church of England, found a refuge in Maryland. It may seem strange that, in an age remarkable for intolerance, the principle of toleration should have been affirmed and carried out by a Papistical ruler; but the reason is not difficult to discover. There is nothing unusual in Roman Catholics demanding liberty of conscience when they themselves suffer or dread persecution. The Calverts were glad to build up in the wilderness a place of rest for the persecuted of their own faith, and, being weak, numerically and in all respects, they found it convenient to extend to others the freedom they required for themselves.

The early colonisers of Maryland were for the most part Protestants, and in their first Legislative Assembly they expressed adhesion to the doctrines of the Church of England. But there were some Jesuit priests among them, and these emissaries, finding that they could do little with the Indians, who exhibited a hostile front, turned their attention towards the Protestant settlers, and made numerous conversions. The matter at length attracted the attention of the English Parliament, and on the 1st of December, 1641, the House of Commons presented a remonstrance to the King at Hampton Court, in the course of which they complained that his Majesty had permitted another State to be moulded within the English State—a political organisation "independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of religion, and clearly uniting themselves against such." In October of the following year, Lord Baltimore wrote to the Jesuit Fathers in Maryland, checking their zeal, and reminding them that they must conform to the laws of England. The receipt of this communication greatly depressed the spirits of Father White, one of Lord Baltimore's priestly agents in the propagation of the faith. With sadness of heart he wrote in his journal:—"Occasion of suffering has not been wanting from those from whom rather it was proper to expect aid and protection, who, too intent upon their own affairs, have not feared to violate the immunities of the Church." The sorrow and gentle indignation of this zealous priest were certainly not at all unnatural, nor, from his point of view, in the slightest degree blameable. It is evident that Lord Baltimore was more fearful lest his property should be taken from him, than solicitous for the advancement of his Church.

During the civil war between Charles and the Parliament, disturbances occurred in Maryland. A party in favour of the English Roundheads gained temporary possession of the Government, and Leonard Calvert was driven into exile. While the revolutionists were in power, they arrested Father White, who belonged to the Jesuit Order, and sent him to England, where, in 1645, he was tried, and found guilty of teaching doctrines contrary to the statutes of the realm. Very little can be said for the republican sympathisers in Maryland. They appear to have acted with violence and bitter partisanship, and the majority of the colonists were doubtless glad when the more easy rule of Calvert was restored. This gentleman died in 1647, very shortly after his resumption of power; and in 1648 Lord Baltimore, who found it politic to ingratiate himself with the anti-Papal party, now triumphant in England, placed a Protestant and Parliamentarian, named William Stone, of Virginia, in the position of Governor of Maryland. Between two and three years before, the Committee on Plantations in the House of Lords had reported that it would be very proper that the government of Maryland should be settled in Protestant hands by order of Parliament. This feeling doubtless increased in force in subsequent years, and Baltimore probably thought it advisable to anticipate the action of the State. In 1649, the celebrated ordinance of toleration was sent out to the colony by its proprietor; but this act also had been anticipated, two years before, by a law of a similar nature passed by the English House of Commons.

The document transmitted to Maryland by Lord Baltimore was remarkable as much for what it forbade as for what it allowed. It provided that any one who denied the Trinity should be punished with death and confiscation of goods. It declared that Sabbath-breakers, and those who profaned the Lord's Day by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or uncivil and disorderly recreations, should be fined, and for the third offence publicly whipped. And it prohibited the use of any reproachful words concerning the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, or the Evangelists, and the calling of any one in a reproachful way heretic, schismatic, idolater, Presbyterian, Independent, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jesuited Priest, Lutheran, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or any other name of an insulting character. Some of these provisions were unexceptionally good; but to make denial of the Trinity a capital offence was a singular feature in an ordinance of toleration. The principles thus set forth were adopted by the Maryland Assembly in a statute, the preamble to which stated

that "the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised." Therefore, "for the more quiet and peaceable government" of the province of Maryland, "and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants," liberty of conscience was ensured to all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ. This was much; but it was far from being a complete assertion of the great principle of intellectual freedom. The rights of conscience were extended only to Christians, and not even to all of those, since the clause against denying the Trinity would, if strictly interpreted, have handed over to the executioner all who followed Unitarian views. Persons not professing Christianity were still more likely to suffer. A Jew would have had no title to practise his religion in Maryland under the Act of Toleration. A Theist or an Atheist would have shared the fate of Servetus or Giordano Bruno.

Religious toleration is a principle which cannot be expected to grow to full maturity at once; but it must be admitted that a good deal was secured by the Maryland ordinance. Members of the Church of England excluded from Massachusetts, and Puritans expelled from Virginia, alike found refuge in this intermediate province. Yet to this state of things there were very considerable and serious exceptions. The Quakers were persecuted in Maryland as badly as in Virginia and Massachusetts. In 1658, Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston, preachers belonging to that body, were treated by the Maryland authorities with great severity, and compelled to flee the country. They made their way to the north, and lived for some time in the forests on berries and chestnuts, receiving, as they afterwards declared, more kindness and mercy from the heathen savages of the wilderness than from their fellow Christians. On the whole, however, the colony prospered and was happy, and the Assembly placed upon its records an expression of gratitude to Lord Baltimore, that posterity might know what he had done for the peace and well-being of the infant State. But this did not prevent the Government of the Commonwealth from asserting its authority over the settlement. The Commissioners who, in 1651, were appointed to conduct negotiations with the colonies, and amongst whom was Clayborne, confirmed Stone in his place as Governor of Maryland, on his promising submission to the Parliament. Lord Baltimore afterwards wrote to the English Government, deprecating any reuniting of Maryland to Virginia, and contrasting the Royalist tendencies of the latter plantation with the readiness of Maryland and New England to obey the Commonwealth. Considering that this nobleman owed his American possessions to Charles I., his eagerness to stand well with that monarch's deadly enemies was not very creditable. Nor was the alleged fact strictly true. A great deal of disaffection existed in Maryland, and Governor Stone, under instructions from Lord Baltimore, issued an order that no persons should hold lands who did not take the oath of fidelity to the proprietor. In other respects, Stone exhibited a spirit of insubordination to the home authorities, and, after the proclamation of Oliver Cromwell as Protector, at the close of 1653, endeavoured to set up an independent Government in the interests of Baltimore. A state of civil war ensued; severe fighting took place; and finally the popular party prevailed. It is painful to be obliged to add that the Puritans, when they had gained the upper hand, persecuted and disfranchised the Romanists; but it should not be forgotten that Cromwell disapproved of the decree by which this intolerance was enforced. A disturbed state of affairs continued for some time. Lord Baltimore commissioned one Josias Fendall to act as his representative; and a part of the colony gave its allegiance to him, while another remained true to the Commonwealth men. On the accession of Charles II., in 1660, the representatives of Maryland met in a private house, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province, and refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an Upper House. Their next act was to make it felony to disturb the order which they had established; and in a little while the authority of the King was recognised, and peace returned to the colony.

The second Lord Baltimore died on the 19th of November, 1675, at an advanced age. He was in some respects a man of liberal ideas for the seventeenth century; yet nothing was stronger in him than a regard for his own interests. His allegiance shifted from one side to the other with the airy facility of the Vicar of Bray, or of Dryden and Waller in their poetic eulogies; and if he loved toleration much, he loved his revenues more. The last we hear of him previous to the restoration of Charles II. is in connection with an order of the Council of State directing his arrest, and that of his associates, on a charge of coining and exporting large sums of money.



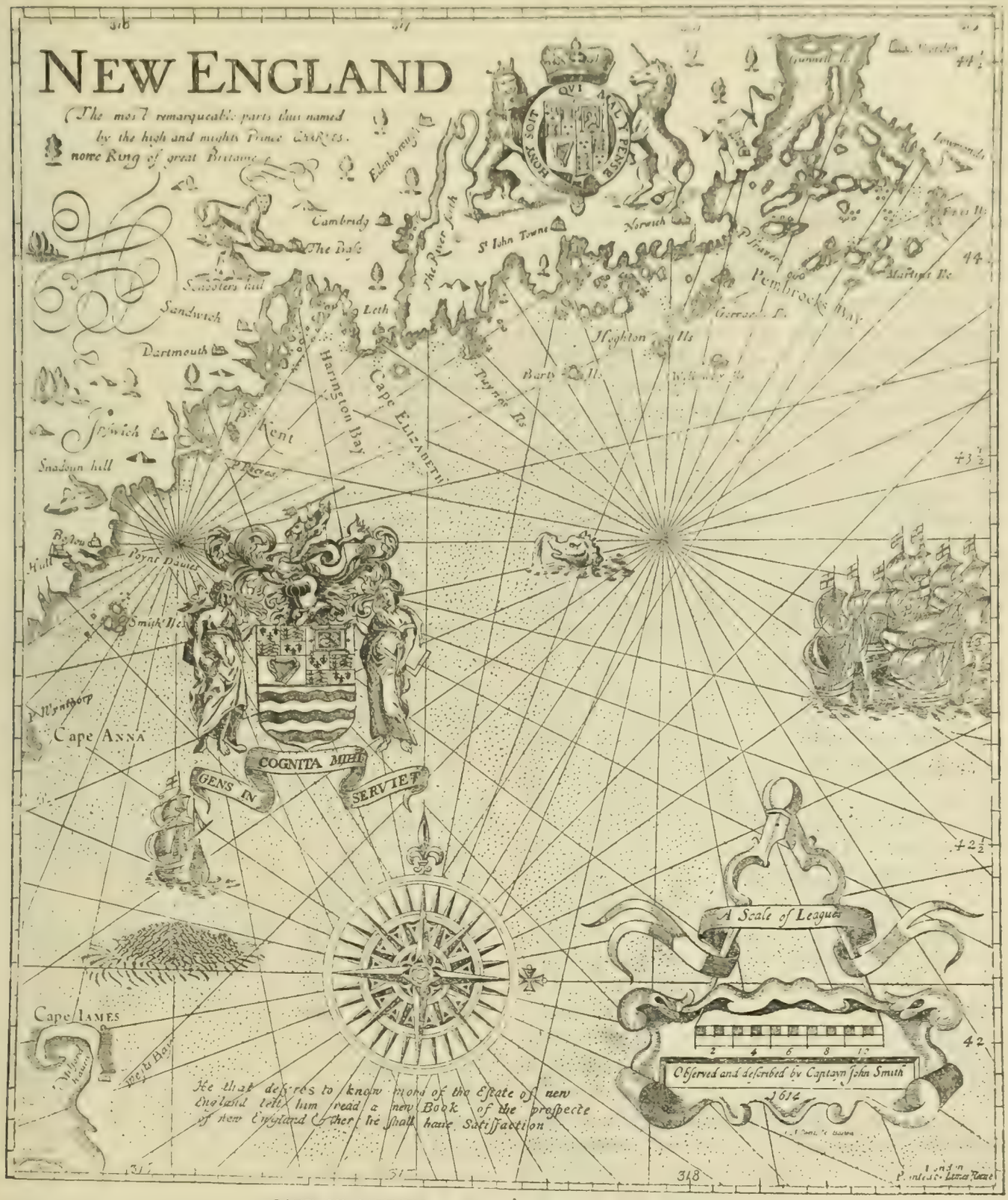
PART OF CAPTAIN J. SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND.
(From "Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere.")

CHAPTER X.

Projects of the Plymouth Company for colonising North Virginia—Failures and Disappointments—Survey of the Country by Captain John Smith—The Territory re-designated New England—Labours, Sacrifices, and Death of Smith—Granting of a New Patent by King James—The Puritans—Their Origin to be found in the Defective Character of the Reformation—Principles of the extreme Protestant Party—Inclination of Queen Elizabeth towards a Romanising Policy—The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity—The Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs—Formation of Dissenting Bodies—The Brownists—Tyrannical Act against Nonconformity in Religion—Spread of Puritanism—Persecution of the Dissenters by James I.—Colony of English Puritans settled at Leyden, in Holland—General Character of the Nonconformists in the Seventeenth Century—Desire of the Leyden Puritans to settle in America—Parting Words of Pastor Robinson—Sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers in the *Mayflower*.

As Virginia was the result of a Church of England movement, and Maryland of a desire on the part of Roman Catholics to secure to themselves a territory in which they might be free to practise the rites of their religion, so were the New England States the children of Protestant Dissent. The advancement of religious nonconformity, however, formed no portion of the original design as regarded those colonies. In the first instance, nothing more was intended than the foundation of a new settlement, and the prosecution of a lucrative trade: the infusion of a Puritan element into the undertaking

was a consequence of after events. The grant of lands in America made by James I. in 1606 was shared between two companies. The southern half was that which, as we have seen, was colonised by the London Company; the northern division fell to the lot of various gentlemen belonging to the West of England, whose head-quarters were at Plymouth. The whole country at that time went by the designation of Virginia, and the two portions were at first distinguished in name by their geographical positions. To the exertions of Sir John Popham (Chief Justice of England), and of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the earliest attempts at colonising North Virginia were due. Gorges had taken into his house three Indians who had been brought from America, and from whom (after he had instructed them in



PART OF CAPTAIN J. SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND.

the English language) he received such glowing accounts of their native land that he resolved to turn his thoughts in that direction. The first vessel fitted out by the western adventurers left England in 1606, but was seized by the Spaniards, who claimed an exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the New World — a preposterous claim, capriciously advanced, and in this instance enforced with the violence of a free-booter. Another vessel, despatched about the same time, was more fortunate, and the voyagers, on their return, gave such satisfactory reports of the country that many persons were induced to join the undertaking. Three more ships were sent in 1607, and it is said that the emigrants included some convicts taken out of the prisons. The party landed near the mouth of the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, in the present State of Maine, and set to work building cabins, storehouses, and rude fortifications. The attempt, however, was doomed to failure, like so many other endeavours in the way of colonisation. Winter set in; the weather was terribly inclement; various misfortunes befel the little community; and in the early part of 1608 they determined to abandon the spot. It was considered that this desertion evinced a cowardly and contemptible spirit; and the feeling of mortification increased when it became known that the French had about the same time succeeded in establishing a colony in a still more northern locality, near what is now the city of Quebec.

No further attempts at colonisation were made for about six years, though English vessels visited the coast of Massachusetts for traffic with the Indians, and once, if not oftener, wintered in the desert. Sir John Popham was now dead, but his son, Sir Francis Popham, showed great interest in the enterprise, and, though it was considered by many that the country was too cold to be inhabited by Englishmen, he continued to send out vessels, but found all fruitless. Gorges, too, clung to the hope of effecting something, but was doomed to frequent disappointment. The man who gave a fresh impulse to North Virginian enterprise was Captain John Smith. In 1614, after an absence from America of five years, he started for the west in command of two ships, fitted out by four London merchants and himself. It was not proposed to make a settlement at that time; but Smith, while the merchants were effecting their exchanges, examined the shores from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and prepared a map of the coast. On returning home, he had an interview with the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles I.), and obtained his sanction for calling the country New England, and changing the native names of places into such English designations as Boston, Plymouth, Oxford, Cambridge, Falmouth, Bristol, Hull, &c.; though, of these names, only Plymouth is still attached to the locality with which Smith associated it. Early in the following year, this energetic explorer made an attempt to establish a colony, but was driven back by the violence of the weather. In June, 1615, he again sailed on the same enterprise; but his crew proved mutinous, and he at length fell into the hands of French pirates, from whose custody he ultimately escaped on a dark night in an open boat, which drifted towards the French coast. Returning to England, he exerted himself to create amongst the gentry and merchants of the western counties a feeling of interest in the prospects of American colonisation. In this he succeeded so well that vast plans began to be entertained, and Smith was appointed Admiral of New England for life. He does not seem, however, to have done much after this date in the promotion of American colonisation; and in 1623, in "a brief relation" written by him to the Royal Commissioners for the reformation of Virginia, we find him complaining that his undertakings in the New World had been, pecuniarily, a failure. Having, he states, warned all persons concerned of the disasters that would overtake the plantations if they were not better governed, and finding his advice disregarded, he had abandoned colonial enterprise, rather than risk more money on such uncertain issues, as he had already spent about a thousand pounds on Virginia and New England. "In neither of those two countries," he adds, "have I one foot of land, nor the very house I builded, nor the ground I digged with my own hands, nor ever any content or satisfaction at all, though I see ordinarily those two countries shared before me by them that neither have them nor know them but by my descriptions." Smith seems to have been a man of a somewhat quarrelsome disposition, with a high opinion of his own powers; but he is undoubtedly the chief hero of early Anglo-American adventure. He died June 21st, 1631, and was buried in the church of St. Sepulchre, London.

The designs of the Plymouth Company were vigorously opposed by the London Association, which dreaded a rival. Nevertheless, King James, in the year 1620, granted to the former body a new patent, with enlarged powers. The adventurers were forty in number, and included members of the Royal household and of the Government, as well as some of the most influential of the nobility. The territory conferred upon this Company extended in breadth from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and in length from the Atlantic to the Pacific; comprising, as Mr.

Bancroft explains it, nearly all that portion of the continent which is now known as British America, all New England and New York (according to the modern divisions and designations), half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of those States: a domain of more than a million square miles, capable of supporting far more than two hundred millions of inhabitants. This enormous region was made over to the patentees as an absolute property, and the Company was invested with unlimited jurisdiction, with the sole powers of legislation, and with the right of appointing all officers, and of settling all forms of government. The land and its adjacent islands, the rivers, the harbours, the mines, and the fisheries were bestowed without reservation on the proprietors. The rights of traffic, navigation, and colonising were at the disposal of the Plymouth Council; and the emigrants were to be governed, without any voice of their own, by the corporation in England.* The provisions of this patent were afterwards further enforced by a Royal proclamation; but the validity of the grant was questioned by the House of Commons, and the French asserted their own right to a portion of the lands thus bestowed by the British monarch. Neither circumstance, however, influenced the event. The English colonisation of North America was destined to succeed, and to produce results of the utmost importance to the human race. But the real colonisation of the New England States was reserved for the despised and persecuted sect of the Puritans.

No religious body has had a greater influence on modern English history than that to which (though by way of nickname, given by its enemies) the term Puritan was applied, from its members professing to restore the pure doctrines of Christianity. It was the child of the Reformation, though a child not born until some years after the Protestant movement had begun. The last thing which Henry VIII. desired to establish was liberty of conscience; and some of the greatest leaders of the revolt against Rome were far from recognising in its fulness the freedom of the intellect from clerical dictation. The Church of England took the place of the Church of Italy. Men were still to obey their spiritual pastors and masters. The King was to be the motive force of the ecclesiastical body, as the Pope had been before; very little was to be altered in point of dogma; and all matters of belief were to be humbly received by the laity, as principles which it was beyond their competence to estimate or judge. But, the emancipation of the European mind having once commenced, it was not in the power of any sovereign on earth to set bounds to its action, or measure the strength of its ever increasing impulse. The distinctly Protestant character of the Church of England was developed under Edward VI. to an extent which would have angered or alarmed the youthful monarch's father. A Calvinistical party arose, and the mere denial of Pontifical supremacy was held to be insufficient. The followers of Cranmer were in favour of retaining some of the old doctrines and several of the old observances of Rome; but a sterner and more vehement set of thinkers insisted on tearing off from the new Church every rag of Papacy. These were the first Puritans—a body within the Established Church, yet dissenting from much which the chief leaders of the Anglican community thought desirable, or at least expedient. In the opinion of the extreme reformers, nothing should be admitted which could not be justified by the Bible. Everything which could only appeal to tradition for its warrant was valueless, or even pernicious. They denied the apostolic succession of bishops; they refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the King in matters of faith—in this respect agreeing with the Catholics, though for very different reasons; they asserted that all ministers of the Gospel were equal, and that none possessed any authority which was not immediately derivable from the Scriptures. Wherever any number of Christians, however small, assembled for religious exercises, there, they contended, a perfect church existed, and the community so formed might rightfully proceed to appoint its own ministers and frame its own rules of government, without any interference on the part of either ecclesiastical or lay authorities. In the fervour of their zeal, they quarrelled with external observances which to others seemed indifferent or trivial. The wearing of a surplice and a square cap was Popish, and was denounced with almost as much acrimony as the worship of images or the granting of absolution. Hooper was the head of this party, and such was his objection to the episcopal dress that, when appointed Bishop of Gloucester, he for a long while refused to wear it, and suffered imprisonment for some months rather than yield.

Under the rule of the Papist, Mary, both parties in the Church of England suffered equally: Cranmer and Hooper were alike burnt at the stake as heretics in the eyes of Rome. Elizabeth, when she restored Protestantism, favoured those of the reformers who had most affinity with the old faith of western Christendom; and the Puritanical section (many of

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 8.

whom, in the preceding reign, had sought refuge in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, where the most pronounced forms of Protestantism prevailed) became more confirmed in their opposition to the views of sacerdotalism. Early in 1559, a few months after the accession of the Queen, the supremacy of the Crown in matters of religion was again established by law, and the Act of Uniformity was passed, in the vain hope of preventing dissensions. This act forbade, under severe penalties, the performance of divine worship except as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and empowered the Queen and her Commissioners to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rights as might be considered decent and edifying. By a clause in the Supremacy Act, a tribunal was established, called the Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs; and to this court were confided powers as arbitrary as those of the dreaded Star Chamber. The Commissioners (consisting partly of laymen and partly of ecclesiastics) were directed to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority might be lawfully ordered or corrected. Any three out of the forty-four Commissioners formed a quorum, and from their decisions there was no appeal. They proceeded, not by the statute law of the realm, but by the canon law. They were authorised to conduct their inquiries by "all means and ways which they could devise." They might act, not merely on sworn information and the testimony of witnesses, but on rumour and suspicion. They could bring a suspected person before them, administer to him an oath, and compel him to criminate himself, on pain of being sent to prison if he refused to swear. They were permitted to use the rack and other forms of torture; indeed, their power was so great that it was said to exceed that of the Spanish Inquisition itself.

It was not until 1565 that the Act of Uniformity began to be rigidly enforced; and it then became apparent that the Church was split into two wholly irreconcilable sections. In 1567, about thirty ministers of London refused submission to the Act; a separate congregation was set on foot, and from that hour Nonconformity commenced. The persecution of Protestants by Protestants began at the same time. Many of the Puritan clergy were deprived of their benefices, imprisoned, and fined. The Court of High Commission exercised its exceptional powers with vigour, and the Queen amply fulfilled her promise to the Archbishop of Canterbury that she would suffer no man to diverge either to the left hand or the right. But the breach between the High and Low Church parties was widened by the very efforts to close it up.

As the reign of Elizabeth advanced, the nonconforming bodies gathered strength. At first, the more moderate of the Puritans desired rather to reform than to destroy or even leave the established communion; but the violent section, headed by one Robert Brown, denounced the Church of England as corrupt in its very nature, and fit only to be rooted out. So severe was the persecution of this sectary's followers that two men were hanged for distributing a tract by him. Brown was a fanatic of the purest water, as well as a man of domineering and irritable temper. After officiating for some time as a clergyman of the Church of England, he seceded, about 1571, on the question of uniformity, and established the Independent body. Some ten years later, at the head of fifty or sixty others, he settled at Middelburg, in Zealand, but in three months quarrelled with his associates, and went to Scotland. There, owing to the arrogance of his disposition, he again got into trouble, and returned to England, where he was excommunicated. In 1589 he rejoined the Church, and remained in its ministry to the end of a long life. But the Nonconformist movement, of which he had been one of the chief agents, continued to increase. Puritanism more and more detached itself from the Church, and assumed a distinct position, or rather many distinct positions, for the sects were numerous. On the other hand, the State, in alliance with the Church, persecuted the obstinate Dissenters with an equally obstinate cruelty. In 1593, Parliament passed an Act declaring that all persons above sixteen years of age who should absent themselves for one month from the parish church should first be fined and imprisoned, and afterwards, in case of continued disobedience, be banished the kingdom, their return to which without a licence entailed on them the death of felons. This atrocious statute was levelled equally against the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists. It was dictated by the absurd belief that the religious ideas of men can be arbitrarily forced into a predetermined channel; that that which depends on sentiment, conviction, and conscience (all of which are antecedent to authority, and in fact create what they afterwards obey) can be manufactured by Act of Parliament; that faith can be made by law, or, at the least, uniformity be enforced by terror. The only logical ground of opposition to the Church of Rome is the religious freedom of the individual; yet Elizabeth and her counsellors preferred to take their stand on the principle of infallibility, in

regard to which they were poor rivals to the ancient and historic Church which issues its edicts from the Vatican.

Puritanism was rather strengthened than checked by the ferocity of the Queen's attempts to trample it out. Many of the Nonconformists took refuge at Amsterdam, but others remained in England, and spread their principles widely amongst the humbler orders. Two were hanged at Tyburn, under the detestable law of 1593; but the Puritans were not intimidated. Elizabeth afterwards regretted that she had permitted these executions; yet, in acting as she did, she was merely carrying out a principle which she had long before laid down. In a speech delivered by her at the close of Parliament in the year 1585, she alluded to the schisms and heretical errors which had crept into the Church, and told the clergy that she would depose them if they looked not well to their charges; adding, "I see many overbold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of his blessed will. The presumption is so great that I may not suffer it." It was a hopeless struggle, and, in the latter years of her life, Elizabeth to some extent relaxed the rigour of her policy. During the whole of her reign, Puritanism, though subjected to fierce persecution, was an important power in the Church and in the nation. At the first convocation of the English clergy, held in 1561, a motion to do away with the ceremonies to which the extreme reformers objected was defeated by a bare majority of one. The Puritans were largely represented in the House of Commons; in the poorer classes of society their teaching was generally received and fondly cherished; and Sir Walter Raleigh told his fellow-members in 1580 that he believed the Brownists alone numbered nearly twenty thousand. When Elizabeth died, in 1603, the whole Nonconformist body must have reckoned many more. The Puritans themselves, as early as 1585, spoke of being a hundred thousand strong; but this may have been an exaggeration.

It was hoped by the Dissenters that the rule of James would be more favourable to them than that of Elizabeth had been; but the event soon showed they were mistaken. The King, it is true, had been brought up as a Calvinist in a Calvinistical country; but on removing to England he found the High Church party so favourable to his kingly pretensions that he supported their views, and sharply discouraged all forms of dissent. In answer to a petition from the Puritans for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances, he appointed a conference at Hampton Court, being probably glad of an opportunity for displaying those powers as a controversialist on which he greatly prided himself. The conference took place on the 14th, 16th and 18th of January, 1604. It is ill arguing with a sovereign, who can at any moment silence an awkward opponent by the voice of authority. James asserted his pretensions after as lofty a fashion as Henry VIII. or Queen Elizabeth. He vowed that he would have but "one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and in ceremony." He denied the Puritans the right of occasional assembly and the liberty of free discussions, and he plainly told them that he would make them conform, or harry them out of the land, or else worse; which, in a spirit of vulgar jesting, he afterwards explained by the words—"only hang them; that's all."* Further conference led to no better result, and the Puritans must have left with the darkest forebodings. The clergy complimented the King on his marvellous learning, penetration, and skill, and the King glowed with self-congratulation and vanity. He perhaps recollected that Knox had been one of the chief opponents of his mother, and rejoiced that he had ridden so roughly over those who held the theological opinions of that reformer.

James was as good as his word. He persecuted the Puritans with the utmost severity, and at the same time evinced a strong desire to come to terms with the Romanists. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, on the 19th of March, 1604, he said:—"I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ." He spoke of ameliorating the laws against the Catholics, and expressed a wish to meet them half way, and to effect a general Christian union, which he thought might be done, if the Papists would lay aside their claim to Pontifical supremacy, and cleanse their communion of such errors as had arisen in the course of time. In the same speech he alluded to the Puritans as "a sect rather than a religion"—a body "unable to be suffered in any well-governed commonwealth;" so that his friendliness towards the Catholics proceeded from no general love of toleration (though he disavowed any desire to restrict the minds of his people to his own private opinions), but rather from a hatred of those principles of individual freedom in matters of religion which the Nonconformists favoured. Speaking to the same effect in the following session of Parliament, immediately after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, he still

* Such is the account given in Barlow's "Sum and Substance of the Conference at Hampton Court," cited in his History by Mr. Bancroft, who refers to another report still more disgraceful to James.



PURITANS BEFORE JAMES I.

gave the Catholics, as a body, credit for being good and loyal subjects, while he denounced the Puritans as "worthy of fire" for not allowing salvation to any Papist—a strange piece of intolerance in the rebuking of intolerance. Yet, with the double dealing common to all weak natures, he had assured his Council in 1604 that he had no intention of granting toleration to the Catholics, and that he would strengthen the laws against them, and put those laws in force with the utmost rigour.



BREWSTER'S HOUSE AT SCROOBY, NOTTS.

The animosity of the King to the dissenting body was fully shared by the heads of the Church of England. They imprisoned the Puritan ministers, or drove them into exile. They flattered the absolutist ideas of the monarch with disgraceful subserviency. They asserted his superiority to Parliament and the law, and preached up the doctrine of passive obedience on the part of the people, as though it had been a new Gospel. But the Puritans were neither convinced nor intimidated. In private houses and secret spots they continued to hold their religious services, and their numbers multiplied with every fresh effort to crush them.

One of the leaders of the party at that time was an eloquent minister named John Robinson; another was William Brewster, a member of a Nottinghamshire family connected with Virginian emigration. Under the guidance of these devotees, several Independents resolved, in 1607, to settle in Holland, where, for about a quarter of a century, small colonies of English Dissenters had been established under protection of the equal laws passed by the Dutch Republic. The attempt to leave England was prevented by the authorities; for the pleasure of persecution was too great to be relinquished. In 1608 another attempt was made, and successfully, though only after much difficulty. The intending emigrants gathered on a lonely heath in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, and put off in a boat towards the ship, which lay not far distant. But before some of the women and children could leave the shore, they were seized by a company of horsemen who suddenly appeared in pursuit. The male emigrants, however, having got away, and it being no easy matter to deal with the women and children, they were released, and an English religious community was formed at Amsterdam. The situation of these poor fugitives was forlorn in the extreme. They knew nothing of the Dutch language; the manners of the people were strange to them; under every disadvantage they had to find work for their support; and it was not long before poverty, in the words

of one of their number, came upon them like an armed man, from whom they could not fly. The brotherhood soon after removed to Leyden, where, in the pursuit of their secular callings, they became prosperous, and acquired a great reputation for holiness. None the less it was a fact of ill omen to England, as the course of events afterwards showed, that these men were, for no crime or misdemeanour, thus driven from their homes. "Let the astrologer," said Milton, in a noble burst of indignation, "be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes of states: I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us!) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country."*

In the meanwhile, the Puritans remaining in England patiently endured the cruel sufferings which arbitrary power imposed on them. These persecutions increased under the reign of Charles I., owing mainly to the evil promptings of that mitred fanatic, Archbishop Laud, whose object was to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical despotism differing in no essential respect from that of Rome. Doubtless the Puritans were fanatics too, and, in the day of their power, both in England and America, many of them proved as tyrannical as those against whom they had asserted the rights of their own conscience in the day of their weakness. But this will not in any degree excuse the imprisonments, floggings, mutilations, and varied tortures, inflicted on a set of men who at first asked no more than to be allowed to follow their own mode of worship in peace, and who did not resort to rebellion until after three-quarters of a century of insult and oppression. Attempts have been made to show that the Puritans were executed simply for talking treason and breaking the laws;† but, it must be remembered, they talked no treason until they were exasperated by tyranny, and broke no laws but such as were an outrage on the spirit of English jurisprudence. They had begun with moderation; they were goaded by injustice into more extreme forms of dissent. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, they might have been conciliated, and, if not retained within the Church, suffered to exist quietly as independent bodies. They were not Republicans until monarchs and bishops made them so. They vaunted no allegiance to a foreign prince, as the Catholics did; they claimed no right of deposing or assassinating the sovereign; the democratic sentiments of 1649 were unknown when the Court of High Commission was established, and for many years later. These men, in the agonies of torture, and even with the hangman's rope about their necks, prayed God to defend and prosper the Queen and State. A great deal of extravagant doctrine was no doubt put forward; pamphlets may have been issued which would have justified a moderate correction by the law, after a fair and open trial; for the Nonconformists had their errors of judgment and temper, like other men. But the fault lay far more with the allied Church and State than with the poor enthusiasts against whom every engine of remorseless power was brought to bear. The tyranny of Elizabeth and her two successors over all who in any way disagreed with the law-established Church, is hardly to be surpassed in the miserable history of religious persecution.

As might be imagined, the Puritans found their chief supporters among the working and trading classes. The nobles and gentry, for the most part, disliked a system which was opposed to privileged orders, to external pomp, and to the luxury of titled leisure; yet several men of high position, in the first half of the seventeenth century, were either Puritans themselves, or inclined to a liberal treatment of that body. In a certain sense, however, the religious reformers were generally unpopular. They were regarded with distaste wherever there was no great enthusiasm about spiritual affairs. The austerity of their manners; the gloom of many of their opinions; the grotesque extravagance of their costumes, phraseology, and names; the rancour with which they denounced all amusements, and even such harmless observances as Christmas sports and May-day gambols; the bitter disputatiousness of their tongues, and the frequency with which they got into collision with the civil magistrate—all this brought them into evil odour with a great many well-meaning people, who wished nothing more than to live in quiet and cheerfulness, as well as with the profligate and depraved. The poets and dramatists were their sworn enemies, for they were the sworn enemies of the poets and dramatists. Spenser, though known to have been a very decided Protestant, spoke of them as "that ungracious crew which feigns demurest grace." Shakespeare declared that honesty was no Puritan, and laughed at the sour formalist who sang psalms to hornpipes. Ben Jonson frequently burlesqued the malcontents in religion. In a later age, Butler made them the subjects of the longest satirical poem in the lan-

* Of Reformation in England (1641), Book II.

† Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties, and Schools of Religious Thought, edited by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A. (1874).

grange—the witty but one-sided "Hudibras." It was customary to say of them that they were either hypocrites or madmen; and both accusations were partially true. A thorough Puritan—Mrs. Hutchinson—remarks, in the Memoirs of her husband, a Parliamentarian officer, that many of her co-religionists "suffered their zeal to run out into bitter personal hate," and that some were deluded with the idea that they were born to set up Christ's kingdom upon earth. The record of their endless divisions and sub-divisions, their dreary subleties of theological dogma, their sombre warfare against natural and innocent gaiety, their fractiousness, and their intolerance, is a melancholy chapter in the annals of the human race; but to the extent that they were vilely used they must receive our sympathy, and it should never be forgotten that their assertion of the right of the individual to follow what seems good to him in matters of faith, without interference on the part of the State, or of any church whatever, is the groundwork of the perfect toleration which we enjoy to-day—a toleration which has added incalculably to the happiness of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic.

At a later period than that with which we are now concerned, the Nonconformists, and especially the Presbyterians, were corrupted by power. Moreover, many hypocrites joined their ranks out of mere servility and time-serving, and thus added to the discredit of the whole body. But in the reigns of James I. and his son, the religious reformers consisted of three classes—vulgar and embittered fanatics on the one hand, educated gentlemen on the other, and an intermediate body of moderate enthusiasts. The Puritan gentry, though distinguished by a certain gravity of demeanour, and by a hatred of licentiousness, were far from being the gloomy Mawworms of the satiric poet, the caricaturist, and the stage. They dressed with a sober gallantry, which paid some heed to ornament and effect; and they were not insensible to the charms of life. Colonel Hutchinson was a lover of music and the fine arts, formed a collection of paintings, sculptures, and engravings, and caused his children to be taught languages, science, music, and dancing. The Earl of Essex who fought on the side of the Parliament was a man of refined tastes and graceful modes of living. Milton was a poet in his habits no less than in his genius. Oliver Cromwell, in the days of his Protectorate, made Whitehall a scene of elegant culture, such as many monarchs have not equalled; and Whitelock, who represented the Commonwealth at the Court of Queen Christina of Sweden, amused his subordinates, during the long winter nights of that northern land, by music, dancing, disputations in Latin, and declamations upon words.

The English settlers at Leyden were men of a different stamp, and were doubtless characterised by an austere demeanour. But they were enthusiasts rather than fanatics, and by their industry and inoffensive conduct won the regard and respect of the Hollanders. Nevertheless, they felt their isolation in a foreign country, where the language and manners of the people were strange to them. They wished to preserve some connection with their native land; to live once more under the rule of their own sovereign; to hear only the accents of their mother-tongue, and to enjoy the protection of English laws, as far as that might be consistent with religious freedom. They were in truth home-sick, and appear to have actually suffered in health from their long exile. They feared that their children would, as they grew up, lose all knowledge of the English speech, and be merged in the Dutch nationality. Some had already entered into the Dutch army and navy; others, corrupted by bad examples, had fallen into dissolute ways. The emigrants desired, above all things, to preserve their nation and their language. Accordingly they formed a design of settling in Virginia, and in 1617 opened negotiations with the London Company for forming a distinct plantation in some part of the Virginian territory remote from that which was already inhabited. The disturbed and revolutionary state of Holland at that time was probably another reason why the English emigrants sought to shift their quarters; though the perils of a long voyage across the ocean, followed by settlement in a wild land peopled by savages, were not unconsidered. The leading men of the London Company were favourable to their request; the King made some difficulties with regard to religion, but ultimately consented to leave the settlers alone, though the Bishops demurred; and, after a great deal of discussion and delay, the Company, in 1619, granted a large patent. The English colony at Leyden was to be transformed into an English colony of the New World, where the historic life of the race might be continued under fresh conditions.

The emigrants proposed to engage in fishing, which King James, in his fantastic way, approved of, as "an honest trade," and the "Apostles' own calling." With this view, they formed a partnership with certain men of business in London, who undertook to provide them with the capital they lacked, on condition that everything accruing from their services should be thrown into a common stock for seven years, at the end of which period all

profits were to be divided among the shareholders (including the settlers) in proportion to their respective investments. This was an agreement which, like most others of a like nature, was more favourable to the money-lender than to the borrower; but it was accepted, because some assistance was necessary to start the expedition. Even as it was, the emigrants were so straitened in their means that it was only with great difficulty they could make the requisite preparations. For transporting them across the Atlantic, they procured two vessels called the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*. The former, which was of sixty tons burden, was purchased in Holland, and was designed to take in as many of the congregation as were willing to embark; the latter, of a hundred and eighty tons, lay in the Thames, to be freighted with necessaries. These could only accommodate a minority of the English settled at Leyden. The majority, therefore, remained behind, under the guidance of Robinson, while the rest were committed to the care of Brewster, a man of mature years and large experience. After a solemn fast and religious service, Robinson addressed some farewell words to the emigrants, in which he charged them, before God and his angels, to follow him no farther than they had seen him follow Jesus Christ. He bewailed the condition of the reformed churches, which had come to a full stop in religion. Luther and Calvin, he remarked, were great and shining lights in their times; but they had not penetrated into the whole counsel of God. It was an article of their church covenant, which he besought them to remember, that they were to be ready to receive whatever truth should be made known to them from the study of the Bible.

On subsequent days, those who were to leave were feasted by those who stayed behind. Many tears were shed at the unavoidable parting; many psalms were sung; and Edward Winslow, one of the colonists, and afterwards a principal man in the Plymouth plantation, has recorded that these devout songs, skilfully delivered, were the sweetest melody that ever his ears had heard.* The night previous to departure was spent by most rather in leave-taking than in sleep; and many were the expressions of brotherly love and tender farewell that were uttered in those hours of darkness. The *Speedwell* lay at Delft-Haven, where, after prayer had been offered on the shore by the pastor, the emigrants were accompanied to the ships by their faithful fellow-exiles, who were not able to speak for the abundance of their sorrow. Even the Dutch spectators who stood about the quay were powerfully affected as Robinson, kneeling down on the very margin of the water, invoked on them the blessings of God. "But we only, going aboard," says Winslow, "gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

The day on which they quitted Delft-Haven was the 22nd of July, 1620. It was one of those memorable days which must be ranked among the turning-points of history, for it saw the commencement of an enterprise which was to aggrandise the nations of the earth. The material details of the scene were not pre-eminently striking. Of external grandeur there was absolutely nothing. The formal architecture of a Dutch town, the dull hues of a Dutch sky, the vague outlines of an amphibious soil; a sluggish river, a leaden-tinted canal, a crowded wharf; to right and left the lines of weary dykes that flank the wide, dim flats of mead and marsh, of inland sea and oozy stream, that make up Holland; in front, the ordinary business of a commercial quay; a ship that swings at anchor to the lapping wave; a praying figure kneeling on the stones; a group of weeping voyagers parting from old friends and fellow-sufferers as they enter the vessel which is to waft them to a doubtful future and a savage realm —these things make up the picture of that memorable embarkation. But what splendour of Imperial pride, what trappings of the car of state, what pageantry of wealth, what blaze and blare of military power, made manifest on some trivial or immoral occasion, could equal the interest of that scene, wherein the performers were poor and obscure men, but of which the issues have acted with incalculable force on the whole after-development of the English race? The majority of those men were of such humble origin that it is not even known from what towns or villages of England they came. At Leyden they had toiled with their hands for daily bread; in America they were compelled to cut down forests, and build themselves rude huts for shelter against the cold. But they created the most distinctive of the American States; they gave a new application to the old principles of English freedom; their example, in later ages, reacted on the Old World which sent them forth. There are few spots, even on English earth, more interesting from an English point of view than that harbour on the slowly-moving Maas, where Robinson poured forth his soul to God, and Brewster marshalled his Pilgrims for the distant West.

They stayed for awhile at Southampton, where they were joined by the *Mayflower*, and then set

* Brief Narration of the True Grounds or Cause of the First Planting of New England. 1646.

sail for America. Twice they were compelled to put back, on account of the *Speedwell* needing repairs; at length they resolved to dismiss that vessel, and send those who were in it to London. It afterwards came out that the unseaworthiness of the smaller craft had been exaggerated by the master, who repented of the bargain he had made. The *Mayflower*—a name famous in history, and already gathering about it the tender and poetic associations of a noble past—finally left England, on its solitary way, the 6th of September, 1620. Before those adventurous men lay the wide deserts of the ocean, and beyond the ocean lay the deserts of a savage land. But they were sustained by courage, and reliance, and high hope—by the faith which makes light of hardships, and the spirit which can subdue a world. One of the finest of American writers—Oliver Wendell Holmes—has commemorated this great event in a few touching stanzas. After reproducing the words of Robinson, in which he told his followers that their task was not to build by Haarlem Meer, nor on the banks of the Zuyder-Zee, but to bear the Gospel to far-off tribes, and to welcome all new truths that might be drawn from its words, the poet continues:—

"He spake: with lingering, long embrace,
With tears of love and partings fond,
They floated down the creeping Maas,
Along the isle of Ysselmond.

"They pass'd the frowning towers of Briel,
The 'Hook of Holland's' shelf of sand,
And grated soon with lifting keel
The sullen shores of Fatherland.

"No home for these! too well they knew
The mitred king behind the throne;—
The sails were set, the pennons flew,
And westward ho! for worlds unknown.

"—And these were they who gave us birth,
The Pilgrims of the sunset wave,
Who won for us this virgin earth,
And freedom with the soil they gave.

"The pastor slumbers by the Rhine,—
In alien earth the exiles lie,—
Their nameless graves our holiest shrine,
His words our noblest battle-cry.

"Still cry them, and the world shall hear,
Ye dwellers by the storm-swept sea!
Ye *have* not built by Haarlem Meer,
Nor on the land-lock'd Zuyder-Zee!"

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of the Puritan Emigrants at Cape Cod—Compact signed before landing—Dismal Prospect—Explorations on Land—A Dangerous Voyage in the Shallop—Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock—Mortality among the Settlers—Negotiations with the Indians—Creation of Private Property—Ineffectual Attempts at Colonising Massachusetts Bay—Progress of the New Plymouth Colony—Taxation of Fishing Vessels by the Plymouth Company—Debates on the Subject in the English House of Commons—Arbitrary Conduct of James I.—Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Planting of New Hampshire and Maine—Sir William Alexander and Nova Scotia—War with France, and temporary seizure of Canada by the English—Slow Development of the Northern Parts of New England.

SIXTY-FIVE days, rendered especially trying by a good deal of rough weather, and by a scarcity of provisions and other necessaries (poverty having compelled the emigrants to sell some portion of their original stock to raise ready money), were passed by the Pilgrim Fathers at sea, between their final starting from England and their arrival in America. Their intention was to settle in the country near the river Hudson; but they were either driven out of their right course by the violence of the seas, or, as some historians state, though apparently without sufficient proof, were purposely taken northward by the captain, in consequence of his having been bribed by the Dutch, who designed to plant a colony in the very region selected by the English Puritans—a design which they afterwards carried out. The first land descried was Cape Cod: this was in the early morning of the 9th of November, 1620. The vessel anchored in the harbour two days later, and the emigrants, before transacting any other business, considered what kind of government they would establish among themselves, some members of the party having been observed to be not well-inclined to amity. They accordingly drew up the following compact:—

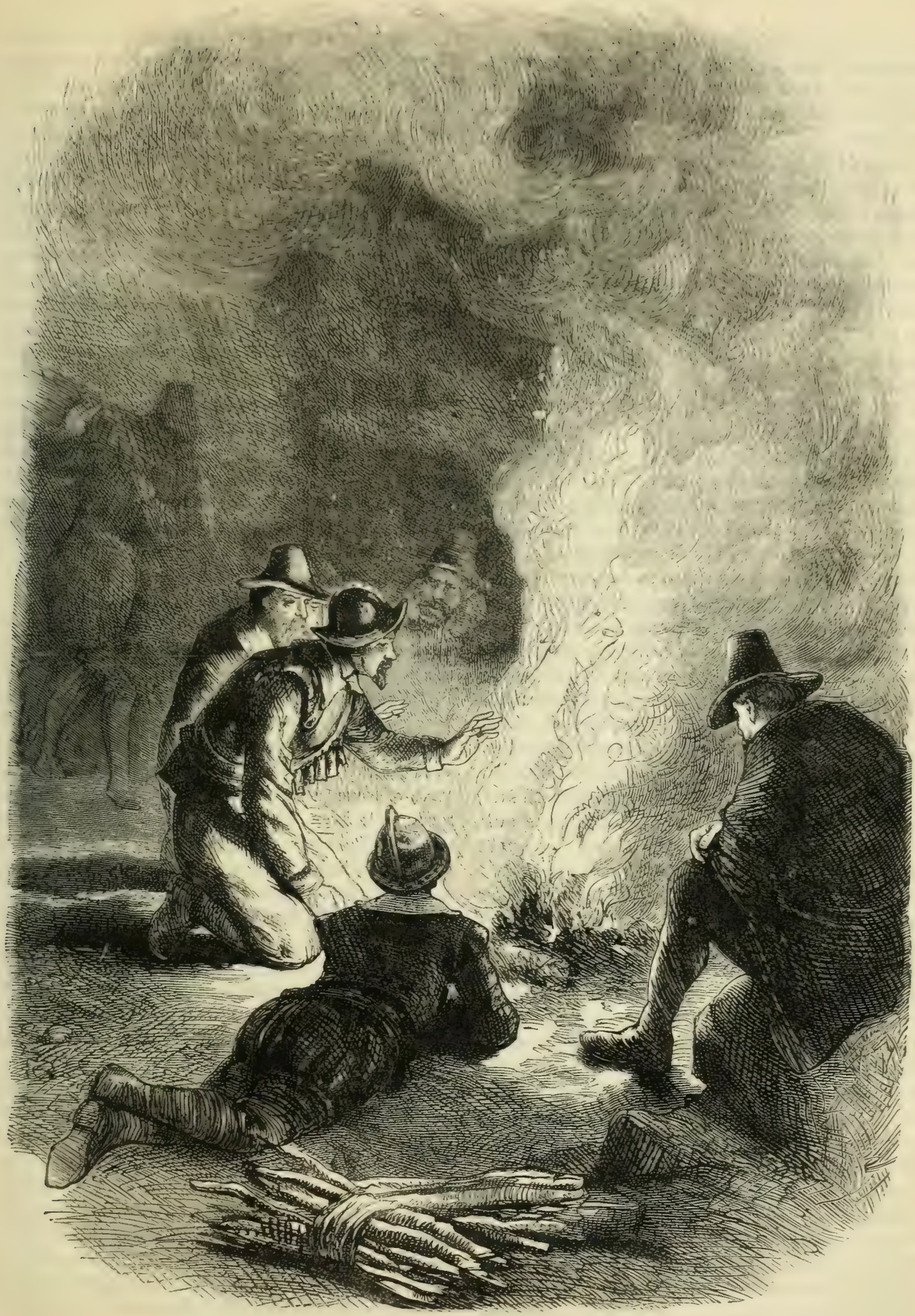
"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid;

and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This document sufficiently proves that, though desirous of freedom, the settlers generally were loyal to the throne and to their native country. The reason for making so formal a declaration was that there had been suggestions on the part of some few for setting up a perfectly independent government. Their patent, it was argued, had been drawn out for territory belonging to the London Company, whereas they were now in the dominions of the Western Company, and might therefore consider themselves free from all authority. It would have been very dangerous, however, to assume such a position; especially as the emigrants, before leaving Holland, had, in order to remove the objections of the King and the Bishops, agreed to a set of seven articles assenting to the confession of faith published in the name of the Church of England, acknowledging the King as "supreme governor in his dominion, for all causes, and over all persons," affirming that it was "lawful for his Majesty to appoint bishops, civil overseers, or officers in authority under him," and otherwise promising peaceable obedience to the existing state.

To the New England compact, which is dated "Cape Cod, November 11th, 1620," were appended forty-one signatures, those of the men forming that little community: the rest of the party consisted of women and young persons. The number has been variously stated at a hundred and twenty, and a hundred and two: it seems probable that it was the latter. On the passage out, there had been one birth and one death; so that the sum-total was the same at landing as at starting. John Carver, one of those who had conducted the original negotiations with the London Company, was unanimously chosen Governor for the year. It was near the middle of November—a period later in the season then than now, owing to the subsequent alteration in the style; and on the eastern shores of America the winters are colder than in corresponding latitudes of western Europe. Nothing, therefore, could exceed the discomforts under which these English people began an enterprise which proved to be the foundation of a great and flourishing community, one of the component parts of the mightiest Republic in the world. They saw before them only a desert land, covered with gloomy forests. Except on board ship, they had no shelter from the storms and inclement air of winter, nor could the roughest cabins be constructed until they had first hewn wood wherewith to make them. There was reason to fear attack if they went on shore; the supply of food was precarious; and the precise spot at which the settlement should be made had not yet been determined.

To add to their misfortunes, the shallop, in which they proposed to cruise along the coast on a voyage of discovery, needed so much repair that it was sixteen or seventeen days before it could be made fit for service. In the meanwhile, an adventurous party undertook to explore the land, though danger was apprehended from savages. Armed with muskets, and protected by steel caps and corselets, some sixteen or twenty men set out on the 15th of November. The place appeared to be almost unpeopled, and the few Indians they saw fled from them in fear. On the following morning they ventured higher up the country, and came to a deserted and ruined house, in which, and in certain heaps of sand hard by, which they dug up, they found baskets of corn, and a great kettle that had evidently belonged to some European ship. The corn they carried away in the kettle, intending to pay the natives at the first opportunity. They also opened a few old graves, but covered them up again, not liking to violate the sepulchres of the dead. On the 17th of November they returned to their comrades, and, towards the end of the month, four-and-twenty men started in the shallop. A few of these were afterwards put on shore, and the explorations continued for some days. The prospect every way was dreary beyond expression. It snowed and blew incessantly. The frost was hard and stern; and the land-explorers were almost exhausted with marching up and down barren hills and solitary valleys buried deep in snow. The white expanse was here and there broken by a deserted wigwam, or by the scattered graves of Indians; but scarcely any human beings were to be seen, and those who were occasionally encountered took to flight, as before. The investigators had a rough task before them. Sometimes tearing their way through tangled woods and thickets, sometimes toiling across large open plains, now climbing hills, and then descending into deep glens, they surveyed a wide extent of country; but all was waste and desolate. They discovered further stores of corn buried in the ground, and in some empty houses found other provisions, together with a few domestic utensils of European manufacture. The graves, however, were more numerous than the habitations of the living; but some of the former, on being opened, were found to contain, besides the remains of bodies, a number of trays,



PILGRIM FATHERS ROUND A WATCH-FIRE.

dishes, and bowls, which the explorers, overcoming their scruples about the sacredness of the tomb, took away with them.* It afterwards appeared that the land had recently been swept by a great pestilence.

All this while the weather was at its worst, and those who remained in the shallop suffered even more severely than those on shore. It was now December. The spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, till their clothes became as stiff as iron. Several deaths from pulmonary disorders which occurred during the winter were partly attributed to the terrible exposure of those days. Two expeditions were made by the shallop, and on the second voyage the explorers reached the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, on the western side of Wellfleet Harbour. On the morning of the 8th of December, the party on shore, who were encamped near the sea, were attacked by several Indians, who, however, were speedily put to flight. Again taking to the boat, the voyagers sailed along the coast for many miles, in search of a harbour which the pilot (who had been in those seas before) said he knew was within reach ere night should once more close in upon them. In the afternoon the weather grew tempestuous, with much snow and rain. The sea ran so high that the rudder was broken off, and it became necessary to steer the boat with oars. As the early twilight of winter came stealing along the waters, a fear fell on those storm-beaten men lest they should not gain the promised harbour by night. They crowded all sail; but the mast broke into three pieces, and the sails went overboard. Fortunately they had the benefit of the flood-tide, on the top of which they struck in towards the shore. The pilot and mate were for running the boat before the wind into a cove full of breakers; but a sailor at the broken helm saw the madness of such a course. "If you are men," he cried, "about with her, else we are all cast away!" They put her about, and in a little time, though it now rained hard and was very dark, got her under a lee-shore, where they disembarked, and passed the night in safety, lighting a fire on the rocks, that they might dry their clothes, and restore warmth to their benumbed frames. With the morning light they perceived that they were on a small island within the mouth of a harbour; to this island they gave the name of the mate (Clark), who was the first man on shore. After two days' rest, the second of which was the Sabbath, they sounded the harbour, which they found well-adapted to shipping. The following day (Monday, December 11th) they proceeded up the country on the mainland, and discovered several corn-fields, intersected by little running brooks. This appeared to them so good a spot for a settlement that they returned to the *Mayflower*, and reported what they had observed to the rest of the company. On the 15th of December, 1620, the ship weighed anchor, and on the 16th arrived in the harbour.* A wild and rocky coast rose from the tumultuous ocean, but rose out of water so shallow that the vessel was obliged to ride at anchor more than a mile from the shore. To land their goods, the emigrants were compelled to wade through the cold wash of the sea; and the chill thus taken by the more delicate was such as to sow the seeds of consumption in frames already ill-calculated to resist the effects of hardship. The place where the wanderers thus settled they called New Plymouth, in memory of the English town they had last quitted after having a second time put back on their outward voyage.

Such was the famous landing from the *Mayflower* on Plymouth Rock. It is probable that the exploring party which went ashore on the mainland, five days earlier, disembarked on the same cliff; but all the popular associations are with the later event, as being the more dramatic of the two. Universal history presents few incidents of greater beauty, if we have regard, not to outward show, but to the tenderness of human affections, and to the whole train of consequences which have sprung from that memorable day. Brewster, the grave Elder of the church,—Bradford, afterwards Governor of the colony,—Winslow, one of its principal founders,—and Miles Standish, the rough but kindly-natured soldier,—are the four most distinctive figures of the group; but the imagination takes in all those forlorn outcasts, and embraces alike the famous and the obscure in the warmth of its sympathy. They had come, at the bidding of their conscience, to found a new community in a savage place; and, had they not been sustained by trust, and reliance, and the passion of great deeds, they might well have recoiled from that to which they had set their hands. For the cloudy heavens, the wintry seas, the dark and frowning land, the inclement air, the utter loneliness and want of shelter of their situation, the vague fear of Indians which must have possessed their hearts, and the doubt whether food itself would be found in the unknown deserts beyond,—all this might have seemed like the very declaration of Nature herself that the enterprise should not

* A very minute, interesting, and picturesque account of these explorations, by one who took part in them, is printed in Purchas, Book X., chap. 4.

* History of New England, by Daniel Neal, 1720.

succeed. Yet the emigrants were steadfast in their purpose. They had sailed across the wide Atlantic to find themselves on a rock, with nothing between them and the skies. But that rock was the birth-place of New England. At the present day it is regarded by the descendants of the colonists with religious veneration; yet this feeling is of comparatively modern birth. In 1741, part of the stone was covered by a wharf which was then built on the spot. By 1775, when the revolutionary war had given an impulse to national feeling, it had become an object of interest; and in an attempt to remove it to the town square it was broken into two pieces. The larger of the fragments, however, was preserved, and in 1834 was set up before Pilgrim Hall, and enclosed within an iron railing.

Upon examination, the country appeared more inviting than it had seemed from the spot on which the settlers had first stepped. The favourable report of the explorers was confirmed in a few days. The harbour was evidently commodious. Large woods, offering a good supply of timber, clothed the rising grounds, and four or five little running brooks gave assurance that fresh water would not be wanting. After prayer, the emigrants, on the 20th of December, determined to raise their first rude dwellings in the neighbourhood of a rivulet and of several springs, not far from a hill which seemed suitable for a look-out and defence. Just as they were beginning work, a storm fell on them, and delayed their operations. On the 23rd of December they cut a quantity of wood, and made ready for building. The next day was Sunday and Christmas-eve. A cry was heard, as of savages, and the men stood to their arms; but nothing followed. Great as was the necessity for some kind of shelter, no work was done that day, as it was the Sabbath; but all toiled long and wearily on the following day, the 25th. While their countrymen in England were celebrating the great anniversary of the Christian world by religious rites and joyful gatherings, these exiles were sternly engaged in a struggle for mere life. On that day they began to erect a storehouse for their goods, and some small wooden huts for living in. The weather for some time was so severe that they were often obliged to return to the ship for protection against the cold. On the 28th, they measured out the ground, and divided their whole company into nineteen families, allotting to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length, for lodging and gardens. They also agreed on a body of laws for their civil and military government; and thus the commonwealth of New England was commenced. Every man was to build his own house; but this most necessary task was delayed by the roughness of the weather, and by a lamentable mortality which broke out among the settlers, owing to cold, fatigue, and want of necessaries. Many still lived on board the ship; others lay sick and helpless in the half-built cabins, tended by their faithful comrades, who spared no service, however painful, which could lessen the misery of that doleful time. The sailors of the *Mayflower* selfishly refused any aid from their stores, but afterwards, being themselves afflicted by an epidemic, were glad to accept assistance from those whom they had denied. In three months, half of the small community were dead, and of those who remained few were sufficiently well to help the others in the work of construction. "If the Indians," says the historian of New England (following a treatise of Increase Mather's), "had been apprised of their circumstances, they might have cut them off without any trouble."

Amongst those who thus died was a son of Governor Carver, who succumbed shortly after landing. Carver himself died in April, 1621, and his widow soon followed him. William Bradford was the next Governor—a man then in the prime of life, who lived to see the colony well established, many years later. The bitter weather, however, had ceased some time before the death of Carver; for on the 3rd of March a south wind suddenly turned winter into spring, so that the birds sang pleasantly in the woods. On the 16th of the same month, an Indian named Samoset, who had learned a little broken English from fishermen trading on the north-eastern shores of America, approached the settlement, exclaiming "Welcome, Englishmen!" He belonged to the tribe of Wampanoags; and in the name of his nation he bade the new-comers possess the soil. Ultimately, a sachem named Massasoit came to visit the colonists; and, at the head of a file of musketeers, Captain Miles Standish—one of the most valorous soldiers of the small community, and a man whose name will probably recall to the reader's mind a poem of Longfellow's—escorted the savage chieftain to a seat of state, composed of three or four cushions piled on a green rug. An Indian who had been in England acted as interpreter, and, after some presents had been made, an alliance was formed, of which the chief conditions were that the English and the Wampanoags were to abstain from mutual injury; that the latter should deliver up all offenders against the colony; that the two parties to the agreement should support each other in case of attack from tribes unfriendly to Massasoit; and that whenever any of Massasoit's men visited the

English they were to leave their weapons behind them. The peace thus established was kept for more than fifty years. Other tribes were at first inclined to threaten hostilities, but were so intimidated by the courageous bearing of Bradford that nine chieftains were glad to subscribe an instrument of submission to King James. At the same time, the infant settlement was palisadoed, provided with gates which were locked every night, and so well guarded that any attack would have been instantly repelled.

The *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring of 1621, and in the course of the summer and autumn fresh colonists arrived; but, being unprovided with food, they made serious demands on the resources of those already there. The scarcity was so great that the unfortunate people were half starved, and men staggered in the faintness of hunger. The fishermen on the coast helped them a little, and they sometimes bought provisions, at an exorbitant rate, of the captains of vessels; but as late as 1623 they were for some months without corn, and obliged to subsist solely on fish, without any other form of animal food, and without bread. Yet these devoted men did not lose heart, but set themselves seriously to work to amend whatever was amiss in their social arrangements. Up to the spring of 1623, the property of the colonists had been in common; and this system produced the same effect in New England that it had already produced in Virginia, and that it always will produce wherever it is tried, unless the very elements of human nature are changed. Relying on the guaranteed proportion of food, the idle gave themselves no trouble, and even the industrious were deterred from doing their utmost under an arrangement which deprived a man of the fruits of his own toil. It was now agreed that each family should plant for itself; and such was the stimulus and exertion arising out of this new rule that the very women and children went into the fields to work. After a few years, so much corn was raised that the colonists were enabled to supply the Indians, with whom a not inconsiderable traffic was soon established, European manufactures being exchanged for the skins of beavers and other animals.

A fresh colony was formed in Massachusetts Bay in 1622 by a merchant named Thomas Weston, aided by some newly-arrived colonists belonging to the Church of England. These men appear to have been a rough and disorderly company, very different from the original settlers, and the latter were probably glad to get rid of them. In the neighbourhood of the present city of Weymouth they lived in a riotous, improvident manner, and soon began to want food. The Governor of New Plymouth assisted them, but they continued in distress, and, having bartered away their goods for Indian corn, were compelled to sell their very clothes and bedding, and to hire themselves to the savages for the performance of menial work, in exchange for food. Some lived by theft; some died of hunger and cold; others supported a miserable existence by gathering ground-nuts in the woods and shell-fish on the shore. After a time, the Indians formed a design of murdering them, and would probably have effected it, had not the plan been disclosed by Massasoit. Thereupon, Captain Standish was sent with eight men to the rescue of the imperilled colonists, and a sharp fight took place between the English and the savages. Some of the Indians had been boasting of what they would do, and had insulted Standish on account of his being a small man. The captain, therefore, seeing four of them in a wigwam, went in with three of his own men, shut the door, and, without a moment's parley, began the attack. He himself fell on one, got him down after a long struggle, and cut his throat with his own long knife. Two others were also slain on the spot; the fourth was taken alive, and afterwards hanged. "'Tis incredible," says Neal, who relates this horrible incident with a sort of admiration, "how many wounds these valiant savages received before they died; how they struggled and catched at the weapons to the last breath, and died without any unmanly noises or signs of fear." The rest of the Indians endeavoured to revenge the fall of their comrades by a flight of arrows; but they were soon driven off. Weston's men returned to England, and thus ended this ill-fated attempt to establish a plantation in Massachusetts Bay.

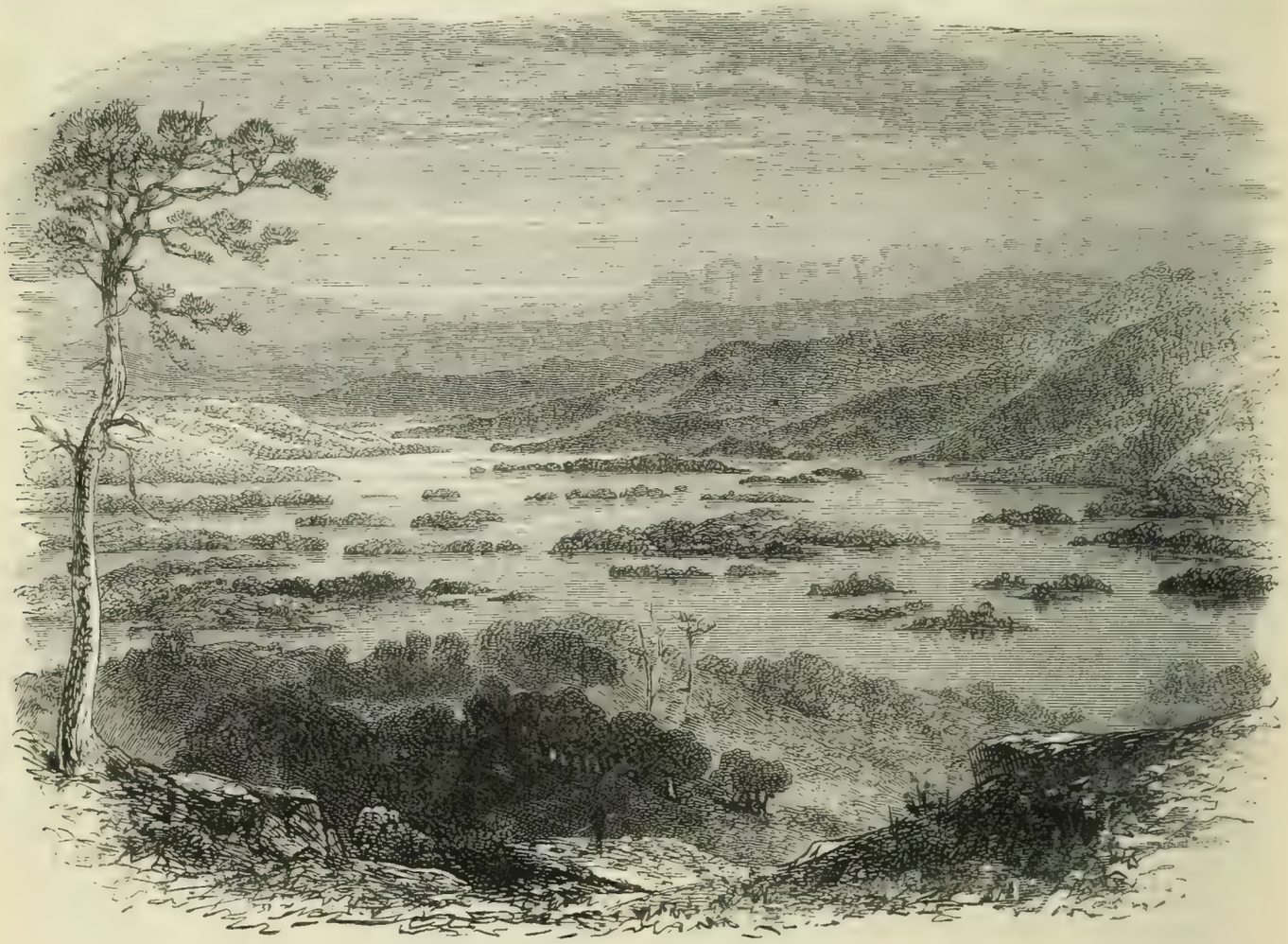
The small party of Puritans at New Plymouth eagerly desired to be joined by the brethren they had left behind at Leyden. This wish was earnestly reciprocated by the English congregation in that Dutch town; but the capitalists in England who had advanced money to the Pilgrim Fathers refused to provide the remaining exiles with a passage. After a period of contention, in which the colonists were treated with much harshness by the moneyed men to whom they were bound, the former were enabled in 1626 to purchase the entire rights of the latter; and thenceforth every man was granted a little land in perpetual fee. The settlers had in 1621 acquired a patent from the Plymouth Company, to which that part of the American continent belonged. Thus securely established in its possessions, the small community showed itself

equal to the task of self government. The ruling power consisted of an elected Governor, Council, and General Court, who made and executed the laws judged to be necessary for the public good; but at the same time the sovereignty was reserved to the Crown of England. The laws were severe in themselves, but were enforced with a good deal of mildness. Death, though nominally the punishment for several crimes, was carried out only in the case of murder. Housebreaking and highway robbery were unknown. The first and most serious difficulties of the plantation had been overcome; yet population increased but slowly. At the end of nine years, the colony consisted of barely three hundred persons. The land was not fertile, and the opportunities for trade were slight; but the energy of the settlers overcame all obstacles. In four or five years after the arrival of the *Mayflower*, the town of New Plymouth consisted of thirty-two dwelling-houses, in the midst of which, on a rising ground, was the fort, furnished with a watch-tower, whence the sentinel could command a great many leagues of sea and land. Fires are the special scourge of all new and hastily-built towns; and this experience was not escaped by the little Puritan hamlet. It was partly burnt down on the 5th of November, 1624, under circumstances suggestive of incendiarism; but the damage was soon repaired. At this time the population consisted of one hundred and eighty persons. They had started a manufactory of salt, and in 1624 freighted a ship with fish cured with their own commodity. They lived together as one family or household, every man having his special trade, either by sea or land; and in their workshops were several boys and young men, acting as apprentices and servants. A small trading community had been established, in spite of numerous difficulties.

In the meanwhile, the Plymouth Company, which owned the whole vast territory then included under the general designation of New England, endeavoured to turn their property to account by laying a tax on the vessels of English fishermen. The House of Commons opposed these exactions, and demanded for all English subjects entire freedom from duties in the prosecution of their trade. Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, argued that a privilege which the French and Dutch enjoyed should not be denied to Englishmen. The fisheries, he observed, cost the kingdom nothing but labour, employed shipping, and furnished the means of a lucrative commerce with Spain. On the other hand, it was urged by Sir George Calvert that the fishermen hindered the plantations, choked the harbours with their ballast, and wasted the forests by improvident use. This was a strange position to be assumed by one who had a large interest in Newfoundland, where the fisheries were the chief source of wealth; but Calvert had no personal reason for caring about the fisheries of New England. The argument as to wasting the forests was ridiculous; for, as Captain Smith observes in his book of travels, "all the country was nothing but wood, and none to make use of it." Nevertheless, the patentees affixed a heavy penalty to the cutting of timber without giving satisfaction. They also forbade any one to fish without their licence; and on every thirty tons of shipping they laid a tax of five pounds. The debate in Parliament ended in the restrictions on the right of free fishing being declared illegal; but the House was dissolved before a bill could be passed for placing matters on a different footing. It is remarkable that, in the course of this discussion, Calvert, the advocate of the Company in their taxation of the fisheries, used the argument that the American colonies, not being annexed to the realm, were beyond the jurisdiction of Parliament; while the opponents of taxation contended that they might make laws for the plantations, and that a bill passed by the Commons and the Lords, and receiving the King's assent, would control the patent. Nearly a century and a half later, the same assertion of the supremacy of the English Parliament in American affairs was used in support of the proposition for taxing the colonists, and was the first cause of revolution.

The debate took place in 1621. In the following year, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to fish on the coasts of New England, and, relying on what had been declared to be the law, paid no duties. The Company appealed to the King, who, in pursuance of the favourite Stuart maxim, that the sovereign may do whatever seems good to him, issued a proclamation forbidding any one to approach the northern coast of America without special leave of the Plymouth Company, or of the Privy Council. A seaman named Francis West was in 1623 sent out with a commission as Admiral of New England, for the purpose of excluding from the American seas all who came without a licence. But the fishermen easily evaded this single ship, and successfully resisted the payment of the tax. The attempt at coercion was a failure; but the Plymouth monopolists were not discouraged. Having in 1622 conferred on Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando (who belonged to the Plymouth Council), a patent for a tract extending ten miles along the Bay of Massachusetts and thirty miles into the interior, they now appointed him Lieutenant-

General of New England, with power to restrain interlopers. Gorges and his followers made another attempt to settle at the place where Weston's men had planted themselves; but this project was just as unsuccessful as the former. With the later colonists was associated a clergyman named Morrell, who came armed with an ecclesiastical commission for the superintendence of the churches—meaning, of course, those of New Plymouth; but of this he made no use, and in a few months the colony broke up, some of the emigrants returning to England, and others removing to Virginia.



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The discussion as to the right of the Company to tax the fisheries was resumed in the House of Commons in 1624, when Sir Edward Coke reinforced the arguments he had advanced three years before against the pretensions of the patentees. Speaking in the name of the House, he told Robert Gorges that his patent contained many particulars contrary to the laws and to the privileges of the subject; that it was a monopoly which concealed the ends of private gain under colour of advancing colonisation. If the claim to tax the fishing vessels could be maintained, it would be the creation of a monopoly on the seas, which had always before been free. The bill on this subject which passed both Houses of Parliament was refused the Royal assent, so that it never became law; but the discussion of the case by the representatives of the nation resulted in the laying down of great principles which bore their fruit in time. The upshot of the debates was very displeasing to the Plymouth Company. The patentees, finding themselves unable to levy their exactions on the fisheries, appear to have lost heart; several of them abandoned their interest in the speculation; and the peopling of New England was left almost entirely to private enterprise.

To Sir Ferdinando Gorges must be ascribed the credit of actively promoting the colonisation of some portions of North America. In this enterprise he took into partnership with himself Captain Mason, who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, and who was now an associate and secretary of the Plymouth Council. To him the Company made in 1621 a grant of lands between the river Salem and the farthest head of the Merrimac; and Gorges and Mason, in the following year, took a patent for what was then called Laconia, a country bounded by the sea on the south, the St.

Lawrence on the north, the Merrimac on the west, and the Kennebec on the east. A company of merchants was formed for developing the resources of the territory (which is now included within the States of New Hampshire and Maine), and settlements were made on the banks of the Piscataqua in 1623. Six years later, Mason received from the Plymouth Company a fresh title to the country which he had occupied; but this title seems to have been of doubtful validity, and numerous suits

Gorges; and he therefore proposed to Sir William Alexander (afterwards Earl of Stirling), a Scotch gentleman in favour with King James, to plant a colony of his countrymen there. Sir William thought well of the design, and in 1621 obtained from James a patent (to be held of the crown of Scotland) for the country east of the river St. Croix and south of the St. Lawrence. To this large domain was given the designation of Nova Scotia, and it was hoped to form a hardy colony of the



SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

at law took place in consequence of rival claims. In other respects the settlements were unfortunate, and, at the death of Mason, which occurred in London in December, 1635, the inhabitants of New Hampshire were left to manage for themselves. Thinly-scattered villages of fishermen had, however, been rising along the coast in that part of America for several years, and to these were gradually added the more permanent habitations of other adventurers. In this way, Maine—the most northerly State of the Union—was first peopled. A portion of the territory, east of the Kennebec river, was already occupied by the French, who gave to it the name of Acadie. The presence of a foreign Power in these lands was regarded with great jealousy by Sir Ferdinando

King's northern subjects in a region the rigours of which their own severe climate naturally qualified them to withstand. But the grant was little better than an act of piracy; for not only had the country been originally explored by the French, but some portion of it was at that very time in their actual possession. Nevertheless, a ship with several Scotch emigrants on board was despatched in 1622, but turned back within sight of the coast, and proceeded to Newfoundland. Being joined the following year by another ship, the two vessels made a partia survey of the harbours, and of the country lying immediately on the coast; but no plantation was begun. After the accession of Charles I., a new patent was issued to Sir William Alexander, with the additional right of creating an order of baronets.

The patentee—who is chiefly known at the present day as the author of several tragedies, once admired, but now seldom read—wrote a pamphlet in 1625, called "An Encouragement to Colonies," in the hope of exciting an interest in his American possessions; but very little was done, and Alexander found so much profit in selling the titles he was empowered to create, that he seems after awhile to have been indifferent to other considerations.

Although, as we have seen, the territory conferred on Sir William Alexander was really a dependency of the crown of France, that country did not resist its appropriation. But when, in 1627, war broke out between France and England, nothwithstanding the marriage of Charles I. to a French princess, the northern part of America became one of the battle-grounds of the contending nations. Port Royal, now Annapolis, on the east side of the Bay of Fundy, was at once taken by the English, and a naval force, ascending the St. Lawrence in 1628, summoned Quebec to surrender. The French commander refused, though his position was really one of extreme weakness, and the English sailed away, but only to return the following year, and receive the submission of the garrison, who were on the point of famine. The whole of Canada followed, and thus the rule of England was for a brief period extended over the greater part of the North American continent. Peace, however, was concluded between France and England while these events were proceeding, and it was agreed that all acquisitions made subsequent to April 14th, 1629, should be restored. Canada, therefore, reverted to France, together with Cape Breton (an island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence), and Acadie, the limits of which were never strictly defined. During the progress of the war, the lordship of Canada, as it was called, had been conferred on Sir William Alexander; but after the peace he was glad to sell Nova Scotia to the French. The colonial baronets thus lost their territorial grants; and Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais, attacked his countryman with much bitterness for his bad faith towards those who had relied on his promises.

The colonisation of Maine and New Hampshire still engaged the attention of Gorges, but with very indifferent results. The settlers, such as there were, lived by fishing, by the chase, and by the exportation of pine-wood, and laughed at those who arrived with the intention of farming. William Gorges, nephew of Sir Ferdinando, was in 1636 sent by his uncle to organise something like a regular government for the divided communities of this wild northern territory, but left in less than two years. In 1639, the elder Gorges was by a Royal charter created Lord Proprietary of the country, and he formed a great scheme for the administration of his dependency. He was himself to enjoy a species of regal state and power. Boroughs were to be established, and a code of laws to be enacted; but death interrupted his plans. Some time before his decease, John Wheelwright, a Puritan minister who had been banished from the settlements on Massachusetts Bay for reasons to be hereafter related, proceeded northward, and, entering New Hampshire, founded the town of Exeter on a small river flowing into Piscataqua Bay. He was accompanied by those who thought with him, and their numbers were afterwards augmented by others of the same religious views. Their plantations were thinly dispersed over a wide tract; but they brought some additional strength to the colonies in that part of America. The authorities of Massachusetts Bay claimed jurisdiction over them, as occupying lands situated within the limits of their grant; and when Gorges resisted the claim, Wheelwright and his associates governed themselves, in quiet disregard of the disputants. Thomas Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, went to Maine in 1640, as the representative of his father. He was supported by a retinue of grand officials with high-sounding titles, and, in pursuance of instructions from the Lord Proprietary, endeavoured to establish a mockery of English forms in a territory so poverty-stricken that it would hardly yield him the necessaries of life. On arriving at his official residence at Agamenticus (now York), he found nothing in the way of household furniture but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cob-irons, the property of previous settlers; so that his Chancellor, Field Marshal, Master of the Ordnance, Admiral, and other great dignitaries, had to make shift after a sorry fashion. It was not until a comparatively recent period that New Hampshire and Maine became States of importance, or shared in that prosperity which fell sooner to the lot of lands more richly endowed by Nature, and possessed of a more genial climate.

CHAPTER XII.

The Settlement of Massachusetts Bay—Creation of a New Company—Terms of the Charter granted by Charles I.—Captain Wollaston's Attempt to Plant a Colony at Braintree—Arrival of a Party of Puritans in the Bay—Foundation of the Town of Salem—Public Confession of Faith, and Signature of a Covenant—Imposition of Hands—Expulsion of Members of the Church of England—Intolerance of the Puritans—Fair Treatment of the Indians—Transfer of the Government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from England to America—John Winthrop and his Son—Address of the Settlers under Winthrop to the Church of England—Hardships of the Colonists—Foundation of Boston—A Secret Romanist.

After two previous failures, a fresh attempt to colonise Massachusetts Bay was begun in 1623, and stimulated into active life by the zeal of a Puritan minister of the Church of England, named White, the rector of Trinity Church, in Dorchester. Many sea-faring people of that town were engaged in the New England fisheries; and White, knowing that they were often for months upon the coast without means of worship or instruction, made proposals to the shipowners to establish in those distant regions a settlement where the mariners might have a home when not at sea, and be at the same time brought under the influence of religious training. It was also proposed that farming and hunting operations should be carried on, so as to make the little community self-supporting; and with this view an unincorporated joint-stock association was formed, under the name of the Dorchester Adventurers, with a capital of £3,000. In 1623 a number of men were sent out with live stock, together with various necessaries for prosecuting a trade in dried fish; but the colonists were ill-selected, and the attempt was a failure. Next year, the Dorchester speculators acquired of the New Plymouth people a piece of land near Cape Anne, on the north side of Massachusetts Bay; and some seceders from the older colony, who did not carry their Puritanism quite so far as their former associates, were in 1625 requested by White and his friends to undertake the conduct of the new plantation. Of these settlers the leader was one Roger Conant, a man of prudence and good character. The greater number of the colonists deserted in 1626; but Conant and three others remained, removing to a more convenient place three or four leagues to the south-west of Cape Anne. While White was maturing his plans at Dorchester, Roger Conant and the other three were laying the bases of the colony in America itself. The difficulties presented by the wilderness and the severe climate were, however, so great that even Conant and his companions had at length resolved on returning when they received letters from White, saying that, if they would delay a little longer, he would procure them a patent, and send over colonists, provisions, and stores. Some Dissenters in Lincolnshire had formed a resolution of emigrating to America, in order that they might follow their consciences without persecution. This design was communicated to sympathisers in London and the western counties; but White appears to have reckoned on the Lincolnshire enthusiasts for forming the nucleus of his plantation. In the year 1627, the Plymouth Council sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcot, John Humphreys, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcombe, gentlemen, all that part of New England stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and extending three miles south of the river Charles and the Bay of Massachusetts, and the same distance north of every part of the river Merrimac, on terms similar to those which had been introduced into other charters. White soon obtained the co-operation of persons interested in the spread of Puritan opinions, including some who still cherished their connection with the Church of England. Of the original purchasers, Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and Thomas Southcot, afterwards parted with their rights; the others retained their interest in the speculation, together with a number of new proprietors, who were placed on the same footing as the original shareholders.

The patent given by the Plymouth Council conferred considerable privileges on a large body of men; but, being simply the grant of a private company, it was obviously insufficient to invest the patentees with any legal power of governing the contemplated settlement when formed. The speculators therefore sought to obtain a Royal charter which should render their position secure; and in this design they were aided by the Earl of Warwick, Lord Dorchester (one of the Secretaries of State, and in former years a bitter persecutor of the Puritans), and other gentlemen of high position. Their efforts, after much delay and considerable expense, were crowned with success; and on the 4th of March, 1629, Charles I. granted a charter for planting the province of Massachusetts Bay, by which the adventurers were made a body corporate and politic, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England. They were empowered to elect annually a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants, to whom the executive power was committed: but the first

Governor and Assistants were to be nominated by the Crown. Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the proprietors was to be held, at which such laws might be made as should seem necessary to the good of the plantation. The assent of the King to these acts was not required by any stipulation in the charter; but it was provided that the laws to be passed should not be repugnant to the laws of England. By the terms of this charter, the Company (the head-quarters of which were at London) was permitted to transport to its American territories any persons, whether English or foreigners, who desired to go, were willing to become lieges of the English monarch, and were not specially disqualified. For liberty of conscience there was no guarantee, either expressed or implied; and, though not actually required, the Governor was empowered to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. In other respects, the position of the proprietors was good. They were exempted from all subsidies for seven years, as well as from duties on goods, exported or imported, for twenty-one years, excepting the five per cent. custom on imports after the expiration of the seven years; and they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects.

The first body of settlers started in 1628. Two years previously, there had been a third attempt to people the bay, which lasted until about the time when White's recruits arrived in the territory assigned them. A Captain Wollaston, together with some other gentlemen of good substance, and a great many servants, made a settlement at a place now called Braintree, near the scene of the two former attempts. The speculation not turning out well, the captain and several of his companions left for Virginia; whereupon, one of the shareholders, named Morton, a pettifogging lawyer of Furnival's Inn, turned out Wollaston's representative, and erected a government of his own. Neal, the historian of New England, speaks of these rebellious adventurers suffering themselves to be led into "all sorts of debauchery and wickedness." It appears that, at a place which they appropriately called Merry Mount, they set up a May-pole, and danced round it—which was no great sin, except from the Puritan point of view; that they drank strong liquors to such excess that they consumed ten pounds' worth in one morning—a statement the value of which cannot be estimated without knowing the number of drinkers; that they gambled, sang ribald songs, and led scandalous lives with the Indian women. They were doubtless an idle, thriftless set; and to support their extravagances they sold fire-arms largely to the savages, and taught them how to use those weapons. This might have led to dangerous consequences; and the governors of the New Plymouth colony accordingly sent a messenger to Morton to expostulate with him, and to call his attention to the proclamation of King James, forbidding any one to trade with the Indians in warlike stores. Morton replied by a defiance, and the Plymouth men then sent Captain Standish with a party of soldiers to bring him dead or alive. Barricading himself in a house with some of his companions, Morton threatened to shoot his opponent; but, coming out at the door shortly afterwards, with his piece in his hand, he was disarmed and seized by Standish. The rest surrendered at discretion. Morton was sent to England, but afterwards returned to America, and died there. His revolt proved the ruin of Wollaston's undertaking, in 1628.

The superintendence of White's colony was entrusted to John Endicott. He was accompanied by his wife and children, and by a number of emigrants, who found Conant and his three comrades much reduced by the hardships they had undergone. The new arrivals were themselves speedily weakened by maladies incident to a change of climate, and to the trials of a wild and comfortless life. Many deaths occurred, and it was found necessary to send to the New Plymouth colony for a physician, who stayed with the sick people throughout the winter. Not long after the arrival of Endicott's party, a small number penetrated by uncertain paths through the woods, and established themselves on the neck of land where the city of Charlestown has since been built. Waste and desolate as the spot then was, it had already been discovered by an Englishman, who was found there living in a hovel. Further colonists were sent out from England in 1629, the enterprise exciting the liveliest sympathy on the part of dissenting ministers and their flocks. A fleet of six ships (including the *Mayflower*) sailed from the Isle of Wight on the 1st of May, and conveyed to the shores of the New World about three hundred and fifty men, women, and children, together with several horses, cows, goats, and other animals, six pieces of cannon for a fort, muskets, pikes, drums, colours, and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions. The vessels arrived at their place of destination on the 24th of June, and about a hundred of the emigrants proceeded to Charlestown, while the rest remained with Endicott.

The locality where Endicott and his followers were planted, had, by Conant and his companions, been called by its Indian name of Naumkeag; but

it was afterwards christened Salem, a Hebrew designation signifying *Peace*. The name was subsequently very ill borne out, for we shall find that some of the most painful incidents of early American history were connected with this town. There is a Salem in Hindostan, and another in Persia; but the Puritan settlers in Massachusetts Bay thought little of these, if they knew of them. Everything in their young community was to take a Biblical tone and colour; and, as Salem was a Hebrew word, and expressed that kind of religious concord which they vainly hoped to establish in the wilderness, they conceived that no better title could be found for the little city which was to rise up under the shadow of primeval forests. The Salem of Massachusetts is at the present day a small town and port of entry, the prosperity of which consists chiefly in its numerous manufactories. It had formerly a good foreign trade, but now does little in mercantile transactions, and presents something of the melancholy and forsaken air which belongs to all places that have seen better days. Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was a native of this city, and a descendant of one of the original Puritan settlers, describes in his "Scarlet Letter" the dull, listless appearance of the place,—the flat, unvaried surface, the wooden tenements of homely fashion, the long and lazy street stretching the whole length of the peninsula on which the town is built, the almost deserted wharf (submerged at high water), the infrequent barks or brigs discharging their cargoes, the decayed warehouses, and the lines and borders of unheeded grass which have sprung up about the buildings, and even between the stones in front of the Custom House itself, where the novelist once had a post. But Salem must always be an interesting place. For America, it is rather ancient. The shadow of the grave old Puritan spirit hangs over its weedy ways, and memories of a wild and mournful character are associated with its name.

The settlers at Salem lost no time in communicating with their brethren at New Plymouth as to the nature of their church discipline. After an interchange of ideas on this subject, the Salem colonists agreed with those of the older New England settlement on the forms most consonant with their conceptions of religious truth, and accordingly appointed the 6th of August, 1629, for creating among themselves a church body similar to that which already existed in the more southern plantation, though the setting up of any such spiritual association was a violation of the charter under which they had emigrated, as being contrary to the laws of England. The church of New Plymouth was represented on the occasion by [illegible] of its own ministers; and, after the day had been spent in fasting and prayer, thirty persons who desired to be of the communion publicly signified their assent to a confession of faith, and then signed a covenant, in which it was written:—"We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his People, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ and the Word of his Grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in worship. We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he has taught us." They also promised that they would do nothing to the offence of the church; that they would not, in the congregation, be forward in showing their own gifts in speaking or in raising objections; that they would not discover the weaknesses or failings of their brethren; that they would study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, without slighting their sister churches, but using the counsel of those churches when need should be; that they would promote the good of the Indians; that they would carry themselves in all lawful obedience to those who were over them in church or commonwealth; that they would shun idleness as the bane of any state; and that they would not deal hardly or oppressingly with any one. Finally, they undertook to teach their children and servants, to the best of their ability, the knowledge of God and of his will, so that they also might serve him; and these promises, they expressly declared, they made not by any strength of their own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood they desired might sprinkle their covenant made in his name.

This general confession of principles being agreed upon, a pastor, a teacher, and a ruling elder of the new church were chosen, and qualified for their offices by imposition of hands of a few of the brethren appointed to that work. Dissension soon arose. It has been seen that some of the colonists were members of the Church of England, though belonging to that section which inclined towards the views of the Separatists, and was usually called Puritanical. Dr. Cotton Mather relates that when the emigrants of 1629 were off the Land's End, their pastor, Francis Higginso- (who had been driven from

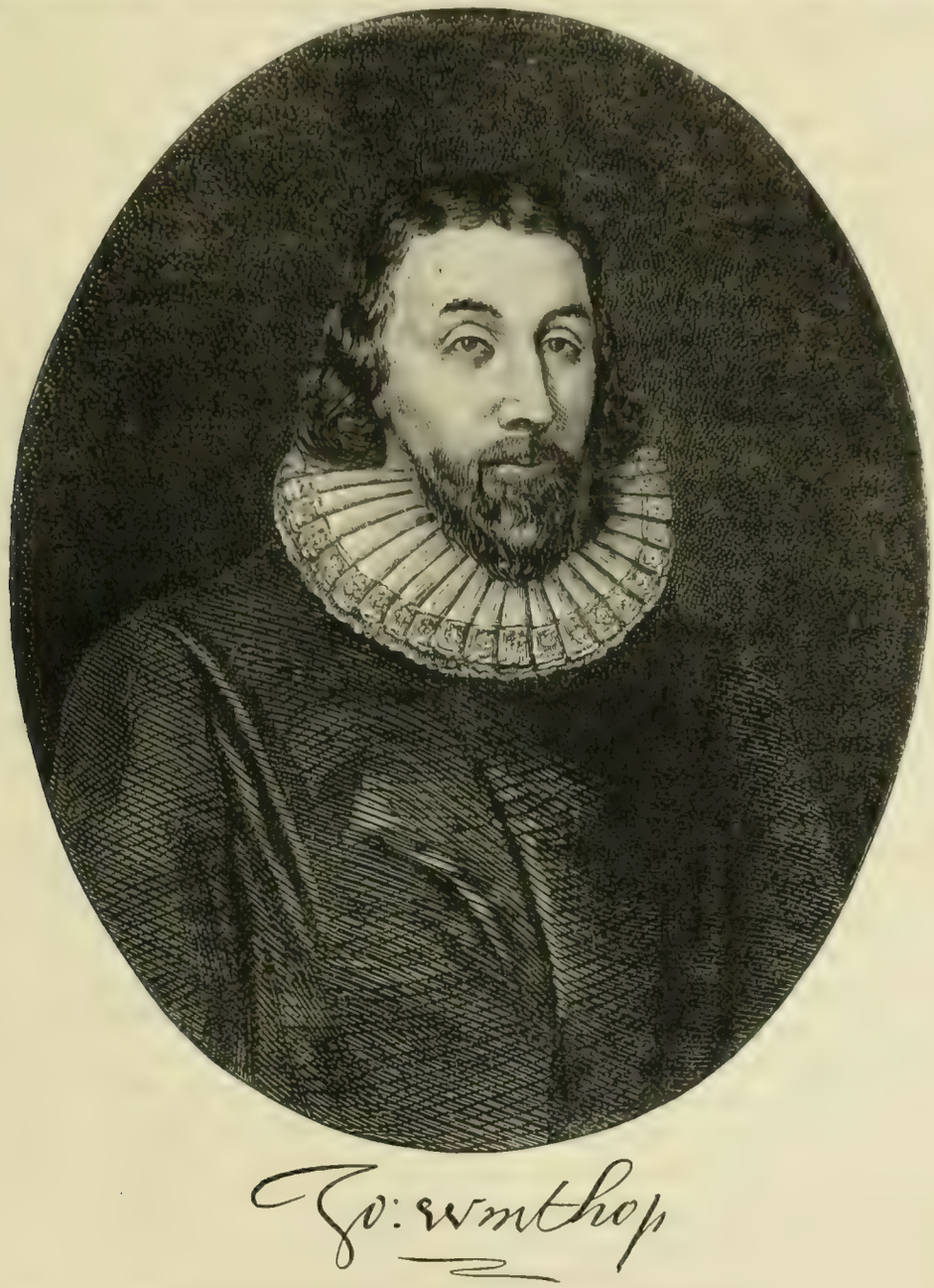
the Anglican Church for his opinions), said to his flock, as the cliffs of the old country dwindled from their view,—"We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome!' But we will say, 'Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!' We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and to propagate the Gospel in America."* Some who held opinions of this nature objected to the non-employment of the Book of Common Prayer by the others, to the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper without the usual ceremonies, and to other matters. They accordingly held religious meetings of their own, in harmony with the usages of the Anglican Church. A great deal of angry bickering ensued, and in the end the chief objectors were violently seized and sent back to England, in accordance with certain general directions issued by the Company. They were charged with endeavouring to raise a mutiny; but their rebellion appears to have consisted in nothing more than a desire to follow their own forms of worship with as much freedom as the Nonconformists followed theirs. The incident would hardly be worth recording, were it not a singular comment on the visionary hopes with which the settlement was formed. New England was to be a species of religious Utopia. All the colonists were to live in brotherhood, and to worship God according to their own consciences. No tyrannical Act of Conformity or of Supremacy, no unconstitutional High Commission Court, was to lord it over the minds of men. The infant community was indeed to be submissive in all things to the Word of God; but then every one was to be at liberty to interpret for himself what the Word of God meant. Such was the dream which had been dreamt by the sluggish canals of Leyden, in many English towns and villages, and on the broad Atlantic between shore and shore. The first contact with the realities of actual government dispelled the illusion. The Puritans were not true to their own principles. The history of their domination in New England shows that they repeatedly contradicted that great doctrine of religious liberty, the violation of which at home had made them martyrs and exiles. The fine promises of their covenant were forgotten as soon as uttered. They desired uniformity as much as Laud himself; only it was uniformity in favour of their own interpretation of Scripture. It is clear that they would tolerate the Church of England no more than the Church of Rome. Later on in their history, they quarrelled with various forms of dissent; and at all times they showed that the spirit of dictation was stronger in them than the spirit of freedom. This will invariably be the case where men make their own opinions an infallible standard. As the Puritans would not allow to others that liberty of judgment which they had asserted for themselves, every little colonial community set up for its own Pope, and persecution followed as the bitter fruit of self-contradictory principles, and of the striving of old ideas with new.

At this period the settlers at Massachusetts Bay had very slight powers of self-government. The Company of proprietors in England had determined that the local authorities should consist of a Governor and thirteen counsellors, of whom eight were appointed by the corporation in the parent country, three were named by those eight, and the remaining two were to be chosen by the colonists themselves. The terms of this constitution were sent over by the emigrants who left the Isle of Wight on the 1st of May, 1629; and these pilgrims to the distant wilds also conveyed with them instructions to Endicott with respect to the savages. If, according to these directions, the Indians pretended a right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in the Company's patent, the colonists were to endeavour to purchase their title, so that the least scruple of intrusion might be avoided. It was to be particularly and publicly insisted on that no wrong or injury should be offered to the natives—an injunction which was fairly observed. The Puritans of Salem were always ready to resist any attack that might be made on them; but they forbore from outraging the comparatively feeble tribes by whom they were surrounded. A good deal of land was rendered desolate by the pestilence to which allusion has before been made; and it was no difficult matter to persuade the Indians, by a few gifts, to renounce their title to territories which their failing numbers did not suffice to populate.

In all new colonies, this question of the aborigines and their rights is a difficulty of a very perplexing kind. It has often been evaded—often been made an excuse for violence and disregard of natural justice. Civilised men are generally inclined to assume, with a facile readiness which is prompted and quickened by self-interest, that their greater powers are sufficient warrant for dispossessing a savage race, and for seizing on their lands

* Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana; or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, Book III., Part II., chap. 1. London, 1702.—The authority of Mather, however, is not now regarded as very excellent.

without even the offer of compensation. The career of Spain in the New World is a record of cruel spoliation and tyranny, carried on for years by methods the most remorseless for objects the most sordid. The colonial history of England is likewise full of melancholy chapters, in which the rise of new communities of civilised men is seen side by side with the extermination of wretched barbarians, whom a more humane and considerate policy might have raised to higher levels. The settlers in New England are less blameable in this respect than many of their countrymen. They may at times have been too suspicious and too arrogant. Assuredly it cannot be said that their mode of dealing with the Indians was very successful. But at any rate they did not act towards them as pirates. It is probable enough that, from imperfect acquaintance with the language and customs of the natives, they sometimes misunderstood their motives, and too hastily inferred an evil design from words or actions which they did not rightly comprehend. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that, while some of the Indian tribes were sincerely friendly, others were wholly irreconcilable to the presence of the stranger, and omitted no opportunity of plotting the destruction of the white race which had shown itself so vastly superior to the old nomadic population of the prairie and the forest. When civilised people encamp on the borders of savagery, they must often fight for their existence against sudden incursions of the jealous power they have displaced. But they are in a better moral position for such encounters if they have first of all established themselves on a clear ground of right, by recognising the claims of the original possessors of the soil. This was done in the case of Massachusetts by a scrupulous observance of the injunction just mentioned, not to occupy



PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

lands without previously purchasing a title from the Indian tribes which held them.

The colonists, desirous of reinforcing their small community, circulated among the Nonconformists of England certain statements of their objects in going to America, their condition in the wilderness, the nature of the country, and the prospects which the new plantation held out to all who would escape persecution at home, and spread the principles of Calvinism abroad. A description of New England by Francis Higginson, who died of the rigours of the climate during the first winter, was printed in London, and ran through three editions in a few months. Another exposition was privately circulated among the Puritans, and a large number of enthusiasts became inflamed with the desire of propagating their views in America. Several gentlemen of fortune and intellectual culture, residing at Cambridge, and holding stock in the Massachusetts Company, agreed to join the settlement, on condition that the government of the colony should be transferred to themselves, and to other members of the Company who should take up their abode in the lands newly planted. Matthew Cradock, the Governor of the corporation, was well inclined to this plan; and, the question having been fully debated for two days in a court of the proprietors, it was unanimously resolved that the government and charter should be shifted from London to Salem, if it might be done legally. Some days later—on the 29th of September, 1629—a committee was formed to take counsel's advice as to whether such a course were permissible. It would appear that the opinion thus sought was favourable to the contemplated measure, for the transfer eventually took place, while to the members of the corporation who remained in England a share in the trading-stock and profits of the Company was reserved for a period of seven years. The legality of any such transfer was questioned at a later period, but for the present it passed unchallenged. Massachusetts thus obtained a more authoritative local government than it possessed before; but the colonists, as such, received no powers of self-rule. The managing body of the corporation was transferred from England to America—that was all.

The new Governor of the Company, elected by the general court of proprietors to proceed with others to Massachusetts Bay, was John Winthrop, a man of great and deserved distinction in the early history of English America. He was the son of Adam Winthrop, of Groton in Suffolk, where he was born in 1588. His education was that of a lawyer, and it is said (though the statement is difficult of belief) that the gravity of his character recommended him to the position of justice of the peace when only eighteen years of age, at which time he had certainly been married a year. The interest he took in the Massachusetts plantation was so great that he threw the whole of his moderate fortune into the undertaking. Himself a member of the Church of England, he was nevertheless a Puritan in his theological views. Though naturally a man of mild and benevolent character, he was liable to be swayed by others, and, while under corporate influence, could be as bigoted and unjust as persons of less amiability. A tinge of superstition coloured his religious views, and in politics his position was somewhat hesitating. He was a Royalist rather than a Republican—a thinker who inclined more to aristocratic than to democratic forms of government, but who desired to see the principles of freedom extended, and the welfare of the people secured. This able man was subsequently joined in New England by his son, John Winthrop the Younger, then about twenty-five years of age—another hero of American colonisation. A short time before the transfer of the Massachusetts government from London to Salem, the son had written to the father from the family seat in Suffolk:—"I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and dedicate myself to God and the Company, with the whole endeavours both of body and mind."

By the close of 1630, from a thousand to fifteen hundred emigrants (male and female) had been conveyed in seventeen vessels to the territories of the Massachusetts Company. A few days after the embarkation of the first detachment, in April, a paper, previously drawn up, it is said, by Mr. White of Dorchester, was put forth on behalf of the emigrants. It was entitled "The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and Company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of Suspicions and Misconstructions of their Intentions." The terms of this document are noteworthy, as showing that the leaders of the new emigration were not professedly animated by any hostility to the English Church or State. They acknowledged that such hope and part as they had obtained in the common salvation they had received in her bosom, and sucked in from her breasts. They blessed God for their parentage and education as members of the same body. They entreated the reverend fathers and brethren of that Church to recommend them

to the mercies of God in their prayers, as a religious community springing out of the bowels of the older one. "For you are not ignorant," they continued, "that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make a continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome. Let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing. And what goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ, shall labour to repay in what duty we are, or shall be, able to perform; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalfs; wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably, befall us." The subsequent acts of these emigrants were certainly not in harmony with this declaration. They would receive no one as a minister without newly ordaining him according to their own ceremonies; they excluded all semblance of episcopal government from their church order; and they expelled those of their number who desired to live in communion with the Church of England. It is evident that they had from the first resolved to follow a totally different path from that of the Episcopalians.

Governor Winthrop and his companions arrived at Salem in the summer of 1630. They were themselves in a sickly state, and found the colonists who were already established there in no better condition. Many had died during the previous winter; the rest were weak and spiritless; and so great was the scarcity of food that they eagerly demanded fresh supplies of the new-comers. One division of the emigrants settled at Charlestown; another chose a place at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, which they called Dorchester. But wherever they went, ill-health pursued them. In the first six months of their sojourn more than two hundred died. As December advanced, the imperfect shelter of booths and tents added greatly to their hardships; for Massachusetts, though lying in the same degree of latitude as the north of Spain, is in winter much more inclement than England, owing to its greater exposure to the northern seas. A failure of provisions ensued, and the colonists were compelled to seek assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth. At one time they lived mainly on mussels and clams picked up on the sea-shore when the tide was low; on ground-nuts and acorns. Governor Winthrop meted out the public food with the utmost frugality; but it was almost exhausted when, on the 5th of February, 1631, a ship arrived from England with the stores that were so much needed. During the whole of that trying time, the colonists, with a few exceptions, never once lost heart, or faith, or the spirit of self-reliance. About a hundred, some of whom belonged to the board of Assistants, did indeed desert the infant settlement, and return home, scared by the prospects of famine which spread before them. But the greater number remained, and opposed brave hearts to the utmost turbulence of Nature. Their meetings for worship were held in the open fields; for they had no buildings, even of the rudest kind, sufficiently large to hold their congregations. Their daily lives were spent in toil, and prayer, and meditation. Death was frequently in their midst; deprivation was the rule of their existence; danger lay around them in the shadowy forest—the blind lurking-place of Indian warriors. Yet they held on through all, in the assured conviction that their work was of God, and must needs stand. Winthrop wrote to his wife that he did not repent of his coming; that he would not have altered his course even had he foreseen all his afflictions; and that he had never had more content of mind than he enjoyed in the wilds of Massachusetts.

Some manifestations of a hostile disposition on the part of the Indians gave additional trouble to the settlers in the first days of their enterprise. One of the tribes talked of driving out the English, and would probably have made an attempt of this nature had it not been weakened by a violent epidemic of small-pox, which greatly thinned its numbers. The emigrants assisted these miserable creatures with medicine and other comforts, and fairly purchased of them the several tracts of land which were required for the plantation. This conciliated the natives, and the fear of a massacre gradually passed away. The colony, however, grew but slowly. During the whole of 1631, only ninety new-comers arrived to fill the gap caused by the defection of the hundred in 1630. Two hundred and fifty followed in 1632; but the colony required replenishment in a much greater degree. Thomas Dudley, the Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, a man of melancholy and rigid temperament, who from an early date repented that he had committed himself to the hazards and discomforts of a solitary land, wrote home in a discouraging strain. Men in England saw before them the uncertainties of a hard, dreary, and perilous life, and preferred to remain where they might indeed suffer many privations, but where they could at any rate feel

safe from the vague dangers of the impenetrable forest, the uncultured desert, the gloomy or threatful ocean, and the remorseless savage.

Towards the latter end of 1630, the town of Boston, destined in time to become one of the most famous cities of the United States, was founded by a part of the colony of Charlestown, who removed to a narrow peninsula on the southern side of Massachusetts Bay, which appeared to them more commodiously situated for trade and commerce than any other locality they had examined. The Indian name of the place was Shawmut—a word indicating the presence of numerous springs. The colonists originally gave it the designation of Trimountain, from three lofty hills in the vicinity; and it is said to have been afterwards called Boston in compliment to the Rev. John Cotton, a clergyman of Boston in Lincolnshire, who emigrated to Massachusetts, where his influence became so great that he was styled the patriarch of New England. The land was already in possession of an Episcopal minister, who, having slept in a hovel on this point of land, alleged a property in the whole peninsula; but his claim, preposterous as it seems to have been, was bought off. This individual, as Dr. Mather records, was a gentleman of very independent humour; for he would never join any of the colonial religious bodies, saying that as he had come from England because he did not like the Lord Bishops, so he could not join the local churches, because he would not be under the Lord Brethren: a remark which, taken in conjunction with the course of ecclesiastical history in that settlement, proves him to have been, in such matters, one of the most sensible men then in Massachusetts. His name deserves to be commemorated: it was Blaxton. That we should hear no more of him is matter of regret.

Among the minor incidents of these times was an attempt on the part of the Roman Catholics to gain a footing in the little Puritan colony of Massachusetts. Sir Christopher Gardiner, a Knight of Jerusalem, and a member of the same family as that of the celebrated Bishop of Queen Mary's reign, made his appearance in New England in 1632, calling himself a Puritan, and alleging that, after having travelled over the greater part of the world, he desired to spend the remainder of his days in retirement in the west. Soon after his arrival, he committed a misdemeanour, and, flying from justice, took refuge among the Indians of Plymouth colony. A proclamation was issued by the Governor of Massachusetts (Winthrop), offering a reward to those who should apprehend him; and he was ultimately surprised and seized by some Indians, after a sharp contest. Under his pillow, in the house where he slept, was found a little pocket-book, containing memoranda which showed that he had recently been converted to Romanism. He was sent back to England, where he joined with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, and others, in a petition to the King against the colonial authorities. The cause was heard before the Privy Council, and resulted in a reprimand to the petitioners, and in the publication of an order, dated from Whitehall, January 19th, 1633, promising that his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges already granted to the New England plantations, but would supply anything farther that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of those colonists. The summary dismissal from Massachusetts of this wandering knight was far more justifiable than that of the adherents of the Church of England. Gardiner came as the secret emissary of a Church which the colonists had every reason to dread. His object was to plot and undermine the State by dishonourable pretences and fraudulent assumptions. Such a man is a traitor, and has no right to complain if the community against which he conspires casts him forth.

CHAPTER XIII.

Laws and Ordinances of the Massachusetts Colonists—Changes in the Composition of the Governing Body—Stipulation as to Church Membership—Religious Bigotry and Exclusiveness—Friendly Relations with the Indians—Rise of a Representative System of Government—Consolidation and Organisation of a New England Commonwealth—Jealousy of the Home Government aroused—Order in Council, and Detention of Emigrant Ships—Extension of the Popular Power in Massachusetts—Character of the Local Parliament—Winthrop and his Accounts—Number, Condition, and Appearance of the Towns—Proposals for an Aristocratic Republic—Growing Prosperity of the Colony—Commission appointed by the King for governing the American Plantations—Preparations for Resistance—Self-extinction of the Council for New England—Gorges and Mason—Suppression of the Massachusetts Company.

Without loss of time, the Massachusetts colonists began to lay the basis of their commonwealth. Several courts, consisting of the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, and the Assistants appointed by charter, were held at Charlestown. In the year of Winthrop's arrival—1630—a great many laws and

ordinances were passed; provision was made for the clergy; civil officers were appointed, and severe punishments were decreed against evil-doers. During that year, and long after, whipping was freely resorted to; but this infliction was performed with due regard to the protection of the criminal from individual caprice or malice. Thus, one of the Assistants, Sir Richard Saltonstall, was fined five pounds for whipping two persons without the presence of another Assistant. Justice was impartially administered; for on one occasion the former Governor, John Endicott, being charged with striking a man, was amerced in forty shillings, though he appears to have received considerable provocation. That the emigrants were not all saints is evident from the fact that it was found necessary to seize a large quantity of strong waters, which had been sold to servants to such an extent as to cause "much disorder, drunkenness, and misdemeanour." One man was whipped for fowling on the Sabbath; another for stealing a loaf of bread; another for striking an overseer "when he came to give him correction for idleness in his master's work;" another for uttering scandalous speeches against the court. Thomas Gray was ordered to quit the colony within a certain term, on account of "divers things objected against him." John Goulburn and three others were sentenced to be whipped and set in the stocks for committing a felony. Adultery was punished with death, and the chastity of Indian women was protected by severe penalties against those who tempted it. We read of a case of suspected incontinency, and of persons possessing cards, dice, and gambling tables, which they were ordered to destroy forthwith, on pain of punishment.* Amongst the most honourable of these edicts were those which required compensation to be made to Indians for wrongs done to them by the settlers.

The composition of the colonial governing body was altered several times in the early years of the plantation. In 1630 the number of freemen was largely increased, and, legislation by so unwieldy a body being found difficult, it was determined to hand over a good deal of power to the chief officers of the commonwealth. For the future, therefore, the freemen were to elect only the Assistants; the latter were to elect the Governor and Deputy-Governor from their own number, and the select body thus created was alone to have the power of making laws, and choosing those who were to execute them. This, however, was soon found to be too oligarchical a system; and in 1631 the freemen reserved to themselves the right, if they cared to exercise it, of making annual changes in the magistracy. At the same time it was decreed that thenceforth no one should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of acting as a magistrate or serving as a juryman, but such as were members of some one of the churches within the limits of the colony. All these churches, it must be remembered, were congregations professing the same theological views; so that every Christian community but one was permanently excluded from any share in the management of the State or the privileges of citizens. Such a provision laid the bases of a very extreme form of tyranny. The rulers of the colony were Calvinists; and it was part of their creed that those whom God had from all eternity elected to save, were, by a mysterious inward monition, conscious of their own state of grace (which was in no degree affected by their acts, whatever these might be), and that to such specially-favoured beings the government of commonwealths was of right consigned. Pretensions of this character are equally beyond proof and beyond refutation. But it is obvious that, if admitted, they are fatal to the most elementary liberties. They differ in no essential respect from the claim of the Divine-right monarch, who says that, by some internal evidence wholly incommunicable to anybody else, and certainly not at all visible on the face of things, he knows that he is invested with a supernatural commission to dispose of other men's lives and goods. The Puritans of Massachusetts reached at one bound the utmost altitudes of spiritual despotism. The arrogant Churchman Laud asserted no more for the hierarchy to which he belonged. The Pope himself makes no greater demand on the submission and the credulity of men.

Mr. Palfrey, in excusing, if not actually defending, the action of the Massachusetts Puritans, says that, "by charter from the English Crown, the land was theirs as against all other civilised people," and that "they had a right to choose according to their own rules the associates who should help them to occupy and govern it." But neither the charter nor the patent conferred on them any right to set up independent churches, and to make agreement with their tenets the exclusive foundation of civil rights. On the contrary, the charter appears to have assumed that the emigrants were members of the Church of England, as indeed many of them were, though of that section which desired reform;

* Massachusetts Collection of Records, quoted in Mr. John Gorham Palfrey's "History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty" (1859–64)—a work of great value and interest, full of varied information.



RECEPTION OF A NARRAGANSETT WARRIOR BY WINTHROP.

it authorised the administration to freemen of the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and it forbade all laws and ordinances repugnant to the laws of England, which, so far from giving any privileges to Dissent, did not even allow its existence. The Puritans of Massachusetts, therefore, in setting up such a test of citizenship, acted illegally as well as unjustly. Fortunately, however, there were other influences at work, which moderated, though they could not entirely neutralise, the mischievous fanaticism of the leading colonists. The rank and file of the settlers brought out with them from England ideas of political freedom which asserted themselves in spite of all drawbacks. It was agreed at a General Court held in 1632 that the Governor and Deputy, as well as the Assistants, should be annually chosen by the whole body of freemen; and at the same time each town (of which there were now many) was ordered to depute two men, to appear at the next Court of Assistants, and concert a plan for a public treasury. This, it is true, did not in terms do away with the religious qualification, or disqualification; but every extension of the elective principle is a guarantee of future liberties.

While these changes were being made, the rulers of the colony entered into friendly relations with the Indians, many of whose tribes solicited English assistance against their enemies. A great warrior of the Narragansetts was hospitably received by Governor Winthrop, and attended a sermon together with the regular congregation. Intercourse was also carried on with the settlers at New Plymouth. In October, 1632, Winthrop, and the pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, travelled on foot from the south shore of Boston harbour to the capital of the older colony. There they were cordially received and gravely feasted, with abundance



ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

of preaching and other religious exercises. The first troubles of the Massachusetts colony were by this time overcome. Two hundred additional emigrants arrived in one ship in 1633, and the settlers began to require more convenient powers of legislation. In 1634, the freemen, by some previous concert, the precise nature of which does not appear in any existing record, determined to meet by deputies—not merely for the assessment of taxes, as by the rule of 1632, but for general purposes. Accordingly, at the fifth General Court held in Massachusetts, twenty-four persons, delegated by eight towns, appeared, charged to consider such matters as should be brought forward for discussion. The advocates of the existing state contended that this was a violation of the charter, and argued that, if all the freemen could not assemble, the chief power lay with the Assistants. In vain, however, was this view put forward. In vain also, about the same time, did the Rev. Mr. Cotton, with the tendency common amongst fanatics to support arbitrary authority, endeavour to impress on his congregation that the right of an honest magistrate to his place was like that of a proprietor to his freehold; that is to say, it was indefeasible. The freemen, who now amounted to not far short of four hundred, persisted in their determination to be masters of the State, and, as an assertion of their power, elected Dudley as their Governor, in place of Winthrop. On this occasion the ballot was introduced for the first time in the colony, instead of election by show of hands. It was likewise settled that the whole of the freemen should be convened only for the election of the Magistrates, and that the ordinary work of legislation should be performed by deputies chosen by the several towns, acting in concert with the executive officers of the colony—a reform rendered necessary by the great increase in the number of freemen, and by the fact of their being scattered over a wide extent of country. Much agitation had been caused by an attempt on the part of the Assistants to levy taxation by their own exclusive authority, and by their lavish grants of land; and it was found expedient to affirm that none but the immediate representatives of the people should dispose of lands or raise money. A true commonwealth was beginning to issue out of the chaos of colonisation by a commercial body; yet it can hardly be denied that this was only by an evasion of the regulations enjoined by the charter. Such an evasion, however, was natural, and even inevitable. A political state cannot long be controlled by rules applicable to a small corporation of shareholders in a joint-stock speculation. Larger interests must of necessity arise, and be dealt with after a broader fashion. That the change should have taken place so early in Massachusetts is a singular proof of the quickness with which habits of self-government spring up on American soil.

It was not to be expected that the rulers of the mother country would long permit the colonists to go on quietly in their own course. For a little while, indeed, Charles I. and his advisers seem to have been indifferent to what passed in New England. They probably thought it a convenient thing that there should be waste regions far away on the other side of the Atlantic, where troublesome Puritans felt content to bury themselves, and to cease from vexing princes and prelates. The Order in Council of January 19th, 1633, to which reference was made at the close of last chapter, was conceived in a friendly spirit towards the Massachusetts settlers; and Governor Winthrop, in his work on New England, avers that on that occasion the King told his counsellors that it was not his intention to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England on the colonists, as he was aware that it was for freedom in such things that the plantation was formed. But this feeling was not likely to last. Charles and his Ministers had penetration enough to see what might in time come of such experiments.

After the death of Abbot, who leant somewhat towards the Puritan party, Laud, in August, 1633, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and his influence over the King was always exerted in the most arbitrary directions. The New England provinces were not long in feeling this. An Order in Council was published in February, 1634, setting forth that "the Board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation called New England, amongst whom divers persons, known to be ill-affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially in point of religion, as, beside the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of Church and State here." The Council therefore commanded the detention of certain ships then lying in the Thames, ready to set sail for New England. It also required the attendance of the masters of those vessels, with a list of the passengers in each, and the production of the charter of the Massachusetts Company by Matthew Cradock, the Governor of that body. With respect to the last point, the reply was simple and direct: the charter had gone to America when the governing powers of

the corporation were transferred thither. Several ships, however, were temporarily detained; and, before being suffered to depart, the masters were required to give bonds to cause all persons on board their vessels who should "blaspheme, or profane the holy name of God," to be severely punished; to cause the prayers contained in the Book of Common Prayer to be read twice a day in presence of all the passengers; to receive aboard no passenger not certified, by the officers of the port of embarkation, to have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and to signify, upon their (the masters') return to England, the names of all the persons who had been carried, with their proceedings in relation to the foregoing articles. These bonds were cancelled about a year after; but the measures of the Privy Council, in the meanwhile, put a check on emigration, and constituted a note of warning to the colonists that their position of virtual independence would not be suffered to remain unquestioned.

Following out the policy of previous years, the Massachusetts settlers next demanded of their officials a written constitution. It was a reasonable demand, which could not with decency have been refused; and a commission was accordingly appointed in 1635 to frame a species of Magna Charta or Bill of Rights. In the composition of this important document, the clergy as well as the laity were consulted; and the Rev. Mr. Cotton, actuated by sentiments which were at that time common among the Puritans, insisted that the province should be governed by the laws of Moses —a body of ordinances having in many respects a local character, and being marked by the influences of a primitive and imperfect civilisation. To some extent he succeeded, and the laws of New England were long celebrated for their severe and rigid character. But the popular power was constantly, and on the whole beneficially, exercised. The General Courts secured to themselves, in 1634, the right of decreeing their own dissolution; and they controlled the judicial power of the Magistrates by an order that no one should be condemned to death or to banishment unless by the action of those Courts, or by the verdict of a jury. They also drew up a form of oath to be taken by the freemen, the remarkable feature of which is that it prescribes allegiance to the local Government, but says nothing whatever of allegiance to the King of England. The colony, indeed, seems to have been quite united in its views with regard to the old country, for the Assistants had shortly before enjoined an oath which was equally silent with respect to the monarch at Whitehall; but amongst themselves there was considerable contest for authority. For ten years—from 1634 to 1644—the relative powers of the Assistants and of the Deputies were in somewhat angry dispute. The two bodies sat together in convention; but the Assistants claimed and acted on the right to veto the joint proceedings of the whole Parliament, for such it may be truly called. Thus, if they were outvoted in the general assembly, they fell back on their separate vote, and nullified what had been previously determined. The Deputies resisted this exceptional power; and in 1644 a compromise was effected, by which the Court was divided into two branches, each armed with the right of negativing the action of the other.

In some matters, the legislative body was unjust. With that jealousy of individuals which is often evinced by popular assemblies, the General Court appointed a committee in 1634 to receive the accounts of ex-Governor Winthrop, in a manner which seemed to imply some distrust. He presented them, together with a writing in which he remarked that he would have been content to say nothing of his personal outlay for the good of the public, but that, being called to account, he was compelled to mention it. It appeared that his disbursements exceeded his receipts by more than a thousand pounds. "It repenteth me not," he said in his message to the Court, "of my cost or labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath pleased to honour me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request, which in justice may not be denied me: that, as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also; lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may be upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it." The request was granted as a matter of course; and in the Massachusetts Records appears this dignified and high-spirited reply.

Massachusetts Bay could now boast of about twenty towns, so widely distributed over the land that Ipswich was thirty miles from Boston, which, even as early as 1632, seems to have been regarded as the capital of the whole plantation, and the fittest locality for public meetings. These towns (all situated on or near the sea) were of course as yet very small and primitive collections of dwellings. The houses, with a few exceptions, were no better than cabins, and even the churches had mud

walls and thatched roofs. Oiled paper was used in the windows instead of glass, and the furniture was generally as rough as the chambers. The surrounding country, in many parts, was so savage that it was necessary to take precautions against the attacks of wolves, by setting up palings round the small settlements. Close at hand was the dark and murmuring forest, with all its energies of savage nature; by day, inviting the adventurous to explore its winding paths,—in the evening, chilling the hearts of the superstitious by its mysterious shades. Yet many of these little towns, thus isolated in the midst of a wilderness, were destined to become places of importance, and had already acquired great influence in the affairs of the colony. The towns elected the Deputies who were to assist in the government of the whole commonwealth: only the Magistrates were chosen by the votes of all the freemen. Municipal bodies were very soon established. In 1633, Dorchester designated twelve of its inhabitants to meet weekly, and consult on public affairs. Watertown made the same arrangement about the same time. Boston followed in 1634, and in 1635 Charlestown appointed eleven men to transact the local business for a year, it having been found that "things were not easily brought to a joint issue" when the citizens met in unmanageable numbers.* Thus, each town looked after its special affairs in a special court (the powers of which were progressively enlarged), and contributed to the formation of a general government for the colony. The discussion of public interests in tumultuous meetings of the whole community, is fit merely for barbarian tribes. In civilised states, the only choice is between the representative system and despotism.

A remarkable set of propositions was carried over to New England in 1634 by a Mr. Humphrey, who acted as the mouthpiece of Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and some other gentlemen of high position, who shared in the religious feelings of the Puritans. These persons were prepared to remove into the colony, on condition that two Houses of Legislature, the first to consist of an hereditary peerage, were established there, together with a division of the commonwealth into two distinct ranks of men—a class of gentry and a class of freeholders; the Governor always to be chosen from the former. The design, in short, was to create an aristocratical republic—a species of government generally resulting in the most selfish of tyrannies. That such a proposal was inadmissible, needed no long deliberation to discover. The rulers of Massachusetts, with many expressions of thanks, replied by a respectful negative. "When God," they wrote, "blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honour of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But, if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honour, if we should call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority." Thus early was it seen that the future of American institutions must be democratic.

The number of colonists in 1634 was between three and four thousand, including nearly three hundred and fifty freemen. The ground about the small towns was being steadily cultivated. Of cattle, goats, and swine there were large numbers. Roads were being cut though the forest to connect the settlements, and the emigrants, devoting themselves to various forms of industry, were beginning to establish several prosperous trades. They exported cured fish, furs, and timber to England, and for their subsistence depended on the fish which they caught, on the animals which they hunted, and on the corn which they raised. The majority of these emigrants were Puritans, heartily agreeing with the theological views and ideas of church discipline entertained by the ruling men of the community; yet it is clear from the decree of 1631 that there were some who followed a different law. The clergy did not number more than fourteen; but what they lacked in multitude they made up for in zeal and energy. The progress which had marked the short space of five years was truly surprising. The English monarch, looking across the Atlantic, saw a little republic rising up on the opposite shores, on territory which he claimed for himself—a republic formed by his discontented subjects, who were carrying out in that distant land the very principles which it was treason to profess at home. There were not wanting those who, from envy of the plantation, were forward to represent to the King and his Ministers that the Puritans of Massachusetts desired nothing less than to throw off their allegiance to the crown, and establish a perfectly independent rule. For this imputation the colonists themselves had furnished some grounds. They had departed in several important respects from the charter under which their community was formed. They had proceeded, unauthorised, to make various arrangements tending to the creation of a political power. They had

* Palfrey's New England, Vol. I., chap. 9.

established Nonconformity, which was against the laws of the parent country, and they had proscribed the worship of the Church of England. Lastly, they had exacted an oath of allegiance which made no mention of the King. Some of these acts may have been the natural results of their position; but, taken altogether, they may fairly have appeared to the authorities at home significant of intentional disloyalty.

At all events, the King resolved that the settlers should no longer be left quietly to themselves. In 1634 it was determined that a General Governor should be sent over; that a special commission should be formed for the management of all the colonies, and for the revocation of their charters; and that Archbishop Laud, of all men, should be at the head of this body. Cradock sent out to Massachusetts the Order in Council, already mentioned, requiring the production of the charter; to which the rulers of the colony replied that they could not give it up without the authorisation of the General Court, which would not meet for two months. At the same time they despatched Winslow to England, to mediate between them and the Royal advisers. Winslow was not connected with Massachusetts, but with the Plymouth Government. The latter colony, however, had business to transact as well as the former, and Winslow was held to be a man well adapted to represent the interests of both. He had already—in 1623 and 1624—been twice to England on the affairs of New Plymouth. His third visit, begun in 1634, did not terminate until the following year.

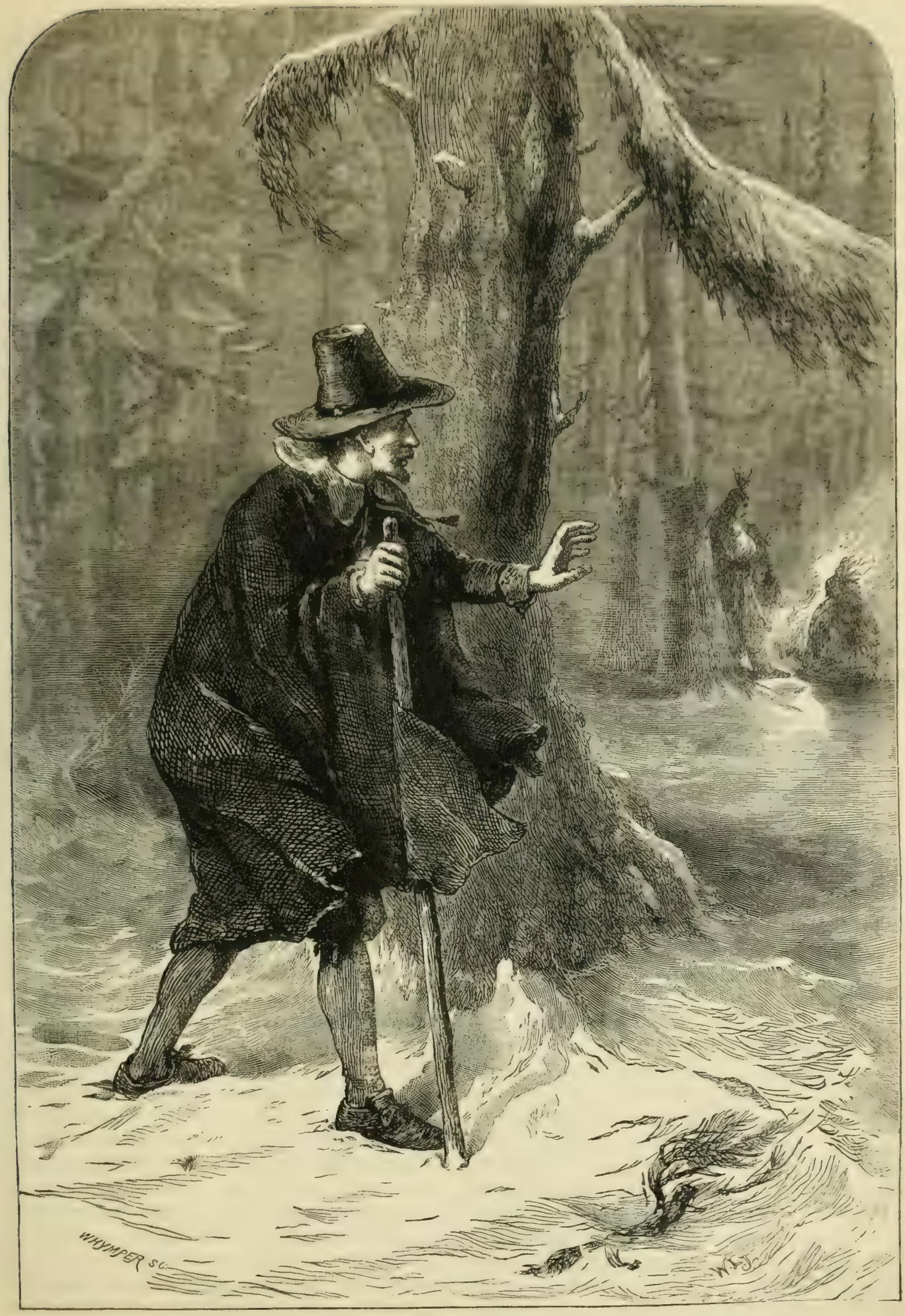
The Commission appointed to govern the colonies was to consist of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of six lay peers, and of three other high functionaries. They, or any five of them, were invested with power of protection and government over all English colonies. They had authority to make laws, orders, and constitutions; to provide for the maintenance of a clergy by tithes, oblations, and other profits; to inflict various kinds of punishment; to remove and appoint governors and other officers; to establish ecclesiastical courts; to hear and determine complaints against either the whole colonies or any private individual; to call in all letters-patent, and, if any were found to convey privileges hurtful to the crown or prerogative royal, to cause them to be legally revoked. When intelligence of these measures reached Massachusetts, the news aroused a feeling of alarm, followed by a movement of resistance. In the autumn of 1634, steps were taken for repelling any attack that might be made by the forces of the King. Orders were given for the erection of fortifications in Boston harbour, at Charlestown, and at Dorchester, and for the training of civilians to the use of arms. Dudley, Winthrop, Endicott, and some others, were directed to make provision for any war which might befall the plantation for the space of a year; and arrangements were entered into for the collection and custody of arms and ammunition. These preparations for a state of hostility were augmented in the beginning of 1635. On the 19th of January of that year, a consultation of the Governor, the Assistants, and the ministers of religion, was held at Boston, and the advice of all present was, that if a General Governor were sent he ought not to be accepted; that they should defend their lawful possessions if they were able, and, if not, that they should temporise. The Boston fortifications were mounted with ordnance, and men were pressed for the necessary service. It was directed that a beacon should be erected on the sentry-hill near the town. Musket-balls were made a legal tender for payments, at the rate of a farthing apiece, to the end that they might be collected in the public stores; the oath of fidelity to the local Government was rigidly exacted; and a military commission was appointed, armed with very great powers, including the right to imprison any who should be judged enemies of the commonwealth, and even to put them to death, should they continue refractory.

Massachusetts, in short, completely assumed the position of an independent State menaced by a foreign enemy. This position was unquestionably illegal. The colonists, it is true, were by their charter empowered to "encounter, repulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, all such person and persons as should at any time thereafter attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of the said plantation or inhabitants." But it clearly could never have been intended to confer on them a right to resist the authority of him from whom the very charter itself proceeded. All such documents must be construed by the rules of common-sense, and by the whole tenor of their provisions. The emigrants were to do nothing contrary to the laws of England; and to resist the King by force of arms was certainly a violation of those laws, not to speak of other acts which had gone before. In some cases, rebellion may be justified by necessity—by the excessive tyranny of the ruling power, or by persistence in a course of illegal government; and, having regard to the known character of Laud, and to the tendency of English legislation with respect to Dissenters for nearly a century, the Puritans of

Massachusetts may well have doubted whether the time had not come for resisting an imminent attack on their liberties. But the charter afforded them no warrant or protection; they were not fulfilling but defying the law, such as it was. What they contemplated was sheer insurrection against the national flag, in the event of any demands being made of which they disapproved. It is singular that the conflict resulting in the independence of the colonies should have narrowly escaped being anticipated a hundred and forty years before; and that the first mutterings of the civil war which presently desolated the old country should have come from the other side of the Atlantic. In 1635, Charles I. had been governing without a parliament for six years; yet not a sign of resistance to his despotism was apparent. The Englishmen in America prepared for action before their kinsmen at home. Had a collision really ensued, the first blow against dominant prerogative would have been struck in the remote west, instead of in the fields of England.

Happily, however, the cloud passed over. The Commission for the government of the colonies was not proceeded with to any great extent—probably because Laud and the other abettors of Charles's tyranny were too much engaged with domestic affairs. But an Order was issued, prohibiting emigration excepting under certain conditions designed to secure complete subjection to the sovereign and the Church. The same year (1635) was signalised by the self-extinction of the Council for New England, formerly the Plymouth Company. The Council had granted lands with such profuse liberality that its property was exhausted and its credit ruined. Accordingly it was resolved (after some previous solicitations from the court) that the charter should be resigned to the King, and that the administration of the Company's domains should be surrendered to a General Governor appointed by his Majesty, on condition that the territory should be conferred by the monarch, in certain proportions, on the members of the corporation individually. As a good deal of this property had already been granted to several persons, the stipulation was of a dishonourable character; but it was agreed to, and the land was distributed in shares. The territory thus disposed of included what had been made over in 1628 to the colonisers of Massachusetts Bay; and the New England Council, anticipating a powerful resistance on the part of the settlers, made an allegation beforehand that the charter under which Endicott, Winthrop, Dudley, and the rest, formed their plantation, had been surreptitiously obtained in derogation of the rights of Robert Gorges and others, although the patent of the younger Gorges had been declared by the House of Commons, through the mouth of Sir Edward Coke, to be contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject. It was also represented that the Massachusetts colonists had made themselves a free people, and that they could not be reduced to their former allegiance unless the King took the business into his own hands. For three years before 1635, the Council seem to have been contemplating some interference with the New England emigrants. At a meeting held on the 6th of November, 1632 (as appears by a Journal of the Council, a portion of which, or a copy of it, is preserved in the State Paper Office), it was propounded for consideration "that no ships, passengers, or goods be permitted to be transported for New England, without licence from the President and Council, or their deputy or deputies; . . . . that a surveyor speedily be sent over, for settling the limits of every plantation according to the patent; also, commissioners to be sent over, to hear and determine all differences, and relieve all grievances there, if they can; if not, to certify the President and Council here in whom the fault is, that speedy order for redress may be taken." But it does not appear that anything was done in pursuance of these resolutions.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges—whose fortunes were mixed up in a remarkable degree with colonial speculations—was appointed by the King Governor-General of New England, and sixty miles were added to the territories which he already held as his individual property. Captain John Mason, long associated with Gorges in the settlement of lands bordering on Canada, was made Vice-Admiral of the colonies now engrossing so much attention; and it seemed for awhile as if some vigorous action would be directed against the little nonconforming republics of America. A ship was built on purpose to convey Gorges, at the head of a thousand soldiers, to the seat of his government; but it fell to pieces on being launched—a circumstance which the Puritans interpreted as a miracle specially worked in their favour. About the same time, Mason died—another event on which the colonists congratulated themselves; and nothing more was done in the way of active operations. A little before the death of Mason, however, legal proceedings were taken against the Massachusetts Company. In September, 1635, Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and twelve more of the original associates, pleaded in the Court of King's Bench in answer to a writ of *quo warranto* brought in by the Attorney General against the corporation. Writs of this



WILLIAMS IN THE FOREST.

nature are directed against persons supposed to have usurped any office, franchise, or liberty, and are issued with a view to compelling an explanation as to the authority by which such powers have been exercised. The law has been modified in more recent times; but in the reign of Charles I. there was little to stand between the people and the crown. Judgment was given against the patentees, and Cradock, who failed to appear, was convicted of the usurpations charged in the information, and made answerable for them to the King. The charter was forfeited, and the Massachusetts Company ceased to exist, after a brief life of only seven years. Its extinction had but little effect on the colony it had fashioned. That colony had now acquired an independent strength of no slight degree. Had the settlers been attacked, they would certainly have fought; and, in the event of a defeat, they would probably have emigrated again. Mr. Palfrey quotes from an anonymous letter "to Mr. Comptroller, from New England," dated July 28th, 1636, in which the latter course is plainly intimated; in which case, says the writer, the plantation would in all likelihood be rendered desolate within two years. "For it is not trade that God will set up in these parts, but the profession of his truth; and therefore, if God's ends be not followed, man's ends will never be blessed nor attained." In 1638, a renewed demand for the charter was sent out from England to Massachusetts; but Winthrop was directed to return a courteous refusal, and to allege reasons against complying with the order. Amongst these was the fear lest, if the document were sent back, the mass of the emigrants would suppose that the King had cast them off, and would thereupon create an independent government, to his Majesty's displeasure. This, however, was a little piece of diplomatic hypocrisy. For the independent government was already established, and in active force.

CHAPTER XIV.

Character of Early Colonial History—New England Puritanism—Arrival of Roger Williams in Massachusetts—Previous Career of Williams—His assertion of the Principle of General Toleration—Collisions with the Civil Power—Strange Contradictions in the Character of Williams—His intense Dogmatism—Inconsistency of Puritan Persecutors—Fanatical Outrage on the English Flag—Further Dissensions of Williams with the Magistrates—Sentence of Banishment—Project of sending Williams back to England—His Flight into the Woods—Foundation by him of the Town of Providence—A purely Democratic Rule—Amiable Character of Williams—Cruelty of his Treatment—Life at Providence—Mrs. Hutchinson and her Heresies.

The history of the early days of a State is necessarily a history of events trivial in themselves, and interesting mainly because they unfold the germs from which after-greatness has proceeded. The reader must be content to follow those to whom the formation of a municipal board is a triumph of policy, and the arrival of a batch of emigrants a memorable event. Instead of the collisions of mighty monarchies, in the council-chamber or on the battle-field, he will hear only of the rivalries of small bands of pioneers, numbering not many hundreds, and divided from one another by leagues of forest, by desert plains, or by the reaches of a stormy sea. He will be told of no traditions of ancient glory, perpetuated or forgotten in the doings of later days; of no vast designs, stirring the pulses of a multitudinous nation; of no haughty conquests and no tragic failures; of no sumptuous pageants, where nobility and wealth and intellect combine to swell the splendours of some Imperial scene; of no famous cities, the seats of art and learning; of no centres of teeming human life, big with the virtues and the wickedness which such centres can alone develope in their highest degree. The story concerns itself with humbler actors on a stage less gorgeously set out. It traces the fortunes of men who have entered into a struggle with wild Nature; who see in the ocean, and the moorland, and the untraversed wood, the antagonists whom God has appointed them to subdue; who encounter the maladies of summer, and the rains of autumn, and the snows of winter, as soldiers going to the battle which may mean victory or death; who parley with hunger as with the enemy at the gate; who sleep with the ready musket close at hand, lest the savage descend on them in the night; who live on hope more than on fruition, and in the future more than in the present; who bear within them the possibility of worlds unborn, and rear the infancy of new commonwealths in the shadow of a planter's hut. Such a narrative should have an interest of its own, full of a tender and heroic element; but the details are sometimes petty and almost vulgar. The colonist is provincial in all his ways, and lacks

the graces and the superb proportions of the civilisation he has left behind.

The early history of New England, however, is powerfully characterised by the religious principles with which it is associated. The emigrants left their native country that they might enjoy freedom of worship; and, having obtained this, they denied it to others. It has been already related that they expelled certain emigrants who had formed a small congregation in accordance with the usages of the Church of England: they were now to be equally despotic with respect to Dissenters who were so unfortunate as to dissent in a manner different from their own. The Rev. Mr. Cotton wrote to his friends in Holland that "the order of the churches and the commonwealth" was so settled by the "common consent" of the colonists that it brought to his mind "the new heaven and new earth wherein dwells righteousness." The "common consent," if it ever existed in reality, did not last long. In February, 1631, a young minister of the name of Roger Williams arrived in Massachusetts. He was by birth a Welshman, but had been brought up in London at the Charter House. While a youth, he had been in the habit of taking short-hand notes of sermons and speeches which attracted his attention. He is supposed to have studied at Cambridge, and to have been admitted to orders in the Established Church. But it was not long ere his disagreement with the ceremonies and principles of that communion became so wide that he quitted its fold, and fled to America. Williams had been kindly brought forward by Sir Edward Coke; and in a letter to Coke's daughter, Mrs. Sadleir, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, he says that, as he rode past Windsor, to take ship at Bristol, it was "bitter as death" to him to see Stoke House, the seat of his patron, and feel that he durst not acquaint him with his flight. Mrs. Sadleir, in a note prefixed to this and some other letters from the same hand, speaks of Williams as "a rebel to God, the King, and his country," and charitably adds that she has preserved his letters in order that, if ever he had the face to return to his native land, Tyburn might "give him welcome." Such were the weapons of controversy in those days. Sir Edward Coke, when acting as Attorney-General at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603, reviled him as a viper, an odious man, a damnable atheist, a monster, and a spider of hell; the great lawyer's daughter treasured up in cold blood the letters of a Dissenter, in order that some day she might have the satisfaction of hanging him for his heterodoxy. Williams, however, escaped hanging; but, in the country where he took refuge to shun the persecutions of the old land, he found himself still the object of bitter religious animosity. The fact is that this thoughtful man had arrived at the great principle of toleration — a principle which his fellow Puritans never understood, but regarded as the mere licence of wickedness. The doctrine was not new; it had been advanced before by a few extreme reformers; but Williams gave it practical application. This daring speculator has been described as a rigid Brownist, precise, uncharitable, and afflicted with turbulent and boisterous passions. He seems, however, to have been more charitable than those who judged him; though doubtless his championship of toleration proceeded rather from a rooted dislike to the interference of the civil magistrate in matters of opinion than from that spirit of kindly interpretation which is willing to admit that one's intellectual adversary may perhaps be in possession of some measure of truth, and is not necessarily either a fool or a scoundrel because he differs on points of doctrine. Williams, it appears, refused to communicate with the Boston congregation because they would not make a public declaration of repentance for having communicated with the Church of England while they remained in the old country.

On his arrival in New England, Williams was invited by the people of Salem to assist the Rev. Mr. Skelton in his ministrations; but the authorities of Boston, not liking his assertion of the freedom of conscience, required the Salem congregation to desist from receiving him as their teacher. He accordingly went to New Plymouth, where he remained about two years, and was then invited by his former flock to return to them. While at Plymouth, he had caused considerable irritation by presenting to the Governor and Assistants of that colony a treatise in which he disputed their right to the land they held by the King's grant; asserted that they could acquire a legitimate title only by compounding with the natives; and indulged in a good deal of fiery invective against the late and the reigning sovereign. For this imprudence he was summoned before the Massachusetts Magistrates, though it is evident that they could have had no legal power in a case occurring out of their jurisdiction. The matters complained of were ultimately declared to be "not so evil as at first they seemed;" but the treatise was condemned, and Williams, making his submission, consented that the manuscript should be burned. On returning to Salem, it was not long before he again came into collision with the civil power. The laws of Massachusetts required the regular attendance of every man at public worship, under a severe penalty.

Williams denied the right of the magistrate to enforce any such attendance, and argued that, as the unbelieving soul was dead in sin, to drag an unwilling person to church was "like shifting a dead man into several changes of apparel."* Besides, to act towards him in this way was an infringement of his natural liberty. No one, he said, should be bound to worship, or to maintain a worship, against his own consent. He was asked if the labourer (meaning, of course, the minister of religion) were not worthy of his hire. "Yes," he replied, "from those that hire him." With equal boldness he denied that there was any reason why the Magistrates should be selected exclusively from members of the church: as well select a doctor of physic or a pilot for his skill in theology. The office of a magistrate, he affirmed, is simply to maintain order, and to protect the goods and outward estate of men. It is not for him to meddle with the conscience, since that belongs to the individual, and not to the body politic. From these general propositions Williams advanced to the more particular assertion that all religions should be equally allowed, and that none should be supported by forced contributions from those who disagreed. The exact limits of his doctrine of toleration are not easily ascertained. That there should be no punishment for idolatry, perjury, blasphemy, or Sabbath-breaking, was deduced by his adversaries as a necessary consequence of his contention that the civil governor should take no cognisance of breaches of the first table of the Decalogue, consisting of the first four commandments; but whether he actually went so far as this does not clearly appear.

We seldom find vehement dogmatic belief combined with toleration; yet such was apparently the case with Williams. At the very time when he was courageously fighting for freedom of conscience, he loudly proclaimed that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for a good man to join in family prayer with those whom he judged unregenerate. His was not a nature to remain long at peace, and he soon gave great offence by refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the civil Magistrates, on the ground that all such oaths were anti-Christian. Bradford, the Governor of New Plymouth, described him as "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment;" and he gave the Salem people, on Williams's return to them, a warning that they should use some caution with regard to him. Cotton Mather, notwithstanding his strong bias against Williams, admits in his "Ecclesiastical History" that in some things he acquitted himself laudably, and in his later years used many commendable endeavours to convert the Indians; but he characterises him as a disputatious, restless, fanciful, Quixotic sectary. To some extent this appears to have been true; but when Mather conceived it to be his duty to "set a mark upon that man who was one of the first that made themselves notable by their opposition to the church order of these plantations," and referred for his justification to the injunction (contained in the sixteenth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans) to "mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned," he was unconsciously condemning the whole movement out of which the New England colonies and churches had arisen. If it was a sin in Williams to dissent from the doctrines professed by the religious communities of Massachusetts, because those doctrines were established, it was equally a sin in the Puritans to dissent from the established order of the Church of England. To say that the one order was wrong and the other right, is simply to beg the question, which every side in every dispute may do with equal reason; and it was to the discomfiture of all such mischievous assumptions, whether on the part of Prelacy against Puritanism, or on that of Puritanism against its own seceders, that Roger Williams advanced his doctrine of general toleration. But in the seventeenth century hardly any one had the wit to see what Williams saw. The difference between him and the authorities of Massachusetts may be resolved into a very few words. The main body of the Puritans regarded persecution as in itself neither good nor bad. It was very bad indeed when directed against themselves, and equally good when wielded on their behalf. To Williams it was bad at all times and for all purposes—a cruel enemy, and a dangerous and disreputable ally.

It is much to be regretted that a man with so clear a perception of principles should in some matters have been so fanciful, contentious, and extravagant. An act in which he is said to have been concerned, and which certainly occurred after his return to Salem, led to great commotion and excitement. In the year 1634, John Endicott, inflamed, as it is alleged, by the fiery declamation of Williams, publicly cut out the red cross of St. George from the English standard hanging before the Governor's gate. As Endicott was at that time a member of the Court of Assistants, the act

* The account of Williams here set forth is partly based on that given by Mr. Bancroft, who quotes largely from a very rare tract by the person concerned, printed in 1644, and from other works by the same pen. Mr. Bancroft's estimate of Williams, however, is too favourable, and it has been corrected by reference to other authorities.

derived the greater importance as coming from one in authority. It was indeed a most imprudent outbreak of fanaticism; for such a defacement of the national flag might well have been construed by the Home Government as a manifestation of rebellion, and have led to the gravest consequences. Endicott was therefore reprimanded by the superior authorities, turned out of his position, and disabled from bearing any office in the State for a year. That those who sentenced him secretly sympathised with his motive, and acted only out of fear of what might be thought in England, is highly probable. A degree of mischief had been done, however, which it was not easy to repair. The people, who before had thought nothing about the cross in the banner, now began to be divided as to the lawfulness of following such a symbol. Some of the militia refused to march under a flag which displayed what they regarded as an idolatrous figure; others saw in the excision a renunciation of allegiance to the mother country, and feared being involved in some signal punishment. A vehement controversy on the subject was carried on by means of pamphlets; and at length, by way of compromise, it was agreed that the cross should be retained in the banners of forts and ships, but omitted from the colours of the militia. Nevertheless, the question of the flag, and of the degree of respect to be shown to it, continued to give a good deal of trouble for a long while. That Williams, by exaggerated denunciations of idolatry, was the prime mover in this matter, seems only too probable.

By 1635, the fiery Welshman had got into such disgrace with the ministers and Magistrates of Massachusetts that the former declared him worthy of banishment for his opinions, and the latter prepared to deal with him according to law, or that which they enforced as law. In the meanwhile, the people of Salem were punished for their choice of such a pastor by being denied a tract of land for which they had asked. To this, Williams replied by causing his church to write letters of admonition to other churches, that they might reprove the Magistrates for their injustice. He also directed his own congregation to renounce all communication with the other churches of the colony, and, on their declining to do so, ceased to have any intercourse with them, and refused to join in family prayers or grace at table with his wife, because she continued to frequent their communion. It is clear that, in place of the secular tyranny which he so courageously opposed, he would have set up a spiritual tyranny of a very onerous kind. At the next General Court, Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology for the letter of reproof should be made by the municipality. This was shortly done, and Williams was left without a supporter in the course on which he had entered. He declared himself no longer subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the colonial churches. In a similar strain he defended his opinions before the General Court to which he was summoned, and declared his readiness to die, or suffer banishment, rather than renounce them. But the case was predetermined against him. On the 3rd of September, a majority of the court—not a very large majority, however—ordered that, for his dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, and for his contumacious letters, he should leave the jurisdiction of the colony within the ensuing six weeks. The liberty to remain was afterwards extended to the following spring; and Williams began to make preparations for founding a new settlement in the vicinity of Narragansett Bay. His popularity with the people of Salem, however, was so much increased by the prospect of his persecution, that the authorities of Boston (now the recognised capital of the plantation) considered it unsafe to allow his presence in a locality so near the older settlement as that where he proposed to start afresh. For this reason they sent Captain Underhill to put him on board a vessel about to sail for England; but Williams anticipated the arrival of that officer by flying, alone and in the depth of winter, into the woods about Salem.

It was bitter weather, thick with snow and wild with wind. The unhappy fugitive has left a written account of his sufferings, from which it appears that he encountered as many hardships as a man could well live under. For fourteen weeks he wandered up and down in the wilderness, a forlorn and friendless man. With a pathetic play on words, after the fashion of his time, he says that during that terrible season he had no knowledge either of bread or bed. In the stormy nights he was often destitute of fire or food; often he strayed without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree. He would probably have perished but for the kindly succour of the Indians. We have seen that he had asserted the right of the natives to their own soil, unless compensation were made to them for taking it. He reaped the advantage of that recognition of natural justice in the generous treatment which he experienced at the hands of these poor savages. Massasoit, the great chieftain from whom the whole territory of Massachusetts took its name, gave him welcome; and Canonicus, the head of the Narragansetts, received him with a love which never changed. Shortly after his arrival in America, Williams had instructed himself

in the Indian language, and was now a master of it. This enabled him to do much in inducing some of the natives to accept Christianity; it also established and confirmed a friendly feeling between himself and them, which was of the highest service to both. To the end of his life he was a friend to the Indians, always ready to affirm their rights in the face of unscrupulous power.

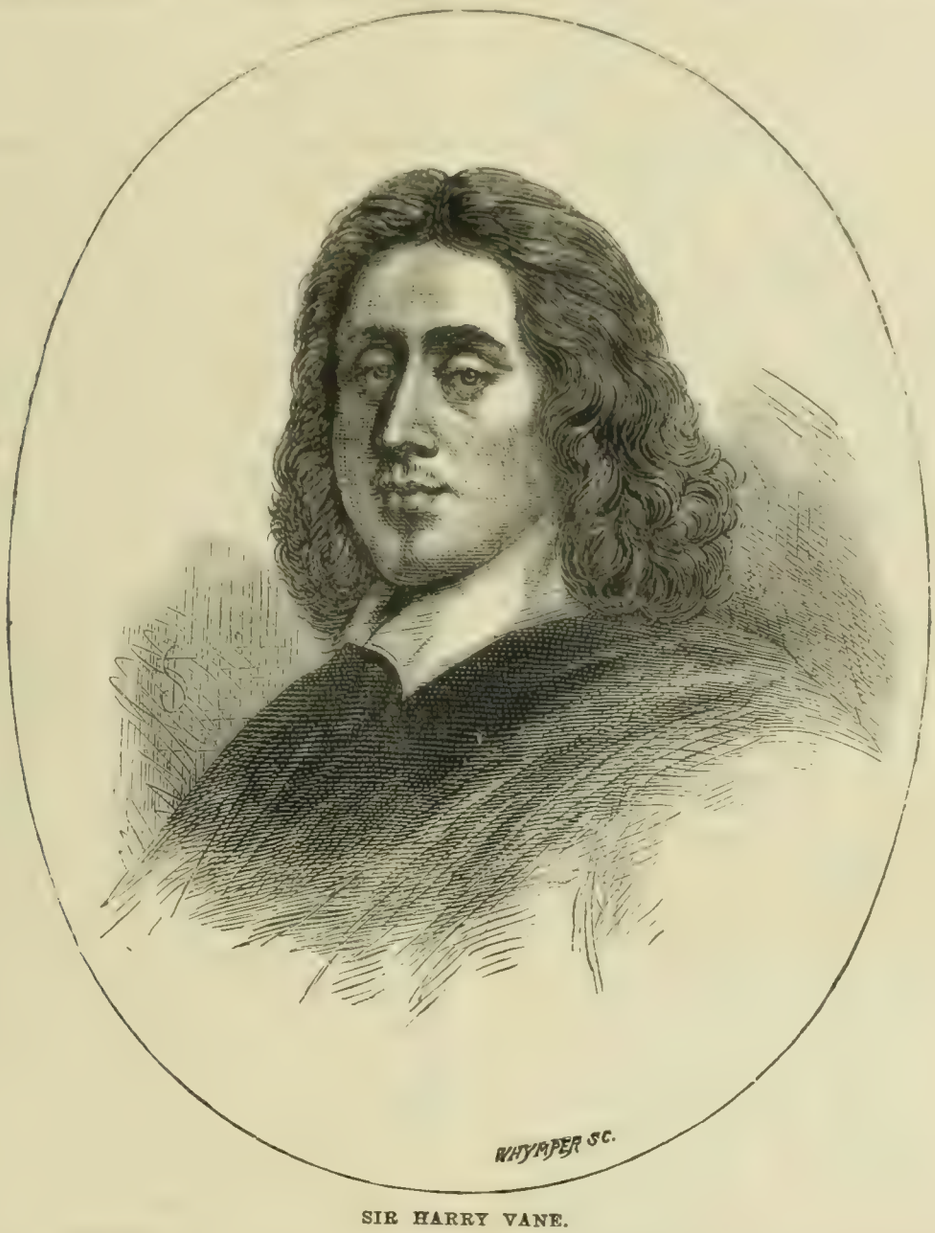
The first settlement made by Williams, which was early in 1636, was at a place called Seekonk, near the mouth of a river which discharges itself into Narragansett Bay—a situation to the south of Boston, and to the west of Plymouth. But Seekonk being found to be within the patent of the latter colony, the adventurous explorer removed to the other side of the water, where the ground was as yet unappropriated by any European. Winthrop, it appears, pointed out this locality to Williams, as being uncomplicated by English claims; so that the former Governor of Massachusetts was not one of those who regarded the preacher of toleration with entire disfavour. In June, 1636, Williams embarked in a canoe on the river, which runs southward into the bay. He had with him only five companions; but his courageous and hopeful spirit bore him on. His work was to establish a new colony, which should be as a harbour to all oppressed men and to all proscribed opinions; and in such a task he believed himself to have the special countenance of God. Crossing the stream, he landed on a jutting point separating the river from the uppermost inlet of Narragansett Bay. The precise spot, near to a spring of water, is still shown. Williams called the place Providence, and here the city so named is situated. The river also has received the same title. It was a wild and lonely spot, and the new settlers had to work incessantly to bring it into anything like cultivation. Williams says that he himself toiled day and night, at the hoe and at the oar, for bread. But he was not unmindful of what he had always asserted in respect to other settlers—the prior right of the natives to the land, and the dishonesty of seizing on their territory without first obtaining their leave, and giving them an equivalent. He made a bargain with the Narragansett Indians, and fulfilled it with money borrowed on a mortgage of his house and land at Salem. In this way the soil became truly his own; yet he reserved nothing to himself, but freely gave lands to all who came.



PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

Nor did he assert, or endeavour to exercise, any special political power whatever. In two

years' time he had gathered a small community about him. A constitution of a purely democratic nature was established, and the compact to which settlers were required to subscribe made provision for the rights of conscience. "We do promise," said this undertaking, "to subject ourselves in active and passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit into the same, only in civil things." Thus, the dominion of the magistrate over the intellectual or spiritual opinions of men was in express terms excluded. The government was of the simplest kind. Everything was decided in meetings of the entire population — a method feasible enough when the whole number is very small, but at once impracticable and undesirable at a more advanced stage of political life. A town treasurer was the only officer appointed during the first four years of the new colony; and the people of Massachusetts were led to suppose that Williams and his companions would have no magistrates at all.* If, however, they ever entertained such an intention, it was brushed aside by time and practical necessity, those great correctors of all extravagances and utopias. Unfortunately, scarcely any records of the settlement at Providence for the first ten years are now in existence. It appears, however, from some fragments still remaining, that in 1640 a form of government was devised by four arbitrators chosen for the purpose, and agreed to by thirty-nine freemen. The main feature of this



SIR HARRY VANE.

* The word "Magistrate," as here used, must be understood as including the sense which is often attached to it—that of a governor or ruler. Thus, the king is the first magistrate in a monarchy; the president, in a republic. But the governors in New England acted also as justices of the peace, for the correction of offences—a combination of functions not unnatural in the beginning of new communities.

constitution was a provision for the adjustment of disputes by means of a permanent board of five disposers, to be chosen by the inhabitants.

Whatever his faults, of intellect or temper—and his repeated changes of doctrinal opinion were necessarily very trying to those with whom he associated—the thorough excellence of Williams's nature cannot be denied. It is evident that he deeply desired to live according to what he conceived to be the will of God; that he was a painful searcher after truth; that he reverenced the moral law as superior to that which is declared in statutes and enforced by magistrates; that he was placable, humane, and forgiving. He never expressed himself with the slightest bitterness towards his persecutors. He always regarded the authorities of Massachusetts with personal respect, while dissenting entirely from their political ideas. He was ever ready to do a kindness to others, and to forget himself in the general good. The hearts of many melted towards him. Winslow, one of the leading men in the Plymouth colony, visited him at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of his wife for their support, though his view of the dispute between Williams and the Governors of Massachusetts was in favour of the latter.

The banishment of this singular man from the colony where he first settled was a mistake and even a crime, but one which finds some excuse in the sentiments of the period, and in the really vexatious character of much of Williams's opposition. On the other hand, its injustice is heightened by the fact that his persecutors were men who had themselves suffered for conscience, and had fled their country because they denied the right of the civil power to coerce their souls. To banish a man from a new colony may be a less hardship than to drive him from the land of his birth, of his ancestry, and of his family connections; but the distinction is not so extreme as to render venial in the one case what is heinous in the other. The two acts are essentially the same; and nothing can be urged on behalf of the Massachusetts Government that may not be advanced with equal force in defence of the monarch, the Parliament, and the prelates of England, in their dealings with the Puritans. The argument of Mr. Palfrey,* that the people of Massachusetts had a right to choose their associates, and to expel any one who seemed to them likely to cause trouble, will not bear examination. It cannot rest on any ground of natural right, unless it be applied to all nations equally; in which case the representatives of the English people were within their privilege in proscribing the founders of New England. Nor can it be based on any special provision of the Royal charter, conferring on the colonists power to exclude all persons of whom they disapproved; for, although the instrument in question contains words to that effect, the charter had been so frequently violated by the colonists as to have lost all validity. Indeed, it was forfeited about the time when the expulsion of Williams was ordered; and, a year and a half before, it had been announced that all such charters would be called in. Besides, it must be recollected that the Government of Massachusetts broke their promise of allowing the offender to remain till spring, and that they not merely prohibited him from sojourning amongst them (according to the original sentence), but endeavoured to effect his removal to England, where his opinions and previous career would have exposed him to severe penalties—perhaps even to that death at Tyburn for which the daughter of Sir Edward Coke had made such careful provision. When we consider that the persecutors of Williams were themselves liable in England to the same punishments for the same class of offence, it must be allowed that a more cruel or odious instance of religious enmity is not on record. That this act of persecution was really, though not nominally, based on theological considerations, is evident from the whole course of the story. The gravamen of Williams's transgression was that he had denied the right of the magistrate to punish a man for entertaining ideas on religion which the State might choose to regard as heterodox. The Puritan leaders of Massachusetts, who had held exactly the same opinion in England, where they suffered from the interference of the civil power with their peculiar views, would not hear of any such freedom when the means of repression had passed into their own hands. It is the old story repeated for the thousandth time.

> "The abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins
> Remorse from power . . . . . .
> . . . . . But 'tis a common proof
> That lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
> Whereto the climber-upward turns his face;
> But when he once attains the utmost round,
> He then unto the ladder turns his back,—
> Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
> By which he did ascend." †

The court at Boston may have alleged civil turbulence as their reason for punishing Williams; but it is clear that his insubordination, however vexatious and improper it may have been, was provoked by previous ill-treatment on religious grounds, and that, for such unruliness as he had manifested,

* History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty, Vol. I., chap. 10.

† Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar, Act II., sc. 1.

transportation to England, where death probably awaited him, was a sentence of iniquity, such as the High Commission Court itself could hardly have surpassed.

How little inclined were the Massachusetts authorities to anything like religious liberty, may be seen, not merely in their conduct towards individuals, but in a law passed in 1636, after a year's deliberation, which set forth that—"Forasmuch as it hath been found by sad experience that much trouble and disturbance hath happened, both to the church and civil state, by the officers and members of some churches which have been gathered within the limits of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbation as were meet, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this Court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companies of men as shall henceforth join in any pretended way of church-fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates, and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this jurisdiction, with their intentions, and have their approbation herein. And further it is ordered that no person, being a member of any church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the magistrates and the greater part of the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth." Here was an Act of Uniformity passed by the very men who had protested against the English Act of the same nature as a cruel tyranny and a godless coercion of souls. The spiritual rebellion of Roger Williams was doubtless the occasion out of which it arose. But the principle of a State Church was affirmed by this law only seven years after the Puritans of Massachusetts had fled from the State Church of England.

The theory of religious toleration with which Williams started his colony was very fairly carried out. Those who could not understand religion without strict observances enforced by law, regarded the little settlement of Providence as a chaos, and the citizens as so many madmen. "Proceeding from one whimsey to another," writes Neal, "they soon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy, till at last religion itself grew into contempt, and the public worship of God was generally neglected." Cotton Mather represented them as a generation of sectaries, whose posterity, for want of schools and of a public ministry (for which they entertained an extreme aversion), had become so barbarous as not to be capable of speaking either good English or good sense. But that these accounts were exaggerated is evident from the further testimony of Neal, who in the second volume of his History says of the people of Providence and Warwick:—"They now [1720] live in great amity with their neighbours, and, though every man does what he thinks right in his own eyes, it is rare that any notorious crimes are committed by them, which may be attributed in some measure to their great veneration for the holy Scriptures, which they all read, from the least to the greatest, though they have neither ministers nor magistrates to recommend it to them. They have an aversion to all sorts of taxes, as the inventions of men to support hirelings, as they call all such magistrates and ministers as won't serve them for nothing. They are very hospitable to strangers: a traveller passing through these towns may call at any house with the same liberty as if he were at an inn, and be kindly entertained with the best they have, for nothing." Whatever the "whimseys" of these colonists, and however impracticable their scheme of government in any but a small and primitive settlement, it is evident that they had not lost sight of some of the best virtues of humanity.

Shortly after the escape of Roger Williams into the wilds of the Narragansett country, Massachusetts was disturbed by another religious commotion, more serious than that which had preceded it. Some of the later emigrants had brought with them ideas of religious reform much bolder and larger than those of the original founders. To these extreme theorists, the more cautious Puritans, who looked to Winthrop and his companions as their leaders, appeared as a set of priest-ridden persecutors, as men corrupted by the remains of Popish doctrine, as hypocrites, Pharisees, and tyrants. The leader was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson (whose mother was great-aunt of the poet Dryden), a Lincolnshire woman, who, after acquiring great influence over a number of other women, found herself at the head of a large band of enthusiasts, male and female. Her principles were those which are sometimes called Antinomian; that is to say, she denied the need of good works, and asserted that justification was by faith alone. A sanctified life, she contended, was not the slightest evidence or guarantee of a state of acceptance with God. The command to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, applied to none but such as were under the covenant of works. The true believer in Christ was personally united with the spirit of God; and all such were saved by special grace, without any reference to what they might do or leave undone. A doctrine so favourable to laxity of living is liable to degenerate into the grossest self-indulgence and the wildest anarchy. It thus degenerated in the early Christian ages,

and again in the sixteenth century, both in Germany and Holland; leading several to the monstrous absurdity that not merely *might* men sin and yet be saved, but that they *must* sin, and in the highest degree, to make the sacrifice of Christ of any avail. The opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson with regard to prevenient grace, justification by faith, and the vanity of works, could hardly in themselves (though mingled with others of a less acceptable nature) have raised against her the ire of the rulers of Massachusetts, since similar views are embodied in Calvinism, which was the creed of New England. The real cause of quarrel probably lay in the pertinacity with which this gentlewoman assailed several ministers and Magistrates as godless hirelings, and asserted the right of all people to follow their own religious convictions, without official licence or restraint. The matter was further complicated by her putting forth some fantastical notions about an immediate revelation of future events, to be believed as equally infallible with the Scriptures, but to be communicated in a way other than miraculous. A relation by marriage of Mrs. Hutchinson, the Rev. John Wheelwright, formerly a Lincolnshire clergyman, shared in her religious conceptions, and the commonwealth was divided into two factions, which conducted their disputes with so much vehemence and self-absorption that even necessary public business was for a time neglected. Wheelwright was censured for sedition, and threatened to appeal to England—a menace which was denounced as involving perjury and treason. At length, after a synod of the ministers of New England had condemned the Antinomian heresies, in 1637, Mrs. Hutchinson (who partly retracted her opinions, partly denied the accuracy of the charges brought against her), her kinsman, and a man named Aspinwall, were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts by a sentence of the Magistrates, and their adherents were required to deliver up their arms, to prevent the possibility of a riot. Peace was thus restored, but at the expense of another violation of the right of private judgment — a violation, however, for which there is certainly much more to be said than in the case of Williams, for the Antinomians had both preached and spoken with such heat and acrimony that the danger of civil disruption was by no means slight.

CHAPTER XV.

The Religious Dissensions of New England—Omens and Portents—Arrival in Massachusetts of Henry Vane the Younger—His Election to the Post of Governor—Singular Character of Vane—He upholds the Religious Ideas of Mrs. Hutchinson—Excited State of the Colony—Vane's Unpopularity and Return to England—The Rev. Hugh Peters—Reforms in the State of Massachusetts—Dutch Designs on Connecticut—English Explorations of that Territory and Attempts at Settlement—The Colonisation of Connecticut undertaken by Winthrop the Younger—Antagonistic Claims to the Land—A Pastoral Journey through the Forest—Murders committed by the Pequot Indians—Gallant Action of an English Sailor—Military Operations against the Pequots—Services of Roger Williams—Dangerous Situation of the English Colonies—Native Alliances—Vigorous Campaign against the Pequots, and Extermination of the Tribe.

RELIGIOUS dissent having been the motive which led to the establishment of the New England colonies, the history of those settlements for several years has reference mainly to the contentions of opposing sects. A plague of theological subtleties descended on the unhappy people. On the slightest provocation, men fell into fierce dispute about doctrines which neither side understood, and both claimed a peculiar faculty to interpret. An enthusiastic woman could bring a whole commonwealth to the verge of civil war. A hot-headed preacher could create a schism in the church, and almost a mutiny in the army. A question which no one could solve, and which every one lost his temper in discussing, was sufficient to divide magistrate from magistrate, and to part friend from friend. Persons asked one another whether they walked under a covenant of works or a covenant of grace; and were prepared to love or hate according to the answer. They sat out sermons of inordinate duration, and afterwards, in their own homes, debated every principle that the preacher had laid down. They sounded the entire gamut of Calvinistical divinity, and tortured every note into a separate discord. Predestination, particular redemption, particular reprobation, original sin, effectual grace, justification by faith, regeneration and baptism, were the subjects on which these people incessantly talked, wrote, declaimed, and wrangled. The early divisions of Christendom were repeated in lands which were to have witnessed the unity of the true faith, and scarcely any distinction was too exquisite to be the subject of angry bickerings. Cotton Mather has related in his New England History

that, in the colony of Connecticut, a dispute arose between the Rev. Mr. Stone and a ruling Elder of his church, which speedily set the whole settlement in a flame, though the multitude had no distinct knowledge of what the quarrel was about. Yet the disputants were often kindly, honourable, and conscientious men.

Many of the ministers, disliking this independence of thought as much as if they had been Bishops in the old country, lamented the rapid progress of heresy, and chided the amateur theologians for meddling with matters which they did not understand. They should have recollected that they had themselves contributed to the result by exaggerated, overwrought, and unceasing appeals to the religious sentiment. By the continual provocatives of preaching, exhortation, discussion, and extempore prayer-making, together with the use of a phraseology specially contrived for the same end, they had created a morbid appetite, which found no satisfaction in any of the ordinary affairs of life, but was constrained to seek perpetual excitement in the hottest and most pungent dogmas it could discover or devise. Gloomy depression alternated with spiritual exaltation. In the shadow of New England forests, men indulged in strange visions, and imagined omens and portents of particular application to themselves. Like the "godless regent" of Pope's line, they "trembled at a star," and ordered a reformation of manners because a meteor had appeared in the heavens.* A fight between a mouse and a snake, which ended in the death of the latter, was interpreted as a sign that the poor fugitive people of Massachusetts, who were represented by the mouse, should vanquish Satan, who of course was symbolised by the snake. Such was the explanation of the phenomenon given by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of Boston, who, according to Cotton Mather, had a remarkable gift of prophecy; and the same minister told the Governor of the State that, before he had resolved to settle in America, he had dreamt he was there, and saw a church rise out of the earth, which became a marvellous goodly church. When such were the teachers, who can wonder at the vagaries of the taught?

At the period of the Hutchinsonian controversy, the religious excitement of the colony was intensified by the presence of a remarkable man, destined in after years to play a prominent part in England—a man who was above all things an enthusiast in matters of faith. Henry Vane the younger had, for conscience' sake (being a Puritan), emigrated to America, where he arrived in 1635. His father was at that time a Privy Councillor and one of the Secretaries of State; but the son preferred his freedom to his prospects of advancement. He was but three-and-twenty when he reached Massachusetts, and his father had given him permission to remain three years. Scarcely three months had passed ere he had acquired such an influence amongst the politicians of the little commonwealth, that his voice was listened to on every important question. In the course of a few more months he had attained to the highest honour of the infant settlement, being elected Governor in May, 1636, with Winthrop for his deputy. For this office he was in many respects unfitted. He was undoubtedly a man of great ability. Clarendon has borne high testimony to his intellect, though not to his character. Milton, writing several years afterwards, addressed him as—

> "Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repell'd
> The fierce Epirot and the African bold."†

But he was then much older than in the days of his New England experience, and even in his mature years Vane was one of those men who find it impossible to work long in harmony with any party. He it was from whom Cromwell, when expelling the House of Commons in 1653, prayed the Lord to deliver him as by a special mercy. He could not coalesce with the Protector; he could not coalesce with the Protector's son; he could not coalesce with the Long Parliament; he could not coalesce with the restored monarchy. He was at issue with them all by turns, and he fell a sacrifice to the anger of Charles II., whose accession to the throne had certainly been facilitated by the impracticable nature of such visionary Republicans as he. From Vane's first entrance into political life, in New England, to his death on Tower Hill seven-and-twenty years later, he was constantly in antagonism to the ruling authority or dominant party of the hour. His nature was so secretive that it was said no one could penetrate his designs; but it is probable that he never clearly understood them himself, and that he was less a dissimulator than a monomaniac. Amongst many singular opinions, he held the unorthodox view that even the devils and the damned would ultimately be saved. Yet he belonged to the most fanatical and least reasonable of all the sects then existing—that of the Fifth Monarchy Men, the men who refused to obey any rule but that of Jesus Christ, and who proclaimed that the Messiah was shortly to establish on earth that empire which they rather irreverently

* Neal's History, under date 1668.

† Sonnet XVII.

numbered as one of the same series with the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. He conceived that he himself was to act as Viceroy for a thousand years; and on the scaffold he compared Tower Hill to Mount Pisgah, and expressed a full assurance of being immediately placed at the right hand of Christ. It was the insane outbreak of the Fifth Monarchy Men in 1661 that sealed the fate of Vane; though it does not appear that he had anything to do with it, and the condemnation was avowedly in respect of his conduct ever since the day of Charles I.'s execution.

A person of this unsettled order of mind was not the best man for conducting the affairs of a new colony; especially when to his natural defects was added the inexperience of youth. Vane had not been long in office when the troubles consequent on Mrs. Hutchinson's movement broke out. He enlisted himself warmly on the side of that enthusiast, though a due consideration of his office and its responsibilities would have dictated a more reserved and cautious policy. Massachusetts, on the whole, was against Mrs. Hutchinson; but the majority in Boston supported her views, and the countenance of Vane was of course a great encouragement to her. A period of agitation ensued, and Vane found that colonial opinion generally was opposed to him. When the main body of ministers determined to inquire into the heresy which Boston had favoured, the young Governor, in December, 1636, called a Court of Deputies, and informed the representatives of the people that he had received letters from England which necessitated his return. Being exhorted to remain, he declared with many tears that, although the causes for his departure were such that the entire ruin of his worldly estate was involved, he would willingly have risked it rather than have left his new home, had it not been that he feared the judgments of God on the plantation, in consequence of the dissensions he saw amongst them, and the imputations cast upon himself, as if he were the cause of all. For the time he appeared to be unshakably resolved; but, after expostulations on the part of the Boston church, of which he expressed himself an obedient child, he gave up his intention, which, perhaps, may have been rather professed, with a view to extorting some manifestation of confidence, than really entertained. The dissensions continued; the meetings of the General Court were transferred from Boston to Newtown, on account of the agitated state of the former place; and in May, 1637, Winthrop was again elected Governor, and Dudley Deputy-Governor. At the same time, other elections occurred, of a nature entirely favourable to what may be called the orthodox party. Matters very nearly came to a street riot; but the malcontents were at length pacified. Vane was elected one of the body of Deputies, and, after a paper war with Winthrop as to the propriety of a measure which was passed by the General Court for the purpose of temporarily expelling all who should be judged dangerous to the commonwealth, he returned to England in the early part of August, 1637. The military honours attending his embarkation show that, notwithstanding special grounds of difference, he was regarded with respect.

Vane had been accompanied to New England by a man destined, like himself, to become eminent in the old country, and in the end to be executed for his republicanism. He had for one of his fellow-emigrants the celebrated minister, Hugh Peters, afterwards chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. Peters did not support Vane in his view of the Hutchinsonian controversy, and, on one occasion, during his Governorship, publicly reproved him for opposing the ministers, and besought him to consider his youth, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, to which he had shown himself too apt. All Vane's difficulties were with respect to the religious question. On other grounds he got on very well with his colleagues. During his rule, some changes were introduced into the institutions of the colony, which seem to have given general satisfaction; and a military system was organised, with the Governor for the time being as Commander-in-Chief, which furnished the plantation with something like an effective army. The experiment of a Council appointed for life—an innovation which proved very unpopular, and was therefore allowed to drop—does not appear to have been any plan of his. If he could have kept his mind clear from those clouds of mysticism which made the pamphleteers of a later day call him "Sir Humorous Vanity," he would have better deserved the compliment which Milton paid him in the Sonnet before quoted, when he wrote:—

> "To know
> Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
> What severs each, thou hast learn'd, which few have done."

But even as it was he deserved it to some extent, in spite of his faults. When conducting his controversy with Winthrop on the measure for excluding from the colony the holders of obnoxious opinions, he used language which did him honour. "Scribes, and Pharisees, and such as were confirmed in any way of error," he argued, were to be pitied and reformed, rather than denied cohabitation.

While these difficult questions of religious doctrine, secular law, and private conscience were con-



ATTACK ON THE PEQUOT FORT.

vulsing the territory of Massachusetts, the work of extended settlement was still proceeding. As early as 1633, John Oldham, formerly a member of the Plymouth colony, from which he had been expelled for sedition, penetrated by land, together with three companions, to the Connecticut river, which, flowing from the north many miles to the west of the older settlements, empties itself into the sea opposite the eastern extremity of Long Island. On the return of these explorers, they reported that they had lodged at Indian towns all the way, and they brought back with them some beaver, hemp, and black lead. A vessel which had been built by Governor Winthrop coasted Long Island, sailed a short distance up the Connecticut, and visited the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson. Some jealousy of the Dutch was not unnaturally felt by the English, and it was resolved that at any rate the Connecticut should not fall into their hands, notwithstanding that for a little while they had had a small fort there. The Plymouth people established a factory on the banks of the river, and in 1634 several persons belonging to the towns of Massachusetts resolved to remove thither. Their contemplated departure was opposed by some of the Boston people, on the ground that so considerable an emigration would weaken the infant colony from which it was drawn, and that the enterprise might lead to a collision with the Dutch, with whom the Plymouth explorers had already had a few slight passages of arms. For some time it was doubtful whether permission would not be refused, in virtne of a power to forbid such expeditions which was claimed by the Magistrates; but the opposition of those authorities (who in this respect were at issue with the majority of the Deputies) was afterwards withdrawn, and, in the summer of 1635, emigrants from Dorchester found their way to the spot where the Plymouth factory had been established, and were followed by others from Watertown. Sixty men, women, and children, driving cattle before them, set out in the autumn, and pitched their tents in the wilderness. Winter came on with unexpected suddenness. Six weeks after their departure, twelve of their number appeared at Boston, and reported that they had left the river frozen over (though it was only November), that on this account no supplies could be received by water-carriage, and that on their return journey, which had occupied ten days, one of their company had been lost in the ice, and they would all have starved, had they not lighted on an Indian wigwam. Those who remained at the settlement suffered terribly for want of the barest necessaries, and at length several of them struggled down to the river's mouth, where they fell in with a vessel, which took them to Boston. The rest supported themselves on acorns, malt, and grain, until relief arrived. The loss in cattle was very great.

The original proprietor of the valley of the Connecticut was the Earl of Warwick. This nobleman afterwards assigned the territory to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, John Pym, and others, who were associated in a patent for the colonisation of the country. In October, 1635, John Winthrop the younger returned to New England after a visit to the old country, bearing with him a commission from the patentees, by which he was constituted Governor of the region in question for a year, with instructions to build a fort at the river's mouth, to employ a party of fifty men in the execution of that work, and to erect houses within the circuit of the fort. All settlers, in the early days of the colony, were to plant themselves either at the harbour, or near the mouth of the river, that they might be the better able to protect one another from possible attacks by the Dutch. For the carrying out of these designs, young Winthrop was provided with men and ammunition, and with two thousand pounds in money. At the beginning of November he despatched a party of twenty men, who with two pieces of cannon drove off a Dutch vessel which had been sent to assert a claim to the possession of the river. A small fort was then erected in a favourable spot at the mouth of the stream. Vane and Peters were associated with the younger Winthrop in the management of the new colony; and these three made proclamation of the rights of their principals, and required a recognition of them on the part of those who had already gone there, together with an explanation showing by what authority they had begun their settlement. It thus appears that at this time there were four claimants to the Connecticut territory: the Dutch; the Plymouth colonists, who alleged that they had purchased certain lands from the Indians, and defended them against the Hollanders; the settlers from Massachusetts; and the patentees. But all these claims, with the exception of the Dutch, were soon amicably adjusted, and the colonisation of Connecticut proceeded for awhile with no more than the usual difficulties of life in a savage and unknown region.

A larger emigration than those which had preceded it took place in June, 1636. It was led by Thomas Hooker, a preacher who has been termed "the light of the western churches." A hundred adventurers, including women and children, and accompanied by large herds of cattle, set out on their pilgrimage to the new land of promise. The

difficulties of progression were great. The thick and intertangled woods were threaded by numerous streams, which it was necessary to cross by the felled trunks of trees. Swamps occasionally spread themselves out beneath the overarching shades; there were steep hills to be surmounted, wide valleys to be passed. The settlers advanced at the rate of less than ten miles a day; but the season was summer, and hope was buoyant in the hearts of all. They steered their way through the leafy wilderness by means of a compass, as if they had been sailing across the ocean. By day they subsisted on such humble fare as they carried with them, on the berries of the woods, and on the milk of the kine which plodded by their side. By night they slept in tents and waggons beneath a pendent canopy of boughs which had scarcely before sheltered any but the red man and the wild creatures of the desert. Their minister frequently halted in mid-forest, and preached some animating discourse, while the cattle quietly browsed upon the trees, or sought the refreshment of a bubbling runnel. To those Scripture-reading men, it must have seemed like the journey of Abram with all his flocks into the land of Canaan.

The distance to be traversed was scarcely a hundred miles; but it took a fortnight to reach the place of settlement—a spot on the western bank of the Connecticut river, near the present city of Hartford. Here the caravan finally halted, and a number of small towns presently rose up with the rapidity that is observable in colonies. The rulers of the settlement acted in virtue of a commission granted them by the General Court of Massachusetts to govern the people of Connecticut for the space of a year. This, however, was an exercise of authority on the part of Massachusetts which could not have been justified had it been challenged, for the newly-settled territory was beyond the border of the older colony; but the commission seems to have been issued in concert with the younger Winthrop, who represented the patentees, and it may have been the only way, for the time being, of securing an effective and orderly government. At the end of the year, the commission was not renewed, and the little community thenceforward took the management of its affairs into its own hands. The settlers were soon gladdened by the presence of John Haynes, a member of the Court of Assistants of Massachusetts, and at one time Governor of that colony. Haynes, a man of ability, and of experience as a ruler, was a great accession of strength to the young plantation, and affairs speedily prospered. By the middle of 1637, the population of the three lower towns on the Connecticut (Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield) amounted to about eight hundred, comprising two hundred and fifty men. There were also a few other settlers in localities somewhat removed.

The peace of the colony was not to last long. In proximity to the English adventurers was a populous tribe of Indians, called the Pequots. These savages occupied a tract of country lying between the river Pawcatuck, forming the western boundary of the present State of Rhode Island, and another river, at that time named after themselves, but now designated the Thames. They could muster a formidable army of warriors, and had for some time past inspired so much terror among the neighbouring tribes that the latter requested Governor Winthrop, in 1631, to make a settlement in their country, as a protection. Two years later, some Englishmen fell victims to the ferocity of the Pequots. Certain traders, led by two men named Stone and Norton, sailed up the Connecticut river, with a view to trafficking with the Dutch, and, having taken some of these Indians on board, were murdered in the night. The Pequot chief afterwards sent representatives to Boston; excused the murder, on the ground that it was partly accidental, partly provoked by ill-treatment from Stone; agreed to surrender the only two of the assassins who were then living; and engaged to pay a considerable tribute of wampum and furs, and to cede ground for a settlement. This was in 1634, at which time the Pequots were threatened both by the Narragansetts and the Dutch, and were desirous of obtaining English support. When their troubles had passed over, they broke their promises, and in the summer of 1636 murdered John Oldham, whose chequered career has been previously alluded to. The fact was discovered in a way which strongly marks the adventurous character of early colonial life in America. On the 20th of July, John Gallup, of Boston, while sailing in a small fishing vessel with a man and two boys, observed, in the neighbourhood of Block Island, another little boat, the awkward management of which attracted his notice. He recognised the vessel as belonging to Oldham, but, upon approaching, saw a canoe put off from her, and at the same time perceived that her deck was covered with Indians, who appeared to be well armed with pikes, guns, and swords. Gallup suspected foul play, and resolved, though his numbers were so few, to attack the savages forthwith. He had with him two guns, two pistols, and some duck-shot; and, opening fire on the Indians, he forced them to seek shelter below deck. Next, he ran his vessel into theirs with so violent a shock that six of the Indians jumped overboard in

a panic. On a second collision, four more savages threw themselves into the sea, leaving only four on board; and Gallup, springing on to Oldham's boat, received the submission of two of the intruders, while the other two were fastened down under hatches. On the deck lay the dead body of Oldham, fearfully mutilated, but still warm.

The Government of Massachusetts, on hearing of this murder, at once determined to conduct active operations against the Pequots. Vane despatched ninety men to Long Island Sound, in three small vessels, under the command of Endicott, Captain John Underhill, and some others. Underhill was a soldier of experience, who had followed the fortunes of war in Ireland, Spain, and the Netherlands, and who on many stirring occasions had proved himself one of the most successful military leaders of the early Colonial period. In subsequent years, he fell into contention with Massachusetts, sought a reconciliation, and confessed himself guilty of adultery, pride, hypocrisy, and persecution of God's people. In 1642 he took service under the Dutch, and signalised himself in wars with the Indians; and in 1672 he died on Long Island. At present, however, he was in favour with Massachusetts. He and Endicott attacked the savages of Block Island, and, after a sharp skirmish, burned their houses, sank their canoes, and cut down their corn. Some further operations took place, varied by a futile attempt to come to terms, and the English returned to Boston without loss. The expedition, however, seems to have been feebly conducted, and the Pequots were rather exasperated than cowed. They now endeavoured to effect an alliance with their former enemies, the Narragansetts, with the expressed intention of exterminating the whole of the New England settlements. To those less warlike savages they represented, not without reason, that the English were overspreading their country, and, if not checked, would speedily seize on the whole, and destroy or enslave all the native inhabitants. In opposing their formidable enemies, the Pequots added, it would not be necessary to fight a pitched battle: it would be sufficient to fire their houses, to kill their cattle, and to lie in ambush for themselves when they went abroad upon their business.

These menacing negotiations came to the knowledge of Roger Williams, then established at Providence, to whom, as the reader is aware, the Narragansetts had always been very friendly, and who had treated them with a considerate kindness which bore the best fruit. He lost no time in communicating the news to the Governor of Massachusetts, who requested him to use his utmost and speediest endeavours to frustrate the contemplated league. Entering a fragile canoe, he sailed along the coast to a part of the territory where dwelt the sachem of the Narragansetts; and at the wigwam of that barbarian potentate he found the Pequot emissaries already assembled. In a letter to Captain Mason, preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, he expresses his horror at coming into contact with these wretches. "Three days and nights," he observes, "my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut river, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also." The service which Williams thus rendered, at the peril of his life, not only to Connecticut, but to all English colonies in that part of America, was of the highest value. The Narragansetts were wavering when he arrived, he did not leave them until he had obtained an assurance that they would not join the Pequots, together with an expression of their views as to the best manner of conducting a campaign against those courageous warriors—a statement which he transmitted to Winthrop. The Pequots were equally unsuccessful in their advances to the Mohegans. Nothing remained to them but their own unaided strength; and, though the odds were desperate, they were too high-spirited to shrink from a contest on which they had long resolved.

In the autumn of the same year (1636), the savages captured a few isolated stragglers belonging to the Connecticut settlement, and murdered them with every circumstance of barbarity and elaborate torture. By February, 1637, they had put to death thirty of the English, and carried away two women. The little town of Wethersfield was attacked by a band of Pequots, numbering a hundred, and suffered severely. A thousand fighting men of that tribe were already in the field, and three or four thousand more could have been summoned to their assistance. The situation was growing most serious. Massachusetts and Plymouth were solicited for aid; and it was agreed, at an extraordinary session of the General Court of the former colony, that in aid of the people of Connecticut there should be a levy of a hundred and sixty men, and that six hundred pounds should be set aside for the expenses. Plymouth made a levy of forty men. The arrival of these reinforcements was delayed by the almost incredible fanaticism of some Boston men, who refused to muster because they believed their chaplain to be too much under a covenant of works—that is to say,

not a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson. Ninety soldiers, however, were despatched from the infant settlement under the command of Captain Mason, who in former years had served in the Netherlands with Sir Thomas Fairfax, afterwards the Parliamentarian General. The expedition started from Hartford on the 10th of May, after nearly a whole night spent in prayer, in which the soldiers were led by the Rev. Mr. Stone. The English were accompanied by a body of native allies, seventy in number, selected from the Mohegans, and commanded by Uncas, the sachem of that tribe. It was feared they would prove treacherous; but to have refused their proffered aid would have offended the whole community, and led to fresh dangers. As the event turned out, the Mohegans were of no great use; but their fidelity was unimpeachable.

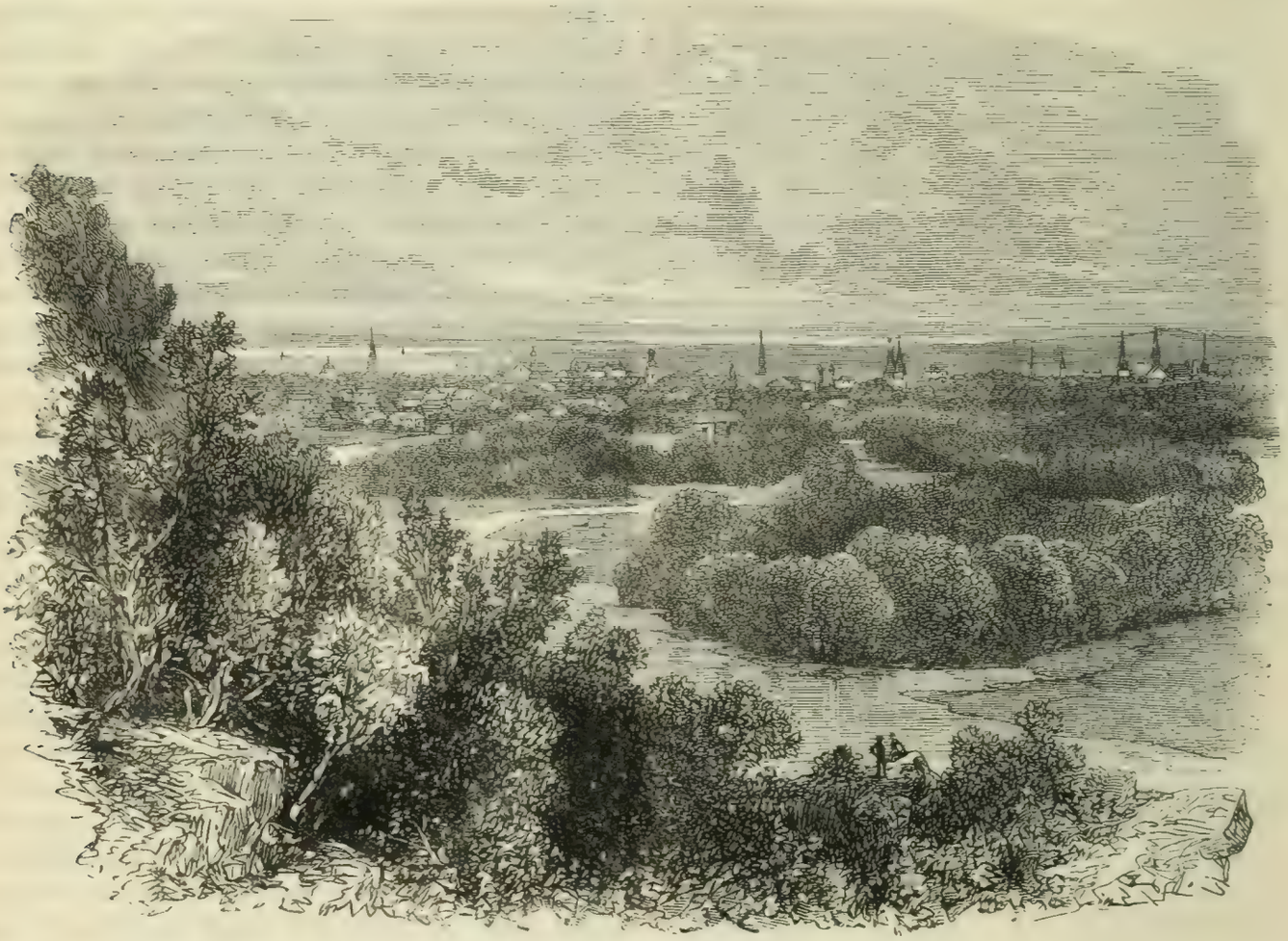
Mason, having been joined by Underhill, who had been stationed at the fort near the mouth of the Connecticut river, determined, after anxious consideration and debate, to attack the Pequots through the Narragansett country in their rear, instead of on their western front—that side which was nearest to the Connecticut settlements. The orders given to the English commander were that the enemy should be assaulted on the western side of his position; but Mason, knowing that that was the quarter where they expected invasion, conceived that a movement of a different nature would be most likely to succeed. Quitting the mouth of the river, therefore, on the morning of May 19th, the little squadron of three vessels proceeded along the coast in an easterly direction. On the evening of the 20th, they arrived near the entrance to Narragansett Bay. The next day was the Sabbath, and was devoted to religious exercises on shipboard. A violent storm on the 22nd prevented the disembarkation of the troops, which was delayed until the evening of the 23rd. Mason then obtained the assistance (if it ought not rather to be called the encumbrance) of two hundred Narragansetts, who told him that his forces were too weak in numbers to encounter such renowned and mighty warriors as the Pequots. On the following day his army was further recruited by a large body of Nyantics, and all advanced towards the encampment of the Pequots, lying to the west. By dark on the 25th, the forces were within sight of a formidable stronghold, situated on high ground on the banks of the river Mystic. From a skilfully constructed fort the noise of savage revelry ascended into the night. The Pequots had seen the English vessels coasting along to the east, and had taken it for granted that the expedition was abandoned. They did not know that the avengers were watching them in the darkness, and only waiting for the best opportunity of dealing their meditated blow.

The fort consisted of a nearly circular enclosure, more than an acre in extent, the outer wall of which was composed of trunks of trees, about twelve feet high, set so closely together as to prevent the passage of a human body, but with sufficient space between to allow the marksmen to discharge their arrows against an attacking force. Within were lanes of wigwams, covered with matting and thatch. The entrances, which were opposite one another, consisted of two openings, slightly protected by bushes. These two vulnerable points it was determined to assault simultaneously. The English had to rely on themselves almost entirely; for the Indians, with a very few exceptions, had stolen away in extreme trepidation. The Nyantics, while they were still within their own country, had boasted how gallantly they would behave themselves, and how many of the enemy they would kill; but on gaining the Pequot frontier they and the Narragansetts rapidly melted away. Uncas and his Mohegans still held on, declaring that they would live and die with the English; yet, after marching some time in the van, they fell into the rear, and only a few co-operated in the attack on the Pequots.

The soldiers slept for a space; then, rousing themselves, joined in prayer, and set forward. It was two hours before dawn, on the 26th of May; the moon was shining brightly, but Mason and his companions had advanced to within a few feet of the eastern sally-port ere their presence was discovered. A watch-dog barked, and woke some of the Indians. Then rose a cry of "Englishmen! Englishmen!" from the Pequot sentinels. Mason leaped into the enclosure singly, and held his ground until his men could pull the bushes away from the opening, and get in after him. At the same time Underhill entered at the western side. A desperate struggle ensued. The Pequots were all asleep when the alarm was given; but they fought valorously in their houses. The attacking forces found themselves overmatched in point of numbers, and were driven to the horrible expedient of burning the Indians out. Mason seized a lighted brand from a wigwam, and threw it on the matted roof: Underhill set fire to his quarter with a train of powder. The village, constructed entirely of combustible materials, was quickly in flames from end to end. The English stationed themselves outside, and shot down those who, in their frantic efforts to escape, were seen darkly relieved against the glare. Others, who managed to burst through

the burning palisadoes, were despatched by the sword; while a few stragglers fell into the hands of the native allies, who stood safely aloof, dancing and whooping with joy, and not at all disposed to deal mercifully with any whom they could seize. By dawn the tragedy was finished. It is said that more than six hundred Indians, including women and children, were killed in this dreadful affair. The conquerors lost only two men, but carried away with them numerous wounded.

warriors, who, on beholding the destruction which had been wrought by the white men, stamped and tore their hair with rage. Mason, getting to the rear of this body, retreated fighting for six miles, and at ten o'clock in the morning came in sight of the harbour, with the vessels at anchor there. On board was a detachment from Massachusetts, which proved of great service. All the Connecticut towns were now efficiently protected, and Mason, with a flying column, overran the whole



NEW HAVEN.

Some eight miles to the west of this fort was another, which had been made the head-quarters of Sassacus, the sachem of the Pequots, of whom the Narragansetts, in the exaggeration of fear, reported that he was a god, and could not be killed by any one. In Pequot Harbour, beyond this second fort, Mason had appointed his vessels to meet him. Towards that spot, accordingly, he moved; but the wounded soldiers hampered his march, and his surgeon had been thoughtlessly left behind when the forces landed at Narragansett. The supply of food and ammunition was spent, and the weather was so oppressive that several of the men fainted with heat. On their way, they saw approaching more than three hundred Pequot

country from the vicinity of New London to the English fort at Saybrook. The Pequots were hunted down remorselessly; their wigwams burned, their cornfields laid waste, and themselves killed. Sassacus was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he fled for protection; and the work of extermination spread over many weeks. On the 13th of July, the English fell in with a body of eighty men and two hundred women and children in a small Indian town near an extensive swamp, into which the savages rushed for shelter. The soldiers surrounded the swamp, and, after some fighting, promised the red men their lives if they would lay down their arms, and deliver up any murderers of the colonists they might have among them. They

replied by a refusal; and in the night several escaped, while others were shot down. Of those who surrendered during these operations, some were sent to the Bermudas, some were enslaved in the towns of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and some were incorporated, under English supervision, with the Mohegan, Narragansett, and Nyantic tribes. The New England colonies were saved by the succession of vigorous but remorseless acts which stamped out the Pequots as a nation. One of the savage allies of the colonists became a Christian, and (until he was poisoned) a missionary among his own countrymen, as a consequence of Mason's victories. A salutary and lasting effect was produced by the military strength and promptitude of the settlers; and many of the Indian tribes, struck with terror, begged the protection of those whom perhaps they would more willingly have destroyed.*



MONUMENT AT NEW PLYMOUTH TO MARK THE SITE OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

CHAPTER XVI.

Foundation of Concord—Colonisation of Rhode Island—Mrs. Hutchinson seeks refuge among the Dutch—Her Assassination by Indians—Dissensions in the Rhode Island Colony—Agreement as to the Heads of a Constitution—Beginning of New Haven Colony—John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton—Theocratical Government of New Haven—Spread of the Settlement on the Shores of Long Island Sound—Large Emigration from England—Anticipated weakening and impoverishment of the Mother-country—Issue of Orders by the Government of Charles I. for the Checking of Emigration—Injury inflicted on England by the Tyranny of Charles and Archbishop Laud—English Character of much of the American Population—Prosperous State of the New England Colonies in 1643—Establishment of Harvard College—Legal Provision for the Instruction of the Commonalty.

NOTHING, it was evident, could stop the progress of the English race in America;—neither their own internal dissensions, nor the attacks of Indian savages. From year to year, colonisation spread, and even the quarrels of rival sects contributed to the dissemination of that great nationality which had been designed for predominance in the northern division of America. So rapidly did the older settlements increase that, in a few years, it

* Palfrey's, Bancroft's, and Neal's Histories. Sparks's American Biography, Vol. XIII. (Life of Mason.) Contemporary accounts of the war were written by Captains Mason and Underhill, Lieutenant Gardiner, and the Rev. P. Vincent, a clergyman of the Church of England who visited the American settlements.

was found desirable to ease the pressure on them by the formation of new communities in more distant parts of the wilderness. In this way the State of Connecticut was established, as related in the last Chapter. To the same necessity must be referred the origin of Concord, the founders of which emigrated from the Bay of Massachusetts, and, forcing a toilsome path through woods and thickets, came to a fair stretch of green meadows on the banks of a stream flowing into the Merrimac. Here, in 1635, they began a town which for some time could barely maintain its existence against the savage forces of Nature. Before houses of any kind could be erected, the emigrants were compelled to live in caves, which with their own hands they delved out of a hill-side. Even after they had hastily put up a few wooden hovels, their condition was not much better. The rainy season was a terrible trial to these pioneers of civilisation. A deluge poured through the frail roofs of their cottages, and invaded the poor enclosures where they had vainly hoped to find shelter. Wolves howled about them in the winter nights, and destroyed their sheep and swine. The cultivation of the soil presented many difficulties, owing to the frequency of tree-roots and bushes, so that the early crops were of necessity meagre and insufficient. Many of the cattle died, and the colonists, with their wives and children, lived for the most part on game. Yet they worked on in the spirit of hope and reliance, and Concord prospered, in spite of the rains and of the wolves.

The colonisation of Rhode Island—the island itself, as distinguished from the modern State of which it forms part—sprang from the Antinomian controversy originated by Mrs. Hutchinson. On being expelled by the Massachusetts authorities, she herself, with the larger number of her followers, turned to the south; at the same time, Wheelwright, moving northwards, founded the town of Exeter, on the Piscataqua, as already mentioned. Mrs. Hutchinson had at first designed to join her relative in the latter locality; but afterwards conceived that a better spot for beginning the world afresh would be Long Island, or the neighbourhood of Delaware Bay. This intention was in its turn abandoned on the persuasion of Roger Williams, with whom the exiles had a conference at Providence, on their way towards the south. By him they were induced to form their plantation on the largest of the islands in Narragansett Bay, then called by its Indian name of Aquetnet, now Rhode Island—a beautiful and inviting territory, which the Plymouth people declared to be beyond the bounds of their patent. Williams also prevailed on Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansetts, to make a gift of the island to the intending settlers, in exchange for forty fathom of white beads.

This transfer of the territory being made, nineteen persons went thither; and on the 7th of March, 1638, entered into a mutual engagement in the following terms:—"We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and, as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby." The principal persons who signed this document were William Hutchinson (the husband of Mrs. Hutchinson), his sons Edward and William, William Coddington, John Clarke, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, and Thomas Savage, the last of whom married the elder Hutchinson's daughter. Coddington (who had formerly been one of the Court of Assistants at Boston, where he was a person of consequence) was chosen to be "Judge" over the colony; for these Scriptural enthusiasts preferred to call their chief ruler by a designation which had been sanctified by its use among the chosen people of Israel. Aspinwall was made secretary, and others were appointed Elders. Mrs. Hutchinson herself joined her friends on the island shortly after they had established themselves there. With regard to her peculiar views, she seems to have recanted the recantation which she made when in the power of the Massachusetts Magistrates, and to have reasserted and reinforced her original convictions to an extent which brought her many converts. The rulers and ministers of the older colony from which she had emigrated, suspected her of witchcraft; but that was the commonly-received method in those days of accounting for any unusual influence exercised by one person over the minds of others. One of her sons, and a son-in-law named Collins, ventured, in 1641, to remonstrate with the Boston authorities on the treatment of this singular enthusiast, and were punished with a long term of imprisonment. The family on Rhode Island feared they would not be safe even there, and accordingly, about 1642, removed beyond New Haven into the territory of the Dutch. Here, during an insurrection of the Indians in 1643, Mrs. Hutchinson, now a widow, was murdered, together with the whole of her family, excepting a daughter eight years old, who was carried into captivity, but, after four years' detention, was recovered by the General Court of Massachusetts. Her relative, Wheelwright, ultimately made his submission to the Massachusetts

Government, confessed himself grievously misled, and in 1644 obtained a revocation of his sentence of banishment. He afterwards sailed for England, but subsequently returned to America, and lived there until his death in 1679.

Before her departure from Rhode Island, Mrs. Hutchinson had managed to get into several of those commotions for which, like Williams, she seems to have had an aptitude. It is even said by some authorities that her motive for leaving the island was because she could not agree with the people, nor the people with her. Be that as it may, the little colony was rent with dissensions very shortly after its establishment. At the beginning of 1639, Hutchinson and his sons, together with Aspinwall, were passed over in an election of Elders who were to assist Coddington, the Judge, in the execution of justice and the management of affairs. The choice of the colonists fell on Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, and William Brereton; and at the same time the magistrates were directed to deal with William Aspinwall concerning certain defaults. Aspinwall was afterwards proceeded against as a person suspected of sedition against the State. A constable was appointed to repress unlawful meetings, or anything tending to civil disturbance; and a sergeant was charged with the duty of informing the superior authorities as to all breaches of the laws of God that might lead to a disturbance, and to keep the prison and such prisoners as should be committed to his custody. On the 6th of April it was thought advisable to set up an alarum for the summoning together of the populace for defence of the island, or for the quelling of any insolences that might be tumultuously raised within the plantation.* It would seem that a party had been formed among the settlers who espoused the cause of Hutchinson, and caused a good deal of tumult. Ultimately they deposed Coddington from his judgeship, and set up Hutchinson, whom Winthrop has described as "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, wholly guided by his wife." Afterwards, if we may credit a contemporary writer—and there is nothing in the statement at all improbable—Mrs. Hutchinson took a fancy into her head that the office of magistracy was in itself unlawful, and therefore persuaded her too pliant husband to resign his position. But for a time he certainly performed the duties of a ruler. Deprived of authority in the first settlement, Coddington and his supporters went to a fine harbour at the southern end of the island, and began a new plantation which they called Newport. Hutchinson's town received the name of Portsmouth. It is noteworthy that Coddington's party professed themselves natural subjects of King Charles, and obedient to his laws. The breach between the two sections of the Hutchinsonians was not of long duration. They were re-united in March, 1640, on the motion of Hutchinson himself; and the colonists next year agreed upon a constitution for the whole island.

It was unanimously determined that this constitution should be a democracy, or popular government. Such are the words used by the colonists, as they appear in the records preserved at Providence; and the expression is defined as meaning that it should be in the power of the body of freemen, assembled in an orderly manner, or the major part of them, to make the laws, and to depute such ministers as should see them faithfully executed. It was expressly decreed that "none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established," and that liberty of conscience be respected. The signet for the state was ordered to be a sheaf of arrows, with the motto "Amor vincit omnia." Love, in their free community, was to conquer all opposition—a noble theory, but one which, unfortunately, is not fitted to the rough and selfish character of human societies. As a protection against intruders who might prove inimical to the new settlement, it was ordained "that none should be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the island, but such as should be received by the consent of the body;" but it does not seem that this proviso was intended to confer a power of excluding those who might differ with the original colonists on matters of faith. Indeed, such an interpretation is forbidden by the stipulation in favour of religious liberty, which was not greatly qualified by the saving clause. It is probable that the power of exclusion was introduced as a protection against loose, disorderly, and immoral characters. But even had it been designed to shut out the holders of obnoxious doctrines—those who walked under a covenant of works, as opposed to those who submitted themselves to a covenant of grace—it may still be contended that it is less despotic and unjust to deny people admittance to a settlement which they have not yet joined, than to drive them out of one where they have already formed their homes, made their connections, and begun their work. In the one case there may be an error; in the other there is a substantial wrong.

New Haven colony was commenced about the same time as Rhode Island. The chief founders were John Davenport, a Puritan minister, and

* Rhode Island Collection of Records, quoted by Mr. Palfrey.

Theophilus Eaton, who acted as Governor for twenty years, being re-elected annually until his death. The former of these able and eminent men was the son of a Mayor of Coventry, and originally a clergyman of the Church of England, in which capacity he attracted the notice of Laud. But he was an uncompromising opponent of that prelate, and of the ecclesiastical views which Laud forfeited his head in endeavouring to promote. Davenport was compelled to resign his cure and fly into Holland, where for a few years he preached to the English congregation at Amsterdam; but in 1637 he and Eaton went to Massachusetts, arriving there at the time of the Hutchinsonian controversy and the Pequot war. Eaton was the son of a clergyman at Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamshire, and had been employed by the English Government in a diplomatic capacity in Denmark. Both Eaton and Davenport had ideas as to a model state, founded on Scriptural rules to the minutest particulars, such as even Massachusetts did not fully satisfy. They therefore proceeded in March, 1638, to a harbour in Long Island Sound, thirty miles west of the mouth of Connecticut river. A few trusted friends accompanied them, and the little brotherhood held their first meeting of a formal character under the branches of an oak, when Davenport preached to them a sermon on the temptations of Jesus Christ in the wilderness. A few days later, after fasting and prayer, they formed a political association on the basis of a submissive reference to the Bible in all things. The settlers consisted for the most part of London tradesmen. Davenport had formerly been vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street—a thoroughfare connected in many ways with the Puritan and republican movements of that epoch, perhaps owing to the pulpit exhortations of this eloquent pastor. It was there that the five members of the House of Commons accused of treason concealed themselves. It was there, at a tavern called the Star, that Oliver Cromwell, Hugh Peters, and others, determined on the death of Charles I. It was in Swan Alley, turning out of the same street, that Venner, the Fifth Monarchy Man, concocted that insurrection against Charles II. which seems to have been made the pretext for executing Sir Henry Vane. The Londoners generally were inclined to support the revolutionary party; and the citizens of Coleman Street Ward appear to have had a special tendency that way. It is probable that Davenport induced several of his parishioners to accompany him, first to Massachusetts, and then to that region of the desert where they were to begin a fresh society after the severest Gospel models.

The planters of New Haven obtained a title to their lands by purchase from the Indian tribe whom they found already in possession, and whom they protected against the ferocious Mohawks. The territory thus acquired stretched from the Connecticut river westward to the river Hudson. Some of the Connecticut people afterwards planted themselves on a portion of this land, and the whole is now included in the State of Connecticut; but for a time it maintained its independence. In 1639, the colonists held their first constituent assembly in a barn. It was then again resolved that the Scriptures should be the rule of the new commonwealth, and it was determined that only church members should be free burgesses. Eaton, Davenport, and five others were appointed to organise the government; and in August these seven met for the first time, charged with absolute power. Unlike the settlers at Newport, they made no reference whatever to the supremacy of the mother-country. They regarded themselves as subjects, not of King Charles, but of King Jesus, whose second coming, to reign over the earth a thousand years, they expected as an event that would speedily occur. A self-governing state was formed, and, the necessary officers being appointed, Davenport delivered a charge, in which he told the chief magistrate, Theophilus Eaton, that, if he found anything too hard for himself to decide, he was to lay it before *him*, the minister. This was in imitation of Moses, who used similar words to the people of Israel;* so that Davenport evidently regarded himself as occupying a position analogous to that of the great Hebrew law-giver. Annual elections were ordered, and the colony, which started with not many more than a hundred settlers, increased so rapidly that in a few years several villages had sprung up on the shores of Long Island Sound, and the followers of Eaton and Davenport talked of planting Delaware. The names of the little towns thus established were all derived from the old country, as in many other parts of English America. Milford, Guildford, Stamford, and Greenwich, are titles which pleasantly recall some of the ancient and memorable sites of England. They were probably given to the new localities by settlers who had come from corresponding places in the ancient home of that race which was now rapidly appropriating to itself the wilds of a vast and virgin continent.

To fill these new settlements, and to replenish the old, a large outflow of English population continued for some years. All the Puritan part of

* Deuteronomy, i. 17.

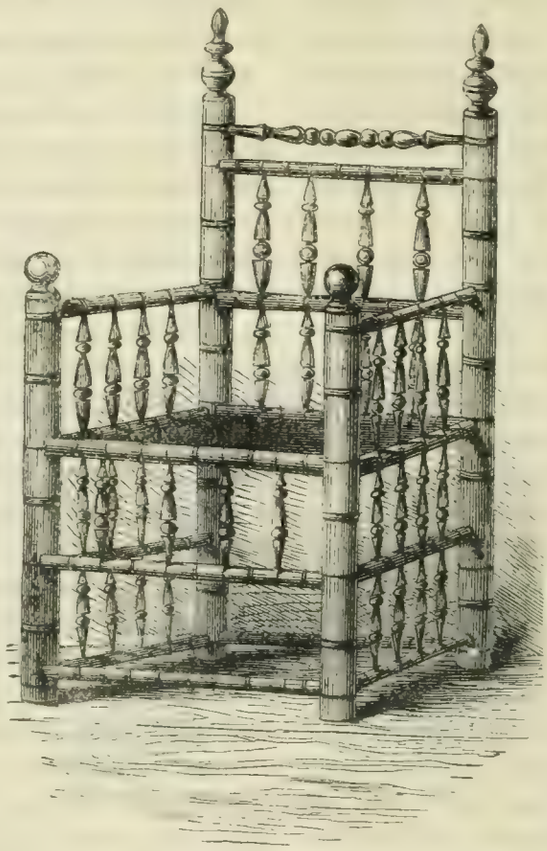
the nation—and it was no inconsiderable part—felt, as might be expected, a profound interest in the great Puritan experiment which was being carried out on the opposite shores of the Atlantic. The writer of a contemporary work on colonial affairs, quoted by Mr. Bancroft, says that a letter from New England was venerated by the Nonconformists of Old England "as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophet, and was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it." The dissenting clergy lost no opportunity of exhorting their flocks to transport themselves to America, if they could not live at home without a violation of their conscience. The religious believed they saw a special hand of God in the matter; and even the more worldly-minded were attracted by the prospect of a new home, free from many of the inconveniences of the old. To Charles I. and his ministers, however, the emigration appeared in a very different light. In its earlier days it had been regarded with a kind of satisfaction, as opening a channel for the escape of turbulent spirits; but it soon became apparent that a political power was growing up in America, that might become a formidable rival to the regal and hierarchical systems which had long existed in Britain, but which men were now beginning to question. On the 17th of March, 1638, Lord Maynard wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that fourteen ships were lying in the Thames, ready to depart for New England, and that "incredible numbers of persons" of good position had sold their land, and were preparing to follow. It appears to have been really apprehended that several parishes would be so greatly impoverished as to be unable to relieve their poor, or discharge their other duties towards the State. Large sums of money were carried over by the emigrants, as well as stores of corn and herds of cattle; and it was feared that the currency would be deranged and a famine created at the same time. In consequence of these representations by Lord Maynard, the Archbishop brought the matter before the attention of the Privy Council, and another detention of ships was ordered. Looking at all the facts of the case, it can hardly be doubted that a dangerous depletion of English population and English wealth was going on, or was at least imminent. Milton did not exaggerate when he spoke of the people deserting their native country "by heaps." The same effects were being produced, and from similar causes, that were observable nearly half a century later in France, when Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes. But Charles was as blind as Louis to the only proper way of remedying such evils. They were brought about in both cases by gross injustice—by the tyranny of the monarch and the priest. They could only be cured by a more liberal system; but liberality, and even common fairness, were the last things thought of.

It will be recollected that in 1631 the sailing of emigrant vessels from the Thames was temporarily suspended, and then only permitted under certain conditions designed to embarrass the Puritans. On the 30th of April, 1637, a Royal proclamation was issued, the object of which was to re-impose a licence on all emigrants, "because of the many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live without the reach of authority." An Order in Council was issued about the same period "to stop all ministers unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church [of England]; and that no clergyman should be suffered to go to the foreign plantations without approbation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London." This was followed, on the 30th of March, 1638, by an Order in Council, directing that the Lord Treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual measures for the stay of eight ships then in the Thames, bound for New England, and for putting on land all who were on board. On the 1st of April it was ordered that the same course should be taken with those who might afterwards be found preparing for the same voyage. A further document, dated April 6th, 1638, speaks of his Majesty "well knowing the factious disposition of the people (or a great part of them) in that plantation, and how unfit and unworthy they are of any support or countenance from hence, in respect of the great disorders and want of government amongst them, whereof sundry and great complaints have been presented." Four days later, the ships then under restraint were allowed to proceed; but the system of licensing was maintained. During the summer of 1638, twenty ships, containing at least three thousand persons, went over to New England.*

The loss to the old country of so many industrious, respectable, and well-meaning men, was an evil loudly lamented in Parliament. Even Lord Digby, a Royalist, complained that men of the best conscience were ready to fly into the wilderness for religion. The leaders of the revolutionary party made this vast emigration one of their chief grounds of accusation against Laud. Pym, in the speech which he delivered at the bar of the House of

* The story related by Cotton Mather, in his New England History (Book I., chap. 5), and repeated by other writers, to the effect that Hazelrigg, Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell were amongst the intending emigrants who were turned back, appears to rest on insufficient foundation. If true, it would be one of the most striking facts in history.

Peers on carrying up the Commons' impeachment against the Archbishop, observed that, owing to the prelate's persecution of loyal subjects on the score of religion, the industry of many thousands of Englishmen had been carried out of the land. This tide of emigration ceased a little before the breaking out of the civil war, when the Star Chamber and High Commission Court were put down, and Puritans were permitted to practise their religious forms. But between 1620 and 1641, and especially from 1630 to the latter date, a considerable proportion of the English population passed over to New England. It is calculated that rather more than 21,000 persons (a large number considering the then population of England, and the drain to other parts of America as well) thus transported themselves to Massachusetts and the adjoining colonies, taking with them money and property to the value of nearly £500,000.* These men and women were English, with scarcely an exception. They came probably from all the forty counties into which the country is divided, but chiefly from the north, east, and west. There was talk at one time of Scotland, and of Protestant Ulster, sending large contingents; but they do not appear to have done so. Cromwell despatched some of his Scotch prisoners of war to Boston; a hundred and twenty Scoto-Irish families settled in New Hampshire in 1719; and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, caused a small French emigration into Massachusetts. Yet these importations did not qualify to any serious extent the prevailing English character of the race. During the course of later years, a large number of Irish have settled in New England, as well as in other divisions of America; but they are a nation apart, forming the lowest stratum of the population, intermarrying amongst themselves, retaining their religion and their national ways, and regarded with suspicion and dislike. The New England States are rightly so called. "There is probably not a country in England," says Mr. Palfrey, "occupied by a population of purer English blood than theirs."† Virginia and its neighbours are also mainly of English stock; and from these early colonies, in the north and in the south, a large part of the population of the United States has sprung. Successive emigrations have spread over the whole vast area the descendants of the original settlers from England, mixed very largely in certain quarters with French, Spanish, Dutch, German, and many other foreign elements. A further emigration from England took place in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., when the Nonconformists again felt their position unsafe at home; but from 1688 to about the close of the eighteenth century, New England received no great accessions from abroad, and during the Commonwealth there had been a reflux from the Puritan colonies to the mother-country. Nevertheless, the six States comprised under the designation of New England were capable, in the year 1798, of furnishing an army of 165,000 men; so that the people must have multiplied at a considerable rate, seeing that 165,000 was the total population in 1720, according to the highest calculation of Neal.



BREWSTER'S CHAIR—PRESERVED AT PILGRIM HALL, NEW PLYMOUTH.

It was reckoned, some years ago, that more than 750,000 natives of New England were living in other parts of the Union. The New England race, according to Mr. Palfrey, has contributed largely to the population of the State of New York, and makes a majority in some of the newly-planted western States; and the same author, writing in 1859, computed that one-third of the people forming

* This, however, was a small loss compared with that of France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when it is supposed that the population of the country was reduced to the extent of between three and four hundred thousand; to which are to be added many thousands who perished on the scaffold, in prison, at the galleys, and in attempting to escape. The loss in money has been calculated at sixty millions. (Smiles's Huguenots.) Even assuming the population of France in 1685 to have been sixteen millions (for which there seems some warrant), as against five millions in England in 1641, the depletion was much greater in the former country than in the latter

† Preface to the History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty.



NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TYPES. (*After Catlin.*)

the English-American Republic were descended from the Pilgrim Fathers, their associates, and their followers. That the men who crossed the Atlantic in the first half of the seventeenth century came from the most essentially English part of the population of their native country, may be inferred from the remarkably Anglo-Saxon names borne by most of the settlers, and from the fact that they were members of the middle and lower classes, where there had been but little admixture of Norman blood. Some of these names have survived in America, and died out in

England; and there is probably a greater infusion of foreign blood in the large towns of the old country (owing to the French emigration of 1685, and various subsequent inroads) than in the towns and villages of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. It may be added that the very cattle of New England come from the old English stock; that the very herbage of the meadows springs from English roots.

The English feeling of the New England States continued in unabated force for several generations, and is not yet extinct. Daniel Neal, whose history was published in 1720, speaks very emphatically on this head. He records that, in the concerns of civil life (their religious practices being another matter), the New Englanders affected to be as English as possible. "There is no fashion in London," he adds, "but in three or four months is to be seen at Boston; nay, they are fond of the very name and person of an Englishman; insomuch that some who have had no great affection for the people, on the account of their preciseness" (*i.e.*, their Puritanical austerity), "have yet been so agreeably entertained by them as to leave the country with regret." This admirable Dissenting minister, whose views are generally characterised by a liberality beyond his age, goes on to observe that it would be impossible for New England to subsist of itself for some centuries to come, as the people must starve without a free trade with Europe; "so that," he proceeds, "if we could suppose them to rebel against England, they must throw themselves into the arms of some other potentate, who would protect them no longer than he could sell them to advantage. The French and Spaniards are enemies to their religion and civil liberties, and the Dutch are too cautious a people to run the hazard of losing their own country for the alliance of another at so great a distance. 'Tis therefore the grand interest of New England to remain subject to the crown of England, and by their dutiful behaviour to merit the removal of those few hardships and inconveniences they complain of . . . . . They love the English Constitution, and would live and die in the defence of it, because, when that is gone, they know their own must soon follow." Though Neal was an excellent man, he was no prophet. The rebellion against the mother-country, and the achievement of independence, were events much nearer than he supposed. They were precipitated by the injustice of the Imperial policy, and they created for a time a feeling of alienation and anger which opened a wide breach between the parent and the child. It is much to be regretted that this feeling has been so often envenomed by inconsiderate writers on both sides of the Atlantic. The two divisions of the English race are natural allies, whom no idle jealousies of State, or petty differences of manners, should be allowed to part.

When the old land was preparing for civil war in 1643, the New England settlements were in a condition of internal peace, comfort, and prosperity. The fanaticism of the early settlers derogated not a little from their wisdom as statesmen, and from their worth as human beings; yet it left them in possession of many sterling qualities. They created in the wilderness, in less than a quarter of a century, a civilised community, occupying a large extent of country, and distinguished by some of the best features of long-established empires. By 1643 they had planted fifty towns and villages; had built thirty or forty churches, together with a large number of ministers' houses and other dwellings, a castle, a college, prisons, and forts; had made roads and causeways; had turned large spaces of primeval forest into corn-fields; and had enclosed many gardens and orchards.* Before that date, vessels of four hundred tons had been constructed in the harbours of New England, and the manufacture of cotton and woollen had been commenced. The college established in Massachusetts was one which has since become famous. In October, 1636, the General Court of Boston agreed to give £400 towards a place of superior tuition. This was during the governorship of Henry Vane, and it has been remarked by the celebrated American orator, Edward Everett, that this Massachusetts Assembly was the first body in which the representatives of a nation freely voted their own money for founding an educational institute. The fact was the more praiseworthy on account of the circumstances under which the colony was then placed. Massachusetts was at that moment threatened by the interference of the mother-country, convulsed by the Antinomian heresy, and involved in a war with the Pequots for the defence of Connecticut. Newtown—three miles from Boston—was fixed on as the site of the college, and the project received material assistance from the Rev. John Harvard, who by his will left £779 17s. 2d.—being half of his estate, and no inconsiderable sum in those days—for erecting the college. Harvard died not long after, and the Court, in 1639, ordered that the institution should be called by his name. Newtown was rechristened Cambridge—probably because Harvard was a graduate of Emmanuel College in the ancient Cambridge. The new college was opened in 1640, and ten years

* New England's First Fruits. 1643.

later was incorporated by a charter from the Government of Massachusetts. The liberal benefactor who had helped to establish it bequeathed his library to this seat of learning, as well as the moiety of his possessions. The books consisted of two hundred and sixty volumes, comprising classical and patristic works, modern theology, and general literature; but, unfortunately, all were destroyed by a fire in 1770, with the exception of one volume. The conductors of Harvard College set up a printing press as soon as they got into working order, and issued a number of small tracts, as well as a new version of David's Psalms.

But New England did more for education than the mere establishment of a college, which, after all, cannot advance the humble instruction of humble people, however much it may promote the ends of scholarship. It was determined that no child should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the rudiments of knowledge. In 1647 it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar-school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University." Under this excellent system, the New Englanders became an intelligent and a thinking race, and were formed to the responsible duties of self-government. Their faults were chiefly those of religious bigotry and intellectual narrow-mindedness — certainly very grave and important faults, productive of many tragical results; yet it would be a fanaticism equal to their own to deny that the New Englanders exhibited some of the best qualities of the race to which they belonged, and vindicated their right to take a place among the nations of the world.

CHAPTER XVII.

The New England Colonies towards the Middle of the Seventeenth Century—The General "Body of Liberties" of 1641—Nature of that Ordinance—Determination to enforce Religion by Law—Austerity of the New England Rule of Life—Effect of this on Morals—Prevalence of Vice in New England after the Early Days of the Settlement—Overstraining of Religion—Ordinance for the Reformation of Manners—Opposition to Romanism—Secular Marriages and Funerals—The Manner of Public Worship—Sympathy of the New England Settlers with the Popular Opposition to Charles I.—Implied Revival of the Massachusetts Patent—Augmentations of the Territory of Massachusetts—Death and Character of William Brewster—Proposed Federation of the New England Colonies—Preamble to the Articles of Agreement creating the Federation—General Provisions of the Agreement—"The United Colonies of New England" established in 1643—Commission for the Government of the American Colonies instituted by the Long Parliament of England.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the New England colonies had acquired a certain consistence and a definite character which marked them out as homogeneous, and distinct from the other communities of the world. The two facts which gave form and colour to their corporate life, were their Puritanism, and their position as rising States established in the wilderness. With the growth of revolutionary principles in England, after the assembling of the Long Parliament in 1640, the New England plantations entered on a period of peace. They had no longer reason to fear the capricious jealousy of the King. Their theories of religion and government rapidly acquired ascendancy in the old country, and there was every disposition to leave the colonists to themselves. In this way they established a number of perfectly independent commonwealths, in all of which, though with suffrages of various degrees of liberality, the great principle of popular self-government was asserted and carried out. The deliberations of the several local Assemblies touched on all subjects which concerned the worldly fortunes or spiritual estate of the people; and in Massachusetts, in December, 1641, a general "Body of Liberties" was determined on, which formally guaranteed the citizen those rights that beforehand he had held only by favour. From the first peopling of Massachusetts by Englishmen down to the date in question, there had been no set of statutes for the regulation of justice, nor had the Common Law of England been recognised as of force in the colony. The Magistrates, in their judicial capacity, had acted in accordance with their own sense of right, and had doubtless in many instances exhibited a regard for equity. But it has been seen that they were as liable as other men to be inflamed by passion or warped by prejudice, and the people very naturally wished to obtain some security for the freedom which they had quitted their native country to enjoy. The governing body, however, were for the most part opposed to this desire, and, under various pretexts, delayed its

accomplishment for several years. Their objection was based on the consideration that the framing of a code of statute law would transgress the limits of their charter, since they must needs make some provisions that would be "repugnant to the laws of England;" and it was therefore held by these cautious legislators to be safer to create a system of jurisprudence by the gradual, stealthy, and unnoticed means of practice and custom, as they had already done in matters of church discipline. This reason no longer existed when the altered state of affairs in England removed the former dread of interference.

Accordingly, in a session of three weeks' duration, the General Court of Massachusetts established a hundred fundamental laws (including the preamble and close), which were the Magna Charta of the settlement. At the same time it was resolved that these enactments should be read and considered in every General Court that should be held within the ensuing three years, and that only then, in the event of their not being altered or repealed, should they become law. The first paragraph of this code states:—"No man's life shall be taken away; no man's honour or good name shall be stained; no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor anyways punished; no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estate shall be taken away, nor any way endangered, under colour of law, or countenance of authority; unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the country warranting the same, established by the General Court, and sufficiently published, or, in case of the defect of the law in any particular case, by the word of God; and in capital cases, or in cases concerning dismembering or banishment, according to that word, to be judged by the General Court." The laws thus created were to some extent based on the legislation of Moses, but not slavishly so, for there were many points of dissimilarity. The punishment of death was not decreed in so many instances, though to modern critics it will appear to have been too frequently resorted to. Ten offences were declared capital; amongst which were included idolatry, witchcraft, blasphemy (when "direct, express, presumptuous, or high-handed"—a rather vague and elastic qualification), and treason against the commonwealth, which seems to have comprised, by implication, allegiance to the English King. The privileges and duties of freemen were defined by these enactments; the liberties and prerogatives of churches were set forth; and women, children, servants, foreigners, and brute animals, were protected by various penalties. Bond-slavery, villanage, and captivity, were declared unlawful, except in the case of prisoners taken in war, or of persons who sold themselves, or were sold by others. "And these," it was added, "shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God, established in Israel concerning such persons, doth morally require." Here, however, was the ugly fact of slavery acknowledged and sanctioned in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights. This body of laws was the production of Nathaniel Ward, formerly a Puritan clergyman in the old country, and in his early life a student and practiser in the Common Law courts. His experience as a lawyer corrected his intolerance as a minister. Considering the general tone of opinion in his day, and the character of the community for which he legislated, his code was distinguished by much liberality.

Yet in certain respects the laws of Massachusetts were not such as would now be generally approved. The founders of the State held and acted on the usual opinion of that age, that religion was to be enforced by law. Everybody was to attend church, under a penalty for omitting to do so. The rule of life was strict and austere, and opinion allowed but little relaxation from the routine of work and devotion. The picture presented to us by Hawthorne in his "Scarlet Letter" is no exaggeration of the truth. Some of the early writers on the American colonies assert that these restrictions resulted in a highly virtuous state of society. One authority, in a work published in 1641, remarks on the rarity of profane swearing, drunkenness, and beggary in New England. Another states that the soil of that plantation would no more tolerate vile persons and loose livers than that of Ireland would brook venomous creatures. Nathaniel Ward, in a tract issued after his return to England, bears similar testimony; and other writers give evidence to the same effect. No doubt, a great deal of external decorum prevailed, and this is an advantage as far as it goes; but the universal experience of humanity proves that over-strictness has its dangers, and the history of New England is no exception to the rule. Immorality lurked beneath the solemn and restrained Puritan manner, and in some instances struck very deep indeed. Denied the harmless pleasures of less starch societies, perplexed by theological problems which he was often unable to solve, and continually frowned upon by a gloomy and threatening interpretation of religion, the New Englander sometimes sought relief in secret profligacy. Cotton Mather, in two sermons preached at Boston in 1697, comments, with many details, on the extreme corruption which had by that time entered into the community; and he adds an

Appendix derived from a History of Criminals published by another minister.* The murdering of illegitimate children was frequent. Adultery was not uncommon. Enormities of which we read but little in the records of the worst Pagan ages were committed by New Englanders of grave repute, whose regular attendance at church, and godly exhortations to sinners generally, had furnished matter of edification for years. Drunkenness, impiety, and hardness of heart, seem to have been rife. The worst vices of old and wealthy cities were combined with an extravagance of wickedness such as, it might be supposed, only the savage freedom of the desert could produce. All this occurred a generation or two after the planting of Puritan bodies in the northern parts of America. It is not difficult to see that such outbreaks were attributable quite as much to the undue pressure which had been brought to bear upon men as to natural depravity; yet the rulers of the commonwealth, whenever startled by any abnormal case, were for curing the disease by still greater strictness and still more incessant preaching. Dr. Sangrado killed his patients by excess of bleeding and warm water; yet he was always ready to maintain that they died because they had not been bled and drenched enough.

The early settlers in New England were undoubtedly sincere enthusiasts, with many noble, if impracticable, aspirations. They looked for a state of perpetual grace, and for a government of miracles. Everything was to be granted to prayer, and the riches of the land were to be the heritage of the saints as long as they did not forget their sainthood. It was soon found that positive laws were as necessary in a brotherhood of saints as in any other community; and it ought to have been equally apparent that the human mind will not bear so continual and severe a strain on the sentiment of religious reverence. Attempts of this nature result either in a callous and avowed indifference to all such considerations, or in the substitution of hypocritical profession for truthful feeling. Governor Bradford, in his "History of Plymouth Colony," quotes a passage from a Nonconformist divine, who, describing the state of affairs in England in the early days of Puritanism, remarked:—"Religion hath been amongst us this thirty-five years; but the more it is published, the more it is contemned and reproached of many. Thus, not profaneness nor wickedness, but religion itself, is a by-word, a mocking-stock, and matter of reproach; so that in England at this day the man or woman that begins to profess religion, and to serve God, must resolve with himself to sustain mocks and injuries, even as though he lived among the enemies of religion; and this common experience hath been too apparent." If the same results were not visible in New England in the following century, it was only because a severe system of repression was in force. Nevertheless, in spite of all checks, the Massachusetts Magistrates, in 1668, conceived it necessary to promote a reformation of manners, having observed that the youth of that age had degenerated from the strictness of their fathers. They accordingly issued a circular to the elders and ministers of all towns in the colony, exhorting them to be diligent and careful in catechising and instructing the people under their charge in the principles of the Christian religion, "and that not only in public, but privately from house to house." The elders and ministers were likewise to inform themselves how their hearers profited by these discourses, and whether their conversations agreed therewith; moreover, they were to take advantage of all occasions for applying suitable exhortations for the rebuke of evil-doers and the encouragement of those who lived well. That is to say, the Sangrado system, having already failed, was to be applied with redoubled force. Neal says that the measures taken by the Magistrates proved effectual in restraining vice, and keeping alive the dying power of religion. Yet, in less than thirty years, Cotton Mather bewailed the abnormal depravity of New Englanders, and threatened the special judgments of God on such hardened sinners.

With all this excess of religious feeling, the manners of the colonists must have seemed to many in the old country very irreverential. There was no special observance of Christmas, or of other seasons regarded by the majority of Christians as holy. As these Puritan reformers endeavoured (but with only temporary success) to call the months and the days of the week by their simple numerical sequence, in order that they might suppress the memory of heathenish or idolatrous names; so, that they might root out all Romanising tendencies, they forbade any recognition of the accustomed feast-days and fast-days of the Church from which they had seceded, though they had similar observances for special occasions, and the Sabbath (as being the day of Christ's resurrection) was kept with great strictness. Marriage was with them a civil contract, performed by a magistrate; and they even objected to sermons at such a time, as being a pretext for returning to the custom of the Anglican and Roman communions. Some generations later, however, marriages were performed by the ministers. Their funerals were

* Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, Book VI., chap. 5.

conducted without any religious ceremonial whatever, and in silence, though the ministers were generally present. These ministers were chosen by the body of worshippers whose spiritual affairs they looked after; and they were denied all clerical character with relation to other bodies, or to society at large. The manner of worship was simple even to barrenness. In the plain unornamented meeting-houses, the men (who were generally completely armed) sat on one side, the women on the other, and the boys between. Before bells were common, the worshippers were summoned by beat of drum. The prayers were extempore; the length of the sermon (also extempore) was arbitrarily determined by the sands of an hour-glass; psalms were sung to a few tunes, but instrumental music was prohibited, as savouring of idolatrous practices. Facility of exhortation was necessary to a New England pastor; but there were some who thought that religious exercises might be overdone. Bradford relates of Elder Brewster, in his memoir of that truly excellent man, that "he always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same: his reason was that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could hardly continue and stand bent (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to do in that duty, without flagging and falling off." The observation sufficiently implies that others thought and acted differently.*



MONUMENT OVER BRADFORD'S GRAVE AT NEW PLYMOUTH.

* Palfrey's and Neal's Histories of New England; Cotton Mather; Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony.

Apart from religion, the laws of New England were rather mild than severe. Burglary and highway robbery were not punished by death, as they were in the old country down to a rather recent period. Adultery, indeed, was capital; but the great evil of ill-assorted marriages was met by a legal provision for divorce, though this appears to have been very seldom set in motion. In cases of seduction of unmarried girls, the law compelled the seducer to marry the victim of his unbridled



BIBLE BROUGHT OVER IN THE "MAYFLOWER," IN PILGRIM HALL, NEW PLYMOUTH.



TOMB OF THE MATE OF THE "MAYFLOWER."

passion; and the woman herself was treated with a leniency which was equally honourable and wise. These are facts which should always be recorded to the credit of the New Englanders. They qualify what, after every allowance has been made, must still be regarded as the prevalent harshness of colonial manners, and gather these rugged Puritans into the common fold of humanity.

That the demeanour of the New England people was generally grave and sedate, has appeared in the course of this narrative. But there were exceptions to the rule. Roysterers occasionally found their way even into those staid communities, and the little vanities of life sprang up there as elsewhere. Captain Underhill, a man confessedly of loose and immoral conduct, is stated by Winthrop to have been "accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness." It was found necessary, in the early colonial days of Massachusetts, to make laws against the ordinary wearing of gold, silver, and silk lace, embroidered caps, immoderately large sleeves, slashed apparel, and other eccentricities of costume which were considered either ostentatious or immodest. Yet, some years afterwards, Nathaniel Ward, author of the 'Body of Liberties,' rebuked the love of dress which he found among the women of his day. In 1638, great astonishment was created in the streets of New Plymouth by the apparition of a gentleman in red silk stockings; indeed, the sight was so extraordinary that it led to an investigation, when it appeared that the garments had been stolen in Boston. The "abominable practice of drinking healths" was subjected to a fine by a law of Massachusetts, passed in 1639; and the observance of the Sabbath was so rigidly enforced that walking in the streets and fields, or travelling from town to town, on that day, was a punishable offence. Amusements and games were forbidden. The diet of the people was simple, but

sufficient. Household furniture amongst the better classes was not wanting in a certain stately pomp; but with the humbler it was bare and primitive enough. Nevertheless, existence was easily borne and exceptionally prolonged. Mr. Bancroft records that the average duration of life in New England compared with Europe was doubled; that, of all who were born in the colonies during their early years, full four in nineteen attained the age of seventy; and that, of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion was still more remarkable.

Communities so highly imbued with republican and anti-prelatical ideas were certain to sympathise very warmly with the popular movement in the old country. As the Virginians and Marylanders generally ranged themselves on the side of the monarch, the New Englanders identified their interests with those of the Parliament. Several of their leading men returned to the land which had sent them forth, and took service with the soldiers of liberty. When the Westminster Assembly of Divines was first contemplated, three eminent New England ministers—Cotton of Boston, Hooker of Hartford, and Davenport of New Haven—were invited to join, with a view, it is supposed, to their strengthening the Independent element, which was then weaker than that of the Presbyterians. The invitation was contained in a letter written in September, 1642, and signed, amongst others, by Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and Oliver St. John. The ministers addressed were unable or unwilling to leave their brethren; but about a year and a quarter earlier, four New England colonists of good position, including the celebrated Hugh Peters and the younger John Winthrop, had been despatched to the mother country, to congratulate the reforming party there on the favourable turn in their affairs, to represent and advance colonial interests, and to give any advice that might be required as to the settling of church discipline in England. As a consequence, apparently, of this mission, the New England colonies were in 1643 relieved from the payment of customs and other duties till the further directions of the House of Commons. An order was also made that the Massachusetts people should enjoy all liberties according to their patent; whereby, as the elder Winthrop observes in his Journal, "our patent, which had been condemned and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a *quo warranto*, was implicitly revived and confirmed." This was in consequence of a petition to the House of Lords presented by some of the colonists then in England, though without authority from the Massachusetts Court. Winthrop and his coadjutors were unwilling to do anything which should seem to acknowledge the right of the mother country to exercise jurisdiction over them. They desired complete independence; though upon what ground of right, considering the origin of the colony, it would be hard to say.

As the rival parties in England were fighting out their battles, the New England plantations, with occasional disagreements among themselves, were pursuing a course of natural development. Massachusetts was augmented by the accession of New Hampshire in 1641, and by the annexation of Maine and Lygonia some years later. Maine belonged to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; Lygonia, to Alexander Rigby, a Republican member of the Long Parliament.* The former plantation, being neglected by its proprietor during the civil troubles in England, instituted a government of its own; while George Cleaves, with a Council of Assistants, carried on the affairs of Lygonia as the representative of Rigby. The two provinces adjoined one another, and questions of boundary arose between them, which were referred to the arbitration of Massachusetts. These, however, were soon swallowed up by the claims of that colony on its own account. Interpreting the phraseology of its patent in a way the most favourable to itself, Massachusetts asserted a right to the territories of Gorges and Rigby. After a good deal of resistance, the people of both plantations—those of Maine in 1652, and those of Lygonia in 1653—consented to what they could no longer prevent, and were united with the powerful commonwealth which had its seat of government at Boston. The terms granted them were liberal, but the arrangement did not escape dispute after the accession of Charles II., as we shall find further on. Other augmentations of the territory of Massachusetts, both to the north and to the south, took place about the same period, and the pre-eminence of what is sometimes called the Bay State was thus firmly secured. Connecticut and New Haven also enlarged their boundaries by purchase from the Indians; the other settlements continued to increase in numbers; additional towns were founded, and the English race and language pushed their way farther and farther into the wilderness.

* The territory of Lygonia included the lower part of the river Saco, and extended in a north-eastward direction along the coast, nearly to Casco Bay. (Palfrey's New England.) It must not be confounded with Laconia, to which allusion has previously been made, and which was bounded by the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec. (Bancroft's United States.) Both names have long since disappeared, and the lands been otherwise incorporated.

In 1644, Plymouth sustained a loss in the death of William Brewster, who had come out to America with the original body of emigrants conveyed by the *Mayflower*, and who previously to that date had formed one of the English congregation in Holland. At the time of his decease he was seventy-eight years of age, and therefore already elderly on the formation of the colony in 1620–21. More than twenty years of life and active work, however, remained to him, and he was justly regarded as the patriarch of the little commonwealth. Up to a few days of his death, which occurred on the 16th of April, he worked in the fields, as well as performed the duties of his office. His last sickness was brief, and until the final day of his life he did not wholly keep his bed. After a few hours of failing speech, he departed without any pangs, about nine or ten o'clock at night. His fellow-worker, Bradford—a much younger man than Brewster, whom he had known from his own days of boyhood—writes of the departed worthy in his history of the colony:—"I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse than to be silent; but I cannot wholly forbear." The character which he proceeds to give bears eloquent testimony to the many virtues of this Pilgrim Father—to his piety, innocence, wisdom, cheerfulness, sociability, tenderheartedness, fortitude, and courage. Even if we allow a little for the kindly exaggeration of friendship, we must acknowledge in William Brewster a man of men. Opinions may differ as to his theological views, and many may think that, like most of his contemporaries, he insisted too much on the outer forms and set phraseology of religion; but it can hardly be doubted that his spirit was illuminated by all that is best in religion—by love, and reverence, and trust. His admirable capacity of endurance, and easy contentedness of nature, were in themselves of the highest value to the young colony. When, in the early days of privation, bread itself failed, and nothing but oysters and clams were set on his table, he would express himself in the words of Deuteronomy, giving thanks that they could "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand." Yet Brewster was no mere enthusiast or visionary, but a man acquainted with the affairs of this world. In his youth he had been employed by William Davison, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, with whom he went on an embassy to the Low Countries, to take possession of the three fortified towns which were consigned to the English Government as security for the repayment of money advanced to the United Provinces in their struggle with Spain. After his return to England, he was one of the Puritan party who suffered persecution. Ultimately he fled into Holland, where he maintained himself by teaching English, and afterwards by printing. The books he printed were for the most part such as could not have been issued in London, because of their discussing ecclesiastical and political ideas that were forbidden in Brewster's native country—a fact which gave great offence to the English authorities, as these books were frequently smuggled into England. Sir Dudley Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester), King James's Ambassador in Holland, watched the printer very closely, and at one time endeavoured to arrest him, but without success. Brewster was a ruling "Elder"—that is to say, an overseer—in John Robinson's church, and, though he never assumed the pastoral office, was himself a fervid and effective preacher. He had the satisfaction of seeing the infant colony of Plymouth, which he had helped to found, growing up to maturity; and he died at peace with all men, in gratitude and in hope.

With the increase of their strength, and the continual approximation of their interests, which nevertheless clashed at times for want of a common understanding, the New England colonies became sensible of the need that existed for some bond of union. The conception had arisen a few years before it was carried into execution, but the particular circumstance which called it into life was the necessity of greater protection against the Dutch felt by the settlers in Connecticut. The English colonists were, indeed, menaced by foreigners in various directions; for, in addition to the Dutch and French on the western and eastern frontiers, some Swedes had established themselves in Delaware Bay, to the south. With the Dutch there were frequent collisions, and their power was manifestly such as to be formidable. Moreover, the Indians were again threatening hostilities. It accordingly occurred to certain of the Magistrates and ministers of Connecticut, who were at Boston at the close of August, 1637, to propose some kind of federation to the authorities of Massachusetts, in which, if they pleased, the people of Plymouth might join. Difficulties delayed the realisation of this idea; but it was revived two years after, and again in 1642. At the latter date, Massachusetts, which had previously exhibited great lukewarmness in the matter, began to take up the project with zeal, moved, perhaps, by the growing troubles in England, and the advisability of concentrating all the force of the Puritan colonies in case the Royal and prelatical cause should triumph. In May, 1643, a General Court was held at Boston,

at which the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were represented by two commissioners for each. Massachusetts, as being the largest and most important of the New England settlements, was represented by the Governor, two Magistrates, and three Deputies. A Mr. Fenwick also appeared, in the interests of the fort of Saybrook and the adjacent lands, which by the Connecticut people were held to be a portion of their territory, but which were also claimed by the Earl of Warwick and his fellow-patentees as belonging exclusively to them. It does not appear, however, that Fenwick took any active part in the discussions, or that he voted, or signed the document ultimately drawn up; and at the close of the following year he conveyed to the Connecticut jurisdiction, in consideration of certain money payments, the ground in dispute. The result of the deliberations on the Federal question, in May, 1643, was the creation of a species of union amongst the four colonies, the terms of which union were expressed in an Agreement consisting of twelve articles. In the preamble to these articles it was stated :—

"Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim—namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea-coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us, or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect :—we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments; that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one."

The Federation thus established received the designation of the United Colonies of New England. By the articles of agreement, the plantations in question entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions. Complete jurisdiction in local affairs was secured to each of the contracting settlements; but the charge of all just wars, on whatever part of the Federation they should fall, was to be borne by the entire body in due proportion, and, except in sudden exigencies, no one member of the Federation should make war solely on its own account and by its own authority. Any material gain proceeding from wars, whether in lands, goods, or persons, was to be proportionably divided among the confederates. At the same time it was agreed that, if any one of the colonies should be invaded in consequence of wrongful acts of its own, the said colony should make just satisfaction to the party wronged, and should bear all the charges of the war. The Federal Government was vested in the hands of eight commissioners (two for each of the four colonies), deputed by their several General Courts, who were to determine on all affairs of war and peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men to be employed in hostilities; the division of spoils; the receiving of more plantations into the union; and all other matters proper to a Federation exclusive of such as belonged solely to the individual jurisdictions. In the event of an agreement not being arrived at by these eight commissioners, or by six of them, the business was to be referred to the General Courts of the several colonies. The Commissioners were to meet regularly once every year, besides holding extraordinary meetings if found necessary; and the place of assembly was to be alternately Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth,—thus giving each settlement the honour in rotation, until some central place should be agreed upon, which might be found equally convenient for all the jurisdictions. The deliberations of the Commissioners were to be directed by a president chosen by themselves from among their own number, who, however, was to be invested with no extraordinary powers for hindering the progress of business, or casting additional weight into any scale. The matters to be considered were to include the framing and establishing of agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, and the best mode of dealing with the Indians, so that they might neither grow insolent, nor be injured without satisfaction. It was also agreed that servants running away from their masters, and prisoners escaping from justice, should, after due process of law, be delivered up by the colony where they had taken refuge to that from which they had fled. Provision was likewise made for cases of sudden war, where the occasion could not be delayed until the assembly of all the Commissioners, and for such proceedings as might be

rendered necessary by any breach of the articles of agreement by one or more of the contracting parties. This important document was signed by the Secretary of the General Court of Massachusetts, and by the Commissioners for Connecticut and New Haven, on the 19th of May, 1643; but the Commissioners from Plymouth, having brought with them no instructions to sign, but only authority to discuss, desired time for consulting with their principals. The result of the deliberations of the General Court for that colony was that the articles were ratified without reserve; and the signatures of the Plymouth representatives were appended on the 7th of September in the same year.

The four New England colonies which were parties to this undertaking must be regarded as having created the germ of what afterwards became the United States of America. The general idea was doubtless suggested by the example of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; but the connection established amongst themselves by Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, was of a looser kind. It did not produce a separate nationality, but it led to the formation of a colonial commonwealth more powerful, and more exactly organised, than any hitherto existing in that part of America. Experience showed that it sufficiently answered a real and legitimate want, for it lasted until 1684, when the authority of the mother country was completely reasserted in the closing days of Charles II.'s reign. Yet the Federation did not increase the number of its members. The settlements of Gorges beyond the Piscataqua were refused admission, because the ideas of the colonists, both in religion and civil administration, were antagonistic to those of the Puritans. The plantations of Providence and Rhode Island were also rejected, on account of their unsettled condition, and perhaps also out of a fear that Antinomianism might thus be reintroduced. But the four allied States maintained their federal bond for several years, and Oliver Cromwell, in the height of his power, did not venture to disturb the league. Although it had passed away for a century when the final independence of the colonies was achieved, it furnished a precedent for the greater and broader Union of that age.

Very shortly after the conclusion of these articles of agreement, the Parliament of England instituted a Commission for the government of the American colonies, with a view to re-establishing that Imperial authority which had been allowed to lapse. The governing body so formed consisted of six lords and twelve commoners, with the Earl of Warwick (one of the popular party) at its head. The Commissioners were authorised to "provide for, order, and dispose all things which they should from time to time find most fit and advantageous to the well-governing, securing, strengthening, and preserving of the said plantations;" and they were to make official appointments in those distant dependencies, and to remove such persons as should appear objectionable. Amongst the Commissioners were Lord Saye and Sele, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Henry Vane the Younger, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Pym, Cromwell, and Samuel Vassall. These men were not very likely to coerce the colonies, or to proceed in a reactionary spirit; and in fact they do not appear to have taken any measures for the vindication of their authority. It was on the 2nd of November, 1643, that the Commission was issued, and by that time England was in the throes of civil war. Even had there been any disposition to carry matters with a high hand, such a course would have been impossible when the form of government at home was doubtful from day to day, when the energies of the nation were being consumed in internecine struggles, and when the attention of politicians was absorbed by matters of more immediate import. Yet the assertion of power was a very natural one, and it can hardly be impugned, unless on principles leading to the utmost extremes of disintegration. The colonists on the other side of the Atlantic were Englishmen settled on English territory in virtue of a charter issued by the English Government. It was not to be expected that the mother country should, without being consulted in the matter, and without having committed any gross injustice, quietly see its rights and jurisdiction set aside, as if it had had no more to do with the plantations than the Great Cham of Tartary. That the rule of a parent State should be lightly exercised over its dependencies, is undoubtedly one of the leading truths of political science. But an Empire with any sense of its dignity cannot consent to its own dismemberment, or see its subjects setting up distinct and perhaps rival governments. The Long Parliament was unable to carry out its ideas of colonial management; but it was proper not to allow the right to lapse, for want of a definite assertion of its existence. In more settled times, the predominance of the nation over its Transatlantic possessions was effectually maintained; yet the liberty of the plantations was not vitally injured until the period of George III.'s disastrous policy. The proposed action of the Long Parliament is sufficiently justified by the fact that, in the ordinance establishing the

commission of 1643, it is mentioned that petitions had been received from certain of the plantations, requesting that "they might have some such Governor and Governments as should be approved of and confirmed by the authority of both Houses of Parliament."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Dissensions between the Narragansetts and Mohegans—Apprehended Plot to assassinate the English—Samuel Gorton and the Familists—Disturbances at Providence caused by Gorton—Appeal of Roger Williams to Massachusetts for Assistance—Cession of Territory in Narragansett Bay to Massachusetts—Lands bestowed by Miantonomoh, Chief of the Narragansetts, on Gorton—The Validity of the Transfer contested—Battle between Miantonomoh and Uncas—Defeat, capture, and execution of the Former—Contest between the Massachusetts Authorities and Gorton—Trial and Conviction of Gorton—Questionable Proceedings of Massachusetts—Endeavours of Gorton and his Associates to obtain the Mediation of the King of England—Transactions of New England with the French Colony of Acadie—Disputed Questions of Jurisdiction, and Difficulties of International Law growing out of them—Domestic Politics of Massachusetts in 1643–4.

After an interval of quiet, the Indians, in 1643, began once more to create uneasiness among the New England colonies. This proceeded in the first instance from dissensions between two native tribes—the Narragansetts and the Mohegans. Now that the Pequots were subdued, the tribes just mentioned were the two most powerful in that part of North America. Their possessions, formerly separated by those of the Pequots, were by this time conterminous, and a state of mutual antagonism and jealousy was the result. That open hostilities did not sooner break out, was due to the intervention of Connecticut, by the rulers of which colony the Narragansetts and Mohegans were induced to give an undertaking that they would not make war on one another without the consent of the settlers. Both tribes had furnished a little aid to the English in the war with the Pequots, and for some few years seemed desirous of promoting friendly relations with the formidable strangers who had established themselves on American soil. But the feeling among themselves was far from amicable, and it was not long before the Narragansetts were suspected of a design against the English. Miantonomoh, one of the chiefs of that body, was in 1640 taxed with treacherous intentions by messengers from Massachusetts; but he disavowed any evil project. In 1643 these fears were renewed. The English, it was said, were to be massacred immediately after the harvest, and it was further alleged that several attempts had been made to assassinate Uncas, the Mohegan sachem, who had always shown himself well disposed towards the white men. So great was the alarm amongst the English settlements that troops were trained, arms were supplied to the colonists generally, parties travelled with convoys, and watch was kept in the villages by day and night. Miantonomoh was requested to appear at Boston, with a view to vindicating himself, if he could; and before the Governor and Magistrates of that colony he denied the charge that had been brought against him. The authorities of Connecticut and Plymouth, however, still insisted on the reality of the plot, and shortly afterwards Miantonomoh gave further cause of offence by allying himself with certain Englishmen who had separated from the colony of Providence, and were regarded as dangerous and lawless heretics.

The leader of these disaffected settlers was one Samuel Gorton, originally a London clothier, who arrived at Boston in 1636, during the Antinomian controversy. In a little while he removed to Plymouth, where he got into disputes with the Magistrates, and was ultimately fined and expelled the settlement. After wandering about for some time in an uncertain way, he took up his residence at the north end of Rhode Island, among the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, who, it will be remembered, had established there a small commonwealth on the basis of unlimited toleration. Even in so favourable a spot, however, he could not keep out of broils, and on one occasion was moved to deny the power of the Magistrates, and to assail them with abusive language. For this offence he was whipped; whereupon he went to the colony of Providence, and was soon at issue with Roger Williams and his friends. Williams's theories in favour of liberty of speech were sorely tried by this wild fanatic. Gorton seems to have been what, in the religious phraseology of that time, was termed a Familist—one of a so-called "Family of Love." His principles were those of extreme Antinomianism, and were therefore similar to the views of Mrs. Hutchinson, if they were not even more extravagant. It was part of the contention of the Familists that they alone had any true knowledge of Jesus



UNCAS AND MIANTONOMOH.

Christ or of the Scriptures (in which respect they did not differ from most other religious bodies); that it was their special mission to teach love; that the doctrines of Christianity were to be interpreted in a mystical and shadowy way, instead of literally (a method similar to that of the Gnostics of early Christian ages); and that all existing religious forms were superstitious. Some of these enthusiasts were understood to deny that there was any such thing as sin, or at least to assert that they, being rendered perfect by their union with God through the fulness of love, could without evil commit acts which in others would be the height of enormity. It was alleged that immorality was frequent among them; but charges of this kind are so commonly and readily brought against religious heretics that it is dangerous to assume their truth without specific evidence. Nevertheless, it is easy to see that an alleged privilege of sinning is not unlikely to lead some at least to the commission of vicious irregularities. By the orthodox, these strange theorists were often said to be mere infidels, though their use of Scriptural language was abundant. Many of the Familists questioned whether there were any heaven or hell beyond the pleasures or pains of the present life. Gorton himself used to say that there was no heaven but in the hearts of good men, no hell but in the mind.

Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop, on the 8th of March, 1641, that Gorton was "bewitching and bemadding poor Providence" with his strange ideas in religion, and by his "unclean and foul censures" of the ministers. That is to say, he was now vexing Williams and the Providence authorities much as Williams himself, five or six years before, had vexed the Magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts. Williams added that the majority of his people were infected by these wild doctrines, and that he contemplated removal to a small neighbouring isle. Before this design could be carried out, those of the settlers who felt themselves more particularly aggrieved sent an appeal to the Government of Massachusetts for assistance. The petition, which bore date November 17th, 1641, alleged many acts of disorder and violence against Gorton and his friends, and accused them of designing "to have no manner of honest order or government, either over them or amongst them." The complainants accordingly besought the Massachusetts authorities, out of considerations of courtesy, and for the preservation of mankind, to consider their condition, and lend them a helping hand. The prayer was refused, on the ground that Massachusetts had no jurisdiction; and the troubled settlers of Narragansett Bay, seeing no other way out of their miseries, made over the territory which they occupied, and which was situated to the north of the river Pawtuxet, to the powerful colony they had before addressed. This was in September, 1642. The Massachusetts Government then sent a notice to Gorton's party, to the effect that the earlier colonists would be supported in their lawful rights, and that the new-comers must abstain from violence, and appeal to the regular courts of law in support of any claims they might have to urge. To this intimation Gorton and his companions sent a reply in the nature of a defiance, but, fearing military action on the part of Massachusetts, withdrew, early in 1643, to the southern side of the river, where they bought lands of Miantonomoh at a place called Shawomet.

The authorities at Boston were displeased with the Narragansett chieftain on account of this cession. Moreover, it was doubtful whether the land did not belong to two other Indian chiefs, whose followers dwelt on it. It was even a question whether the disputed territory was not included in the Plymouth plantation, the limits of which were ambiguously and obscurely defined. The sachems who conceived themselves wronged by the Narragansett chief, and who repudiated the authority of Miantonomoh, appealed to the Government of Massachusetts for redress, and submitted themselves and their lands to that jurisdiction. Their submission was not accepted without a previous inquiry into the rights of the case, during which Miantonomoh, who had been sent for to Boston, defended his claims, though not to the satisfaction of those who sat in judgment between the rivals. The cause was decided against the Narragansett chief; the disputed territory passed into the possession of the leading New England colony; and Miantonomoh retired into the wilderness in a dissatisfied and wrathful mood. Very shortly afterwards—in July, 1643—he attacked the Mohegan sachem, Uncas, near the site of what is now the city of Norwich. A proposal made by Uncas, that the quarrel should be determined by single combat between the two chieftains, was refused by Miantonomoh; and the issue of the fight was a speedy and complete victory to the Mohegans. The Narragansett sachem fled for his life, but was seized by two of his own warriors, and dragged before Uncas. Disgusted by their treachery, the Mohegan struck them dead; then, turning to the captive, who sat sullenly on the ground, he observed, "Had you taken me, I should have besought you for my life." Miantonomoh returned no answer, and was conducted to Hartford, where he was left in custody of the English, to be disposed of by Uncas, according to the advice of the Commissioners of the United

Colonies. Gorton, recollecting who had advanced his interests, endeavoured to obtain the liberation of the fallen chief, and threatened Uncas with the vengeance of the English if he did not release his prisoner; but his menaces were unheeded. It has been alleged as a crime against Gorton that he thus allied himself with a savage who was opposed to the English, in opposition to one who was their friend. But it should be recollected that, if Uncas was friendly to the Englishmen settled in Massachusetts, Miantonomoh had been equally so, and with unvarying faithfulness, to the Englishmen settled in Rhode Island. In supporting one Indian chieftain in his quarrel with another, there is no proof that Gorton was abetting any plots against his own countrymen. His subsequent conduct, however reprehensible, was due to a sense of injustice committed against him by the authorities of Massachusetts.

The fate of Miantonomoh was one of the earliest subjects that engaged the attention of the Federal Commissioners. It was debated by them at their first meeting, which took place on the 7th of September, 1643. They came to the conclusion that there was proof sufficient of a conspiracy among the Indians to cut off the English, and that Miantonomoh was the prime mover in this design. They also found that the Narragansett chief had on several occasions plotted against the life of Uncas, and had finally attacked him in a sudden and treacherous manner. They persuaded themselves that Uncas would not be safe while Miantonomoh continued to live; and they ended with a resolution, affirming that the Mohegan chief might justly put such an enemy to death. This being the universally-admitted Indian law in all such cases, Miantonomoh had no cause of complaint from his own point of view; but on higher grounds the judgment was questionable. The Commissioners added that the execution must be in the territory of Uncas, and not within the English jurisdiction; and they advised that, in the manner of inflicting death, all tortures and prolonged cruelties, after the Indian fashion, should be omitted. Not only did they give this advice, but they sent two Englishmen with Uncas and his captive, to see that the latter was really treated with as much humanity as the penalty of death allowed. Some forty miles beyond Hartford, and within the then dominion of the Mohegans, a blow from a hatchet on the back of his head laid the prisoner low. It is believed that he was purposely killed on the precise spot where he was captured, in a field in the neighbourhood of Norwich, Connecticut, known as "Sachem's Plain," where a mound of loose stones long existed, which has in modern times been replaced by a block of granite, marked with his name a name which, in that vicinity, is odious to this day. The conduct of the New England authorities in the matter has been both condemned and defended. Allowing that the charges against Miantonomoh were clearly established (as to which no positive opinion can now be expressed, the whole of the evidence having disappeared), the Federal Commissioners were within their right in giving up the captive to the vengeance of Uncas; and something is to be said in their justification on the score of self defence. Yet, after all possible allowances have been made, it is difficult to resist a feeling that the action of the colonists was marked by a certain hardness and want of generosity. As one who had conspired against the English (if such were really the fact), Miantonomoh might fairly have been held a prisoner for life; but the rendering of him into the hands of his enemies, with a view to his being slaughtered, is but poorly justified by the fact that he was the prisoner of Uncas, who had a right to his life under the laws of Indian warfare, or by the consideration that it was not expedient to risk the defection of Uncas and the Mohegans by interfering with that right.

While these events were going on, the General Court of Massachusetts took a somewhat peremptory measure with respect to the followers of Gorton. They issued a warrant against the settlers at Shawomet, commanding them to appear at Boston, to answer the complaints of Pomham and Saconoco, the two petty chieftains who laid claim to the ground which had been alienated by Miantonomoh. The reply to this warrant was a piece of outrageous defiance and objurgation, not more extreme, however, than the language which religious fanatics are in the habit of applying to one another. Nothing, certainly, could be in worse taste than this answer, which was characterised neither by sense nor civility. It was the composition of excited and illiterate men, who, as Winthrop remarks, did not know how to spell, nor how to use correctly the commonest English words. But the right of Massachusetts to take proceedings against these men was by no means certain, and was by them not unreasonably disputed. Whether the land on which they were settled belonged originally to Miantonomoh, who had disposed of it to Gorton's party, or to the other two chieftains, by whom it had been made over to Massachusetts, was a matter still in doubt. Massachusetts, acting as judge in what was really her own case, had decided in her own favour; but Gorton and his fellows may be excused for coming to a different conclusion. The

Magistrates at Boston, however, were not inclined to be set at naught. Accordingly, after due notice had been sent, they despatched to the new settlement three commissioners, accompanied, as a protection, by an escort of forty armed men. This was in truth an invasion, and assuredly a very high-handed assertion of a doubtful authority. It was met by the Gortonites with threats of resistance and retaliation; but, after their position had been blockaded for a few days, they surrendered without any loss of life, and, in the early part of October, 1643, were carried prisoners to Boston. They counted only ten, including Gorton himself, and do not seem to have made up for their numerical weakness by any great exhibition of spirit beyond the use of fiery language.

At the next meeting of the General Court of Massachusetts, these men were arraigned on a charge of being "blasphemous enemies to the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and all his holy ordinances, and also to all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction." Specifications, to the number of six as regards the alleged blasphemy, and to more than fifty with respect to the defiance of civil authority, were produced from the writings and speeches of Gorton and his friends. Of the charge of blasphemy it is sufficient to say that it was one of those beggings of the question which the founders of Massachusetts had been among the foremost to resist when used against themselves in the old country. Gorton had as good a right to *his* interpretation of Scripture as Winthrop and his associates to theirs, especially when the former was no longer disturbing the earlier communities, but was endeavouring to establish a commonwealth of his own in a remote wilderness; and it is wonderful that the Massachusetts people did not see how completely their tyranny, if its principle was to be accepted, justified the English Bishops in persecuting the Puritans, the Roman Catholics in burning the Protestants, and the Pagans of ancient Rome in throwing the Christians to the lions.* As to the refusal of the Gortonites to submit to the authority of Massachusetts in civil matters, it has already been shown that it was doubtful whether that colony had any right to the allegiance which it claimed.

* The several heresies imputed to the Familists are set forth by Cotton Mather (who works himself into a fever of indignation and reviling on the subject) in his "Magnalia Christi Americana, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England" (London, 1702), Book VII., chap. 2. The opinions are foolish enough,—a wild farrago of mystical extravagance; but they cannot properly be called "blasphemous," since they express a reverential belief of *some* kind.

One main cause of the bitterness of Massachusetts against Gorton is to be found in the readiness of that person to threaten an appeal to the English Government. He had done this before his capture; he repeated the threat when on his trial. It was doubtless a very imprudent step, for the authorities at Boston had determined, if it were possible, to establish an independent Republic, in which it should be treason to recognise the King or Parliament of England. But Gorton had certainly a right, in a case of disputed jurisdiction, to invoke the arbitration of that Power which had equal authority over both parties to the dissension. The absolute sovereignty which Massachusetts had for some time exercised was in defiance of English law, and of the particular charter under which the colony had been created. The settlers possessed no authority but what they had derived in the first instance from the Government of the mother country; and the jurisdiction of England had been allowed to lapse simply because of the disturbed condition of affairs at home. Yet when Gorton, on his trial, again talked of appealing to England, he was plainly told that no such appeal would be allowed him. After several examinations, and a good deal of controversy, Gorton, having been found guilty, was sentenced to be confined, during the pleasure of the Court, at Charlestown, where he was to be set to work, and at the same time to wear such bolts or irons as might hinder his escape. If he published any more of his blasphemous or heretical opinions (which under the circumstances would have been no very easy matter), he was to be put to death; indeed, as it was, it was only by a majority of two votes that he had been saved from the extreme penalty. Of Gorton's followers, nine were confined in different towns; one was ordered to remain at Watertown; one was bound over to appear again, should he be so required; and one was released. Such were religious liberty and civil freedom as interpreted by the leading men of Massachusetts, who had quitted their own land to escape the unscrupulous dictation of authority. Gorton and his friends were no doubt a troublesome, ill-conditioned, and even dangerous set of men; but this does not excuse the illegality of their treatment. It is satisfactory to be enabled to add that the mass of the population saw the flagrant injustice of these sentences, and openly expressed their dissatisfaction. Their murmurs seem to have had a good effect; for in March, 1644, the prisoners were released, but at the same time ordered to leave Massachusetts, and not to settle in or near Providence, or on any of the lands of Pomham or Saconoco. Disregard of these conditions was to entail the punishment of death. After a brief

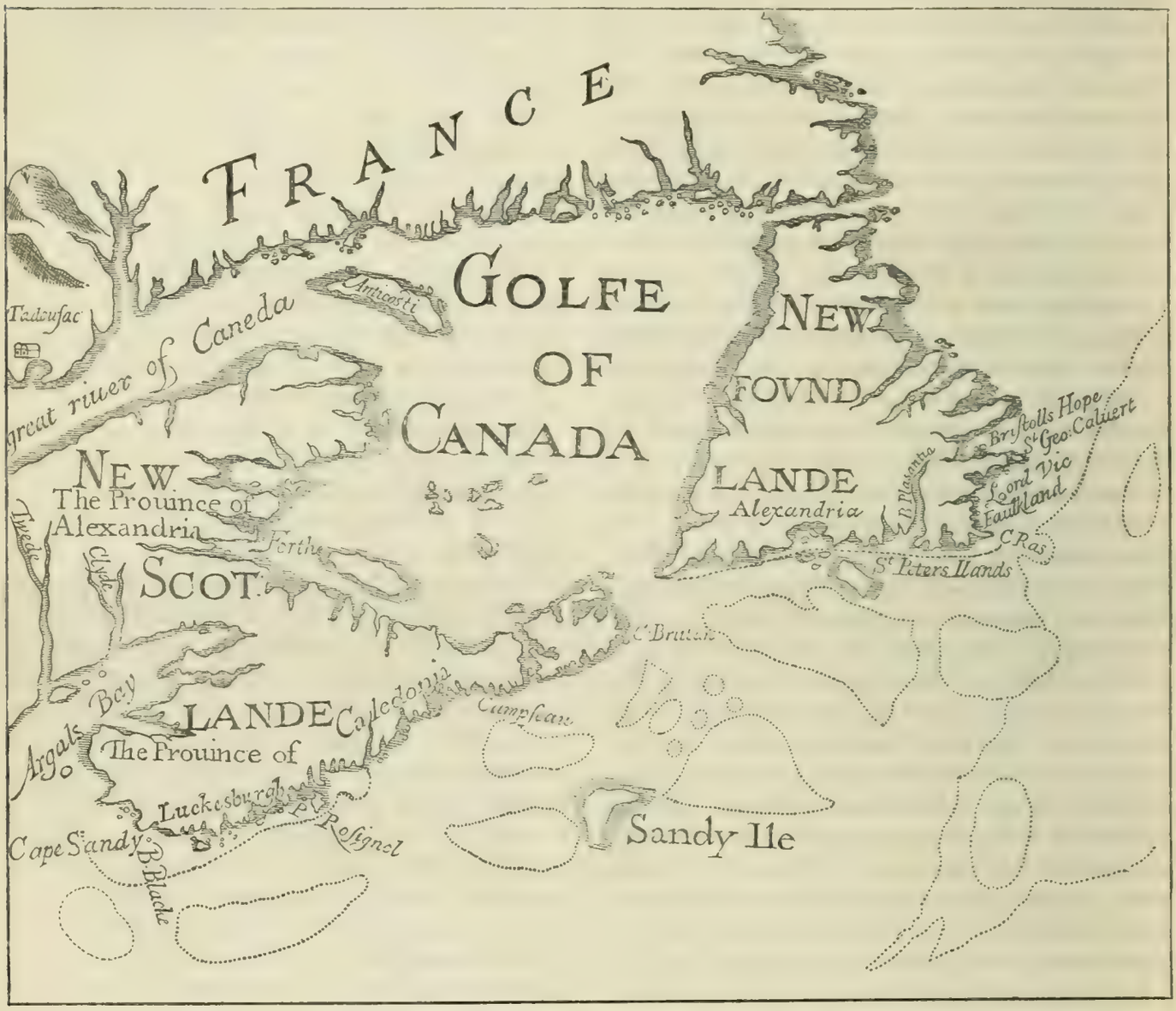
attempt to re-establish themselves at Shawomet, they retired to Rhode Island on the 1st of April, and at once set to work in furtherance of their designs.

Desirous of enlisting the Indians in their favour, and at the same time of bringing their case before the English Government, they opened negotiations with the Narragansetts, and prepared for an appeal to England. Six or seven of Gorton's party crossed over to the mainland, and on the 19th of April concluded a treaty with the chieftains of that tribe, the effect of which was to transfer the whole of the Narragansett people and territory to the protection and government of King Charles and his successors. In this document, the chieftains spoke of having "just cause of jealousy and suspicion of some of his Majesty's pretended subjects;" and by the same instrument they appointed Samuel Gorton and three of his adherents as their attorneys and commissioners to represent them at the English Court. The treaty was obviously the composition of the white men at whose instigation it was made. To the same hands must be attributed a letter addressed by the chieftains to the General Court of Massachusetts, in which they declared that the death of Miantonomoh would be revenged on Uncas, who, they alleged, had taken a ransom for his life. They added that they were now subjects of the same King and State as the people of Massachusetts; and expressed an opinion that it would be fit to refer any difference that might be between them to the settlement of their common sovereign. The despatch of this letter was followed by another, signed by one of the Gortonites, who called himself Secretary to the Commissioners charged with the publication of the act of cession. It was evident from the terms of this letter that the followers of Gorton were prepared to abet the Indians in their worst acts of ferocity, rather than forego their designs. This cannot be made to serve retrospectively as a justification of the persecution they had suffered: it is very probable that that persecution had inflamed its victims with a feeling of wild animosity against their own countrymen. But the letter of John Warner, the so-called Secretary, shows how fierce were the passions evoked amongst rival partisans by the ill-defined position of the New England colonies towards the mother country. Warner endeavoured to frighten the authorities of Boston by threatening them with the vengeance of King Charles and of the Mohawks if they should interfere with the proposed arrangement. He flourished in their eyes the greatness and power of the Mohawks; alleged that those savages had 3,700 guns, men expert in the use of them, and plenty of powder and shot, together with defensive armour for their bodies; and related with a kind of gloating delight that they had recently slain a hundred French and several of their Indian allies, putting many of them to cruel tortures, while of their own men they had lost but two. The spirit of such a communication was detestable; but it failed to intimidate the Magistrates of Massachusetts. Preparations to resist any contemplated attack were quietly made; and, after some ineffectual negotiations, the Narragansett chiefs consented to submit their grievances to the Commissioners of the Federal Union. They sent a sagamore and other persons of consideration to represent their case, and the matters in dispute were argued at considerable length. The Commissioners could not find that Uncas (who was present at the inquiry) had received any ransom for the life of Miantonomoh; and finally a truce between the contending parties was agreed upon in September, 1644. Nothing more was done against Gorton and his friends, who continued to live on Rhode Island.*

The determination of the Massachusetts people to disavow that allegiance to the old country which Gorton so eagerly proclaimed, was evinced in an order of the General Court, issued on the 20th of May, 1644, which, after making reference to the civil war then raging in England, decreed that any one who should, by word, writing, or action, endeavour to create a party in favour of the King and against the Parliament, should be accounted a high offender, and be proceeded against, either capitally or otherwise, according to the degree of his offence. It will be observed that the order contained no prohibition against forming a party in favour of the Parliament. The sympathies of the Puritan settlers were necessarily and naturally in favour of the opponents of Charles I.; but they sometimes carried their favouritism too far. They allowed the captain of a Parliamentarian vessel from London to seize a Royalist vessel from Bristol in Boston waters, and, when the captain of the latter created a disturbance in the town, arrested him and his friends. This proceeding of the local authorities at Boston was supported by a majority of the Magistrates, on the express ground that to have done otherwise would have been inconsistent with the openly-declared affection of the people towards the English Parliament. But many objected to the action of the London captain, as being a violation of the independent jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and shortly afterwards, in another case, it was found necessary to

* These events are very fully related by Mr. Palfrey, in his "History of New England," Vol. II., chap. 3, but in a way too favourable to Massachusetts.

restrain such interferences. The shore-battery of Boston fired into a Parliamentarian vessel, the commander of which had refused to go on shore when summoned. On the captain making his submission, he was discharged, after paying a small fine; but he was forbidden to take any action against a Royalist ship then lying in the harbour. A year or two before this, objection had been made events having almost the character of a foreign war. A divided rule had for some time existed in the French colony of Acadie (now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick); for the two representatives of the French monarch—D'Aulnay de Charnisé and La Tour—had quarrelled about their respective jurisdictions, and were at open feud. Each believed he had the superior position; but D'Aulnay had



OLD MAP OF ACADIE.

to that part of the oath taken by the Governor and the rest of the Magistrates which ran:—"You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord, King Charles." It was argued that the King had violated the privileges of Parliament, made war on his subjects, and thereby lost much of his kingdom. The Court therefore resolved to omit that portion of the oath for the present; and the Royal authority ceased to be even nominally recognised in Massachusetts.

The attention of Massachusetts was partly diverted from internal matters by a series of received instructions from the King which showed that his adversary was regarded as a rebel by the parent State. La Tour, seeking to support himself in his fortified position at St. John, situated at the mouth of the river of that name, sent a messenger to Boston, by whom an arrangement was concluded for a free trade between the ports held by La Tour and those of New England. When this fact came to the knowledge of D'Aulnay, he forwarded a letter to Winthrop, in November, 1642, denouncing his rival as a traitor, and threatening to make prize of any Massachusetts vessel engaged in the trade

with him. In the following year, La Tour escaped from St. John, presented himself at Boston, and so far interested the authorities in his favour that they permitted him to charter vessels in the ports of Massachusetts, and to enlist volunteers. With this assistance, La Tour prosecuted the war with some success, and compelled D'Aulnay, in the autumn of 1643, to return to France for reinforcements; but in July, 1644, La Tour again appeared at Boston, requested further aid, and alleged that without the substantial assistance which he had come to solicit, and of which he now stood in need. Very shortly after his departure, an envoy from D'Aulnay arrived at Boston, with offers of peace and amity. The result of the negotiations which ensued was that the Massachusetts Magistrates agreed to present for the approbation of the Federal Commissioners, at their next meeting, a treaty of peace and commerce between the jurisdictions of Massachusetts and of D'Aulnay, the terms of which,



VIEW ON THE COAST OF MASSACHUSETTS.

the place where his fort was built had been purchased by his father of Sir William Alexander, and that he had a free grant of it, and of the adjacent territory, under the great seal of Scotland. Some discussion ensued among the Massachusetts rulers as to whether the case of La Tour should be vigorously and openly taken up. Many were in favour of such a course; but, as all were not agreed, it was resolved to do nothing more than write to D'Aulnay, demanding satisfaction for his hostile behaviour and language, and for sundry malpractices of his officers, and announcing a resolution to maintain the commercial relations which had been instituted with La Tour. That potentate—if such he can be called—was dismissed with a great deal of ceremony, but however, were not to restrain the merchants of the English colony from trading with whomsoever they pleased, whether French or not. Pending the consent of the Commissioners, this treaty was to be provisionally binding. Yet the Massachusetts Government continued to exhibit a certain degree of friendliness towards La Tour, and it would seem that, in their desire to stand well with both parties, they were not very faithful to either.

Massachusetts had clearly been carrying on a species of covert war with the representative of the French King in Acadie; and the complaints of D'Aulnay were so obviously just that the Federal Commissioners, at their second meeting, on the 5th of September, 1644, passed a general order forbidding

the confederated colonies to permit any volunteers to go forth in a hostile manner against any people whatever, without the order and direction of the Commissioners. This was an implied censure on the conduct of Massachusetts in respect of the affair just brought to a temporary arrangement. The Magistrates of that colony, however, do not seem to have construed the prohibition in a very strict spirit; for, in the following year, D'Aulnay seized a Boston vessel which was engaged carrying provisions to La Tour in his blockaded stronghold—a species of trade which the Federal Commissioners could hardly have intended to allow. It is not surprising that under such a provocation D'Aulnay should have sent a letter of remonstrance, in which he charged the Government of the chief New England colony with breach of neutrality. This covert assistance to the rebel cause did not prevent the capture of the fort. There were traitors to La Tour within the walls; and during the absence of the commander himself, on a third visit to Boston, the place was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. Madame La Tour, who had exhibited great heroism throughout, died in less than three weeks — probably of mortification, though it has also been said that she was treated with cruelty by the victor. The ruin of La Tour involved several of the Boston merchants in very heavy losses; and the vanquished rebel soon after showed that they had put their trust in a thoroughly worthless object. His English friends (some of them deluded, perhaps, by his professions of Protestantism, though these were disbelieved by many) fitted him out, in 1646, with commodities to the value of four hundred pounds, that he and several of his countrymen might make a trading voyage. In the winter, the French rose on the English members of the crew, and set them ashore on a desert part of the coast near Cape Sable. Winthrop, in recording the fact, bewailed the confidence he and others had placed in a carnal man. The Bostonians certainly seem to have been throughout a little too intent upon carnal profits.

The original dispute between Massachusetts and D'Aulnay was taken up by the Federal Commissioners, who, at their third meeting, ratified the treaty that had been made between those parties. But the Governor of Acadie refused to renew his subscription until the later dispute should be settled. The General Court of Massachusetts accordingly determined to send the Lieutenant-Governor and two other Commissioners to treat with him at Penobscot, in May, 1646; but D'Aulnay preferred to despatch three envoys to Boston. There they were received with a good deal of state and ceremony, and on Sunday kept themselves quiet indoors, so as not to give offence to the Puritan feelings of the people. A week's discussion led to an agreement, which provided that all injuries and demands were to be remitted, on a small present being made to M. D'Aulnay in satisfaction of an act of violence committed by a Boston shipmaster, which the Magistrates did not undertake to justify. About the same time, and for a couple of years later, New England was engaged in a dispute with the Dutch of New Netherland on questions of boundary and jurisdiction; but it was settled to the advantage of the former.

Although the clandestine dealings of Massachusetts with La Tour had had the support of Governor Winthrop and other influential persons, making in all a majority of the colonial counsellors, the minority opposed to such proceedings was not inconsiderable. It comprised several men of distinction and weight, who, in July, 1643, joined in a written remonstrance to Winthrop on the subject, to which he replied with warmth. The feeling embodied in this remonstrance acquired force with time; and, at the annual election of Magistrates for 1644, Winthrop was deposed from the chief place, and elected to the second. The post of Governor was conferred on Endicott, who had partially dissented from the policy of his predecessor, while retaining, and generously expressing, the heartiest confidence in the excellence of his motives. Winthrop and Dudley were also deprived of their positions as Federal Commissioners, and two young and rising men were deputed instead. Jealousy of the power of the Magistrates was strongly developed at this period. The Deputies, for instance, proposed that seven of the Magistrates, and three of their own body, in combination with Mr. Ward, a pastor, should arrange all affairs of the commonwealth in the vacancy of the General Court. The Magistrates were strongly disinclined to this measure, since it deprived them of the sole authority, hitherto enjoyed by them, of acting as the standing council of the colony when the General Court was not in session. They suggested a compromise, but it was not listened to; and, previous to the prorogation of the Court, the Deputies wished the Magistrates to give a promise not to exercise any powers of government during the recess. They declined to make such an engagement, and the prorogation took place amidst signs of a division that threatened unpleasant consequences. When the next General Court met, the ministers of religion were requested to state their formal opinion on the question in dispute; and their judgment was in favour of the Magistrates. This settled the matter, though the Deputies continued to object, and two of the Magistrates sided against

their colleagues. It seems probable, however, that the latter body had the support of the majority among the colonists themselves. Although the position taken up by the Deputies was ostensibly of a popular character, it was in truth an attempt to usurp a function that did not belong to them. The Magistrates exercised their powers by virtue of the charter which created them; and if this was to be altered, it should, from the popular point of view, have been by a vote taken immediately from the constituencies. The Deputies wished to effect the change by their own motion and authority, and argued that the charter had been violated often before. This, no doubt, was true enough; but the frequent repetition of a wrong, or of an illegality, will not suffice to make it more lawful or more just.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Council for New England—The Three Plymouth Patents—Early Difficulties of the Colony—Hard Treatment of the Settlers by the London Capitalists—Death of Robinson—Further Removal of English from Leyden to Plymouth—Poverty of the Plantation—Steady Progress in Trade—Visit of an Agent of the Dutch Company to Plymouth—His Description of the Town, and of the Manners of the Inhabitants—Persecution less in the Plymouth Colony than in Massachusetts—Perils, real and imaginary—Territorial Appropriations—Formation of New Towns in the Plymouth Patent—Collisions with French and Dutch—Death and Character of Bradford—Edward Winslow in England—Political Reforms in New Plymouth—Visits of Winslow to Massasoit—Fidelity of some of the Indians to their Professions of Friendship.

While the plantation of Massachusetts was struggling through the difficulties of its early years, the older settlement of New Plymouth was progressing with greater tranquillity towards an established and prosperous condition. The important events occurring in the colony founded by Winthrop and Endicott, by which it was enabled to assume the lead in New England, have too long detained us from the humbler but still deeply interesting fortunes of the small community under Bradford and Winslow. Three patents had been successively issued to the latter colony by the Western Company to which the whole of New England belonged—one in 1621, one in 1622, and one in 1630; and the position of the Pilgrim settlers was thus rendered far more assured than it had been in the winter of their landing, when, having been taken or driven out of their course, they found themselves in a country belonging, not to the London Company, from which they had obtained their grant, but to that of Plymouth. This might have been fatal to their prospects, had they not met with more favour than they perhaps expected. The Plymouth Company, after its fresh incorporation, with enlarged powers, in November, 1620, was officially entitled "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling, and governing of New England, in America." Capricious and even menacing as their conduct sometimes was, the members of the Council, though they had interests of their own in New England, seem, on the whole, to have been not unjust to the Puritan settlers who had sailed in the *Mayflower*. The first patent for New Plymouth was made out in the name of John Pierce, citizen and cloth-worker of London, one of the capitalists who had lent money to the emigrants. Pierce was to hold this patent in trust for his fellow-capitalists, or "Adventurers" as they were called; but the interests of the colonists were also considered, and their privileges affirmed. In 1622, Pierce dishonestly contrived to get the patent superseded by one which made him little less than absolute proprietor of the whole territory; but, on the remonstrance of the other Adventurers, the original document was reverted to in 1623. By the terms of that document (the patent of 1621), a hundred acres of land were allowed to every colonist, at a yearly rent of two shillings an acre after seven years. Fifteen hundred acres were set aside for public use, and the colonists were empowered to make such laws and ordinances as might be necessary for their good government, to elect their own officers, and to resist all invaders by force of arms. The third patent (counting that surreptitiously obtained by Pierce as the second) bore date January 13th, 1630. It conveyed to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, a vaguely-defined tract of land, including New Plymouth and certain territory on the Kennebec; and it conferred all requisite powers of government on the chief officers of the colony. This patent was in 1641 transferred by Bradford to the whole body of freemen. Bradford and his friends greatly desired to possess in addition a Royal charter similar to that of Massachusetts; but this, though often solicited, and at one time with prospects of success, was never obtained as long as Plymouth continued a separate government.

During the whole of this time, dating from the death of Carver, who expired in April, 1621,

Bradford had occupied the post of Governor. He had been re-elected each year, though more than once begging to be excused so onerous a charge. The difficulties of his post were indeed considerable. Poverty and famine in the earlier years of his rule were succeeded by the usual troubles of an infant settlement. Emigrants of an inferior character followed the first pure-hearted enthusiasts. Factions and conspiracies were from time to time discovered, and could only be dealt with by severe and peremptory measures. Those whose projects were thus defeated returned in some cases to England, and used their utmost influence to prejudice the colony. Thomas Weston, whose unhappy attempt to establish a settlement in Massachusetts Bay, in 1622, necessitated the interference of the New Plymouth authorities, lost no opportunity of decrying the Puritan plantation. Lyford and Oldham, two persons who were sent over in 1623 by the London capitalists, with a view to advance their special interests, as well as to introduce the forms and doctrines of the Church of England, and who were ultimately expelled for their share in a plot and mutiny against the existing government, were ever afterwards an adverse influence to the fortunes of the colony. The Adventurers in London thought more of themselves than of their fellows on the opposite side of the Atlantic, who had staked not only fortune, but life itself, upon the issue. Yet even these prudent men of business had words of sympathy for the settlers. "Let it not be grievous to you," they wrote, "that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty: the honour shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own, that the same God which hath so marvellously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable among men, and glorious in bliss at the last day." Expressions such as these would have been more gratifying if the same sympathy had been declared in action as well as in words. The Plymouth colonists always regarded their treatment by the London capitalists as hard and exacting, and were glad, even at a sacrifice, to be rid of so irksome a partnership. It is certain that the Adventurers were, from motives of policy, though perhaps in some instances not from innate conviction, strongly opposed to the settlement retaining its Puritan character. The Episcopalian Church was still dominant in England; it had the support of the King and of the nobles; and it was feared that if New Plymouth succeeded in establishing an independent religious community, it would draw down upon itself some signal check. For this reason the Adventurers constantly endeavoured to hinder the English who had been left behind at Leyden from joining their comrades in America. Robinson was the acknowledged head of the English Independents, and his presence at New Plymouth was anticipated by the Court of St. James's with dislike, if not with dread.

From all uneasiness as regards Robinson, however, the English Church and aristocracy were soon relieved. That admirable minister died at Leyden on the 1st of March, 1625. It had been amongst the dearest wishes of his heart to follow his old friends to their new home beyond the waves, and to assist in propagating the religious ideas of the new Reformation in the wilds of America. But this was not to be, and his ashes now lie amongst those of alien race. In later years, however—in 1629 and 1630—further members of the English colony in Holland were enabled to transport themselves to New Plymouth. They were brought over at the expense of their friends already established there, who paid for their outfit and conveyance £550, and a sum not much less for their maintenance until they could support themselves. The outlay was not lost. The Leyden immigrants were men of high character, whose views were in harmony with the rulers of the colony; and they acted as a counterpoise to the mere stragglers and fortune-seekers who had arrived from time to time, and who were frequently at issue with Bradford and his companions. But it was only at great sacrifices that the older colonists were able to meet so great an expense. Their poverty for a long time was extreme. As late as 1626, when they bought up the claims of the Adventurers for £1,800, and endeavoured to raise money in the commercial circles of London, they could procure no more than £200, and that at the rate of thirty per cent.; so low was their credit, and so little was thought of their prospects. When the support of the Leyden people was thrown on their hands, they were obliged to borrow at forty and even fifty per cent. Bradford and eight others gave bonds for the payment of the eighteen hundred pounds in annual instalments of two hundred; and, to enable them to discharge this obligation, they obtained of the colonists an exclusive right to the trade of the plantation for six years. The London claimants were not finally got rid of until 1641, when, having received twelve hundred pounds, they gave a receipt in full.

These charges could not have been borne, had not the settlement made considerable progress in

material prosperity. In 1624, fifty English ships were on the coast, engaged in fishing, and these contributed to the formation of a trade with the colonists. Winslow and some others, in the following year, made a voyage up the Kennebec in an open boat, and brought back with them seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides other furs, which they had received from the Massachusetts Indians in exchange for corn of their own growing. In successive years the emigrants sent to England furs, timber, and sassafras. They built themselves shallops, pinnaces, and lighters, and performed voyages both of trade and discovery. Their fisheries were established at various points on the coast; though, owing to the competition of others, they became after awhile less profitable than at first. Their industry showed itself in many ways. When Isaac de Rasières, agent of the Dutch Company which had possessions at Manhattan (now New York), visited Plymouth, in September, 1627, to make arrangements for mutual commerce, he observed an ingenious dam constructed by the English in a small river at the south side of the town. Here the colonists caught multitudes of herrings, which they used as manure, the soil being incapable, without that assistance, of producing the requisite crops of maize. The same observer has left a curious picture of the appearance of the town, and of the manners of the people, seven years after the formation of the colony. It appears that New Plymouth then consisted of two streets on the side of a hill, crossing each other at right angles. The houses were constructed of hewn planks, and were enclosed in gardens, and protected by stockades against any sudden attack. At the ends of the two streets there were wooden gates. In the centre of the cross street stood the Governor's house, before which was a square enclosure planted with four guns, so disposed as to flank the streets. On the hill above was a species of fort, from the flat timber roof of which six cannons commanded the surrounding country. The lower part of this building was used as a church, and the manners of the worshippers were as martial as the structure in which they met. They assembled by beat of drum, each man in his cloak, and with his musket or firelock, and took up their station in front of the captain's door. Thence they marched to the church in military order, three abreast, but without beat of drum. Behind came the Governor, in a long robe; to his right was the preacher, also robed, and to his left the captain, with his side arms, and a small cane in his hand. In the church itself, each man set his weapons down beside him. "Thus," says de Rasières, "they are constantly on their guard, night and day."* They were on their guard also against other dangers besides the assaults of Indians, or the menace of foreign foes. They had made stringent laws for the repression of immorality. Even the native tribes who lived in association with them felt the force of these laws; and nothing roused the indignation of the English settlers more than to hear from the savages that the neighbouring Dutch disregarded decency, and were allowed to go unpunished. Indians brought into contact with the Puritans were, on the testimony of this Dutchman, better conducted than those with whom his own countrymen had to deal, because the English gave them the example of better ordinances and of a better life.

Yet the Puritanism of Plymouth was never so extreme as that of Massachusetts; at any rate, it was less infected with the venom of persecution. This may perhaps be attributed to the larger knowledge of the world, and of its religious sects, which the emigrants had acquired at Leyden; perhaps also to the influence of the kindly-natured and liberal-minded Robinson. It was a sorrow to Robinson that the colonists had been compelled to kill any Indians while as yet they had converted none. He was not likely, therefore, to breathe into his followers a sentiment of bitter religious animosity; and in fact he had cautioned the Pilgrims, before they left Delft-Haven, to beware of narrowness and sectarian jealousy. Accordingly, though the spirit of persecution is not entirely absent from their annals, it is not so frequently displayed, nor characterised by such a deadly rancour, as in the neighbouring colony to the north. The settlers of Plymouth were less disposed to proselytism than their brethren. They were content to cultivate their ground, to traffic in such commodities as they had, and to enjoy in quiet the spiritual freedom which was denied them in their native land.

Their life was not without that charm, made up of wildness and of danger, which belongs to all new conditions and all untried experiments. The virgin forest came up almost to their doors; certainly to the borders of their fields and garden-plots. Its murmurs were for ever in their ears; the precise nature of its dangers was for some time a mystery. Two men lost in the woods, in January, 1621, thought they heard during the night the roaring of lions. Several of the early explorers firmly believed that there were lions in those parts; though it is obvious that no such animal could exist in so cold a country as New England. An

* Letter from de Rasières, translated by Mr. Brodhead from the archives of the Hague, and published in the second series of the New York Historical Collections.

old writer remarks that the roarings frequently heard in the forests by those who had gone astray must have been caused by either lions or devils; "there being no other creatures which use to roar, saving bears, which have not such a terrible kind of roaring." Many of the settlers, doubtless, were quite as well disposed to believe that the cries proceeded from devils as from lions. It is not difficult to imagine that on winter nights, as these strange howlings came out of the blackness and solitude of the woody distance, even brave men drew closer to their fires, and were thankful for the protection of the rude timber house which preserved a little centre of warmth, light, and civilised society, in the midst of savage nature and satanic power. Men in those days heard much of the unhallowed meetings of witches and demons in lonely places between dusk and dawn; and if ever such stories were to be believed, it was there, on the borders of a vast empire of heathenism, lying under the shadow and mystery of unsubdued creation. But, though there were no lions, no witches, and no devils, there were perils of other kinds. Wolves were numerous, and stragglers were sometimes obliged to defend themselves against their attacks. Prowling Indians, stealing out of the woods or between the trees with the noiseless step peculiar to their race, would cause sudden alarms, and hasty preparations for defence. The elements were unfriendly, and put the settlers to the utmost trials of cold and tempest. The necessaries of life were hard to get; trade was scanty and precarious; and men who had other and antagonistic designs to promote, secretly plotted the overthrow of the infant commonwealth.

Not the least of these dangers were those which were constantly being incubated in the old country. The Council for New England, or former Plymouth Company, determined, in October, 1622, that an order should be solicited from the Lords of his Majesty's Council for bringing back such as had, in contempt of authority, settled in New England; and it was afterwards proposed that the King should issue a proclamation prohibiting all persons from resorting to that part of America without sanction. In January, 1623, it was propounded in the New England Council that a settlement should be made in their possessions by three classes of men—gentlemen, handicraftsmen, and husbandmen.* The object of all these suggestions was to create a state of things hostile to the Puritan settlement at Plymouth; and the various colonisations by Gorges and his friends in the northern parts of New England were animated by the hope of setting up aristocratical and Church of England provinces in opposition to the scarcely-disguised Republicanism and openly-avowed Nonconformity of the emigrants from Leyden. The Council for New England had in 1622 divided their territory among individual members of the corporation; and in this way twenty noblemen and gentlemen shared amongst themselves the country along the coast from the Bay of Fundy to Narragansett Bay—including the very lands on which the Puritans had established themselves. Considering that the Council had already granted a patent to the capitalists by whom those settlers had been sent out, and had recognised the colony itself, this appropriation was not honest; but no attempt was made to oust the persons in possession. The vicinity of Cape Anne was assigned to Edmund, Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, an adherent of the Parliament during the civil wars; but it was not long ere he parted with his property. Winslow, during one of his visits to England on the business of New Plymouth, purchased the land of him, at the beginning of 1624, for the colony which he represented; and when the Massachusetts plantation was beginning, a portion of the ground was granted by the New Plymouth Government to the Rev. Mr. White and his associates. In spite of all difficulties and obstacles, New England was to receive, with but slight exceptions, the impress and the colour of Puritanical ideas.

Every year, the colony founded by the Pilgrim Fathers advanced in prosperity, notwithstanding that Isaac Allerton, a son-in-law of Brewster, charged with the management of the settlers' business affairs in England, entered without due authorisation into transactions which in two years raised the colonial debt from four hundred to four thousand pounds. He was discharged from the agency of the plantation in 1630; but by that time the fortunes of the little commonwealth were secure. The formation of the Massachusetts colony was a help to the older community, for it furnished them with customers for their corn and cattle, which in consequence rose to a great price, so that, as Bradford relates, many were much enriched, and the comforts of life became attainable where men, a few years before, had been thankful if they could get the barest necessaries. Winslow, on his return from England in 1624, had brought with him three heifers and one bull, the first cattle imported into New England. The inhabitants of the town of Plymouth were so numerous in 1632 that several of them went in search of other quarters. A town named Duxbury was established on the north side of the harbour, and pastures were

* Journal of the Council for New England in the State Paper Office, London.



WINSLOW'S VISIT TO MASSASOIT.

assigned at Marshfield to such as engaged to keep them by servants, so as not themselves to remove from the original settlement. Bradford regarded this dispersion with uneasiness, fearing that it would be the ruin of New England, or at least of the churches there. Plymouth was indeed so reduced in population that it was left almost desolate. In 1633, the few remaining inhabitants were still further diminished by an infectious fever; and in 1651 Bradford spoke of the local church as an ancient mother, grown old, and forsaken of her children. Among the other troubles of the colony were collisions resulting from the uncertain character of the boundaries assigned, and from the claims of rival settlers. Thus, the Plymouth people were at issue with the French on the Penobscot, with the Dutch on the Connecticut, and with certain English traders on the Kennebec; and, on some of these occasions, affrays took place, with loss of life.

Bradford continued in office as Governor uninterruptedly until 1632, when, at his earnest request, he was transferred to the inferior position of Assistant, while Winslow, who had been one of the Assistants, was advanced to the Chief Magistracy. At subsequent periods, however, Bradford was again Governor; and he held the post continuously from 1639 to 1643, and from 1645 to 1657, when he died, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He was one of the principal founders of Plymouth colony, and is deservedly held in the highest respect by New Englanders to the present day. The little village of Austerfield, near Bawtry, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, enjoys the honour of his birth, which took place in 1588. Mr. Palfrey, the recent historian of New England, who visited this primitive hamlet in 1856, describes it as consisting at that date of about thirty brick houses, roofed with tiles, at least two of which dwellings looked as if they might have been standing in Bradford's time. The church, which will contain no more than a hundred and fifty persons, is in some parts as old as the thirteenth century, and until 1835 had no other than an earthen floor. When Bradford was a boy, a congregation of Puritans used to meet at the village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire; and it is probable that the future Governor of New Plymouth, whose attention was attracted to religious subjects very early in life, joined this congregation, and in that way made the acquaintance of Brewster, with whom he was afterwards to be so intimately associated. He was an orphan, of feeble constitution, with but slight opportunities of education; yet by his own diligence he acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The first-named was his principal study, because, as he said (according to the report of Mather), "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty." His writings consist of "A History of Plymouth Plantation," the manuscript of which, after being lost for nearly ninety years, was discovered in 1855 in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham; a descriptive and historical account of New England in verse, the poetical merit of which cannot be ranked high; and some controversial treatises. But his chief works were works of action. He was one of the English exiles in Holland, where he followed some industrial occupation; and he sailed in the *Mayflower* for the western world. In every relation of life he showed himself one of God's gentlemen — a man of truth, honour, courtesy, firmness, gentleness, and simplicity. His merits as a Governor have already appeared in the course of this narrative; and it is sufficient to add that New Plymouth was indebted to no man more than to him. Of his personal life a curious incident is recorded. While the *Mayflower* was lying off Cape Cod, previous to disembarking the main body of the emigrants, his wife fell overboard and was drowned, while he himself was away on one of the exploring expeditions. His second wife, a widow, is said to have been his first love; and, a correspondence between them having been renewed, the lady went out from England, and married Bradford at New Plymouth. Such lights of tenderness and romance fall into lives the most sedate, when they are true, not only to abstract standards of right, but to the warmth and constancy of affection. Bradford left four children (one by his first wife, and three by his second), several of whose descendants are still found in the United States. A marble monument was erected in 1825 on the burial hill at Plymouth, over the grave of this excellent man, and of his son William, at one time Deputy-Governor of the colony.

After Brewster and Bradford, the most important man among the early Plymouth settlers was Edward Winslow, who had attained a very high reputation in New England generally when, in 1634, he was for the third time sent to the mother country, as the agent not merely of Plymouth, but of Massachusetts as well. One of his first acts on arriving in London was to present a petition to the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, in which he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed, on behalf of the New England colonies, that the Commissioners would either procure their peace with those foreign settlers, or give special warrant to the English to defend themselves against all enemies. Winthrop afterwards expressed himself greatly dissatisfied

with this request, and in his Journal censured the proceeding as undertaken by ill advice, as such precedents might endanger their liberty by conceding that nothing could be done but by commission out of England. It may be doubted, however, if the Massachusetts policy of almost complete independence and scarcely-veiled defiance were any the wiser. Perhaps, under the difficult circumstances then existing, no course would have been entirely free from objection. Certainly Winslow was not successful. Some members of the board received his proposals favourably; but the supporters of Gorges and Mason, who desired to establish a general government for New England, having its origin in the King's own appointment, violently opposed the suggested authorisation. Archbishop Laud, the President of the Commission, put a stop to Winslow's suit by questioning the colonial representative on various matters touching his personal conduct in America. He was charged with having, though a mere layman, taught publicly in the church, and officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the first of these accusations Winslow replied that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the instruction of his brethren. As regards the second, he said that he regarded marriage as nothing more than a civil contract, and that at such ceremonies he had officiated simply as a magistrate; that the people of Plymouth, having for a long time been without a minister, were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the secular power on these occasions; but that this was no novelty to them, as they had been accustomed to it in Holland, where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate in the Stadt-House. The furious Archbishop hereupon pronounced Winslow guilty of separation from the Church of England, and persuaded the other Commissioners to commit him to the Fleet Prison, where he was detained four months. The agent for New England returned to his adopted home without having effected any good.

Succeeding years were signalised by legal and political reforms in the Plymouth colony. The laws were codified and reformed in 1636, and at the same time the form of government was revised in such a manner as to confer on the body of freemen the chief share both of legislation and administration. The colony of Plymouth did not assume towards the mother country that position of disloyalty which from the very first marked the policy of Massachusetts. In the former plantation, the oaths to be taken by freemen, residents, and officials, included a recognition of the Royal authority, and the courts were ordered to be held in the King's name. But, as in the case of Massachusetts, the colonists asserted, by a rule passed in 1637, their right to exclude from the jurisdiction any one of whom they disapproved. Masters of vessels bringing passengers into the plantation without leave were obliged to keep them while they stayed, and ultimately to re-carry them and their goods to the place whence they came. In 1638, a species of representative body was formed, to share with the Governor and Assistants the task of ruling the settlement; and tax-paying masters of families, though not freemen (that is to say, persons invested with special privileges), were permitted to have a vote in the election of these deputies. Laws, however, might still be enacted or repealed by the whole body of freemen convened in their Courts of Election.* Thus, the government rested on a popular basis in the main, though a privileged order was not unknown.

The relations of the Plymouth colonists with the natives were, on the whole, more friendly than we have seen in other quarters. It is true that troubles in this direction were not wholly wanting. Weston's attempt to form a plantation in Massachusetts Bay had been one cause of a collision between the settlers of 1620 and the Indians. The former were at times threatened by some of the minor tribes of the vicinity, and, in 1621, Standish, with about twelve men, was compelled to strike terror, by a vigorous movement, into certain enemies of Massasoit, an ally of the English. Standish was the military commander of the colony, and on several occasions dealt with the savages after the dashing and peremptory style of Captain Smith in Virginia, for he was a man of great courage, of fiery temper, and of remarkable promptitude. But Massasoit was always faithful in his friendship; and between his people and the colonists many kindly offices were interchanged. That powerful chieftain visited the settlement in March, 1621, and, after some formal interviews, concluded a treaty of alliance, to which reference was made in Chapter XI. In the following summer, Winslow visited Massasoit at his woodland court. Accompanied by Stephen Hopkins, and by an Indian named Squanto, who had been kidnapped in former years by one Captain Hunt, and, having thus learned English, acted as interpreter, Winslow made his way across solitary and deserted lands, swept bare by the recent pestilence; now resting at an Indian village, now sleeping in the open fields; sometimes wading across streams, at others toiling through weeds which grew above his

* Palfrey, Vol. I., chap. 13.

head, and again passing by forests of umbrageous trees. Except in one place, where a momentary alarm as to their intentions led to a feeble show of defiance, the natives manifested the utmost kindness to their white visitors, together with a touching reliance on their good intentions and superior knowledge. Winslow and his companions were treated with all the hospitality of which the poor savages were capable; though the fare was so poor that the two Englishmen were almost starved by the time they got home again. Speeches, conversation, and trials of skill at shooting, beguiled the time; and when Massasoit was invested in a coat of red cotton, laced, and a copper chain (the latter to be used as a credential by any messenger who might in future be sent to the colony), the flattered chieftain felt proud and happy in the extreme.

In 1623, when Massasoit was dangerously ill, Winslow paid him another visit; "it being," according to an old account, "a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity."* On his way, Winslow was informed that Massasoit was already dead: upon which, the Indian guide, Hobbamock, exclaimed that his equal would never again be seen; that he was no liar, nor bloody and cruel, like other Indians; that in anger he was soon pacified; that he was easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; that he was so ruled by reason that he did not scorn the advice of meaner men; and that he governed his people better with few strokes than others did with many. It afterwards turned out that Massasoit was still living, though his illness would very probably have resulted in death, but for the kindness, care, and medical skill of Winslow. On his recovery, he said, "Now I see that the English are my friends, and love me; and while I live I will never forget the kindness they have shown me." To this promise he faithfully adhered to the end of his life, which did not terminate till 1660; and it was he who, immediately after his sickness, gave Winslow intelligence of the Indian plot against Weston's company. The red men were sometimes treacherous — sometimes simply bewildered and frightened; but they often exhibited a degree of generosity and faithfulness which induces a fear that their harsh treatment by the settlers had less justification than is commonly supposed. Their reception of the missionaries who from time to time undertook to convert them—attempts of which we shall presently have to speak at large—showed that they were at least ready to listen to the message of their conquerors. As he advanced, Bible in hand, the preacher was generally treated with respect; sometimes was rewarded with submission.

CHAPTER XX.

Agitation against the Governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts—William Vassall—Demand for Complete Religious Toleration—Petition to the English Parliament threatened—Presbyterians and Independents—Distinctions in their Methods of Church Discipline—Tyranny of the Presbyterians in England under the Long Parliament—Supremacy of the Independents in New England—Determination to call a Synod—The Synod of 1646—Punishment of Presbyterian Agitators—Winslow again in England—His Defence of the New England Governments—Distrust of Democracy in Massachusetts—Speech of Winthrop on the Subject—Instructions to Winslow as to his Conduct before the Parliamentary Commission on the Plantations—Remonstrance of the Massachusetts Government to the Commissioners—Decision of the Disputed Points—The Synod of 1648—Platform of Church Discipline then established—Roger Williams and the Narragansett Plantations—Dissensions and General Progress.

However determined the ruling class in New England might be not to admit the authority of the mother country in the administration of colonial affairs, several of the commonalty looked to the interposition of the Home Government as a resource against tyrannies little less than those from which they had fled during the early years of the reign of Charles I. These men were not long before they found a voice. In October, 1645, William Vassall, brother of Samuel Vassall, commenced a movement which gave considerable trouble to the persons against whom it was directed. William Vassall had been one of the original Assistants named in the charter of the Massachusetts Company; but, after returning for awhile to England, he again crossed the Atlantic, and found a home at Scituate, in the Plymouth colony. His brother Samuel, who had also been one of the Massachusetts Assistants, likewise returned to England, and at the date in question was a member of the Parliamentary Commission for the Government of the Plantations. Counting, perhaps, on the help of Samuel, William Vassall proposed to certain malcontents in Plymouth to petition the General Court that the distinctions

* Narrative, perhaps by Winslow himself, in Mourt's Journal (1622).

maintained both in civil and church estate might be done away with, and that the people might be governed wholly by the laws of England. It was demanded that "a full and free tolerance of religion to all men, without exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Familist, or any other," be established; and it was declared that, if this petition failed, the English Parliament should be appealed to. Winslow, who relates these facts in a letter to Winthrop, says that the "carrion" of universal toleration was relished by the majority of the Court; yet nothing was done, and the agitation then passed into Massachusetts. The petitioners stated, in a remonstrance which they addressed to the General Court of that colony, in May, 1646, that many thousands in the New England plantations were debarred from all public employments, and even denied the right of voting for civil and military officers; and that numerous members of the Church of England, who agreed with the latest religious reformation in England and Scotland, were prohibited the Lord's Supper on account of doctrinal differences, but were nevertheless compelled under a severe fine to appear every Sunday at the congregation, and in some places were forced to maintain the very ministers who would not admit them to their flocks. From these grievances they craved relief, at the same time intimating a determination to carry their complaints to the Parliament at London, if satisfaction were denied them in the colonies. The persons interested in this movement were Presbyterians, and their hope of success in England lay in the ascendency of the Presbyterian body in the old country. The leaders of Massachusetts were Independents, or, as they called themselves, Congregationalists; so that the action of Vassall's friends threatened a contention on religious grounds—those grounds on which most of the New England feuds were fought out. To understand the full force of the distinction thus indicated, it will be advisable to examine in brief the characteristic views of these two bodies of extreme Protestant reformers.

The root of both sects, as regards theology, is to be found in the teachings of Calvin; yet, in respect of church discipline, the true Calvinists are the Presbyterians. In the system of the great Frenchman who settled at Geneva, each separate church or congregation is governed by its own Presbyters or Elders, who are either teachers (that is, ministers) or lay rulers, and who are all of equal rank and authority. But these separate bodies, taken together, form a National Church, which in its corporate capacity has supreme authority over the individual or local churches. The general government is vested in a Consistory, composed of laymen and ecclesiastics (but chiefly of the former), who are elected from year to year. The office of Bishop, together with all hierarchical distinctions, is excluded from this system, the chief features of which are democratical. The principles of Calvin's method were introduced into Scotland by John Knox and Andrew Melville, but with some modifications, rendered necessary by the larger sphere to which the system was to be adapted. Those great reformers established a mode of church government consisting of the Kirk Session, elected by the single parish or congregation; the Presbytery, formed of all the ministers of a certain district, and one ruling Elder from each parish; the Provincial Synod, composed of all the Presbyteries within a given province; and the General Assembly, embodying, as far as religion is concerned, the whole nation. In all these councils, lay members sit side by side with ministers. During the civil war, a similar regimen was established in England by the Long Parliament, acting in obedience to the celebrated Westminster Assembly of Divines, which first met in July, 1643, and sat until the autumn of 1647. But the Presbyterians were now to encounter considerable opposition from the growing strength of the Independents. The distinctive tenet of that body was that every church—by which they understood every properly organised congregation of people for the purposes of religious worship—has a complete and independent existence of its own, which should be as free from control by any Presbytery or General Assembly as from the dictation of Bishops or the interference of the State. The only thing in the nature of corporate jurisdiction which they allowed was in the case of any church giving offence, when, if it refused to hearken to the monition of neighbouring churches, the latter were empowered, after a meeting of their representatives to discuss the question, to withdraw from such church the right hand of fellowship, and to hold the offender no longer in the communion of saints. A Synod of this nature (the earliest in the history of New England) was held in 1637, with reference to the Hutchinsonian heresy. The Independent view of church government was first put forth, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Robert Brown, to whom allusion has been made in an earlier Chapter; and it gathered force in the reigns of James I. and his son.

The Presbyterian system, in the opinion of the Independents, had a dangerous tendency to ally itself with the secular arm, and from this they feared as much violence to the individual conscience as from sovereigns and prelates. The leaders of

the Presbyterians had already evinced a disposition to come to terms with the King; and, some years later, it was owing partly to their instrumentality that Charles II. was placed upon the throne. Nothing in the Presbyterian system is necessarily incompatible with the idea of a Church Establishment, supported and enforced by law. Such an Establishment has existed in Scotland; such an Establishment was imposed by the Long Parliament upon England. Against this arrangement, the English Independents always directed the utmost strength of their party organisation. They had some men of the very highest mark among their ranks. Not to speak of professed theologians, they could reckon on the countenance of Oliver Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane the Younger, Lord Saye and Sele, Nathaniel Fiennes, Oliver St. John, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Selden, and Milton. The great poet of the Commonwealth was one of the most efficient champions of their cause. Both in prose and verse he held up the Presbyterians to the detestation of Englishmen; and to none more than to him is due the triumph of Independency under the Protector. In his irregular Sonnet "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament," the composition of which is referred to the year 1646 or 1647, he accuses the dominant theologians of the day of envying rather than abhorring the sin of those who in the Episcopal Church had practised pluralism; of adjuring the civil sword to force the consciences which Christ had set free; and of stigmatising as heretics men whose life, learning, and faith would have placed them high in the estimation of Paul.



EDWARD WINSLOW.

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large,"

is his scornful conclusion. In his Sonnet to Cromwell, belonging to the year 1652, he implores that great soldier to save free conscience from the grasp of hireling wolves, who had no other gospel than their maw. And in his "Areopagitica" (1644) he exposes the inconsistency of the Presbyterians, who, as long as the Bishops were to be baited down, were in favour of a free press, but who, now that

power had passed into their own hands, resolved to reimpose on human thought the fetters of Episcopalian tyranny. "Bishops and Presbyters," he writes, "are the same to us, both name and thing." The Presbyterians of England, in short, had adopted all the old intolerance of the Romish and Anglican Churches; and the Independents, being as yet the weaker body, were compelled to use the utmost exertions to save their principles from being crushed.

In New England, the relative position of the two sects was reversed. There the Independents were in a majority, and the ruling power was in their hands. They frequently used that power with the same disregard of the individual conscience which marks the policy of all fanatics when their turn of domineering arrives. The movement of the Presbyterian agitators was provoked by this tendency to exclusiveness and petty despotism. It was sufficiently formidable to create serious uneasiness in the rulers of Massachusetts. The General Court, a few days after their receipt of the remonstrance, passed a vote for assembling a Synod of Elders and messengers of the churches in all the confederated colonies, with a view to settling "the right form of government and discipline, by the joint and public agreement and consent of churches, and by the sanction of civil authority." It was clearly seen by the leading men of Massachusetts that they needed, on religious grounds, some system of concerted action, such as the Presbyterians enjoyed in England; but the admission of this want, followed by the calling of a Synod which was to create a general body of laws for the government and discipline of individual congregations, implied a direct violation of the very principle of Independency. The Synod, however, met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the 1st of September, 1646. More than three years earlier, a meeting of Elders had taken place in the same town, at which there had been considerable discussion, but without any result, as to whether or not some mode of Presbyterial government would be advisable. The meeting of 1646 was not more fruitful. After fourteen days' debate, in which nothing was settled, the Synod was adjourned to the following spring. In November, the General Court answered the remonstrance and petition of the malcontents by a published declaration, in which they maintained (with some boldness, considering the whole course of events) that their government was framed



HOUSE LATELY STANDING AT PROVIDENCE, SAID TO HAVE BEEN USED FOR PRAYER MEETINGS BY WILLIAMS.

in accordance with their charter, and with the fundamental laws and customs of England. They also replied to the complaints of the remonstrants, and defended the policy they had adopted in the administration of colonial affairs. This, of course, gave no satisfaction to the objecting party, and it became known shortly afterwards that two of the number were about to embark for England, to make that appeal to the Parliament which had been threatened. They were summoned before the General Court, to answer for their share in the petition; and, on showing an inclination to dispute the order, were committed to custody until they gave security for future appearance. All who had signed the petition—seven in number, of whom, however, Vassall was not one—were ultimately arraigned on a charge of making false and scandalous accusations against the churches of Christ and the civil government of the colony; accusations which derogated from the honour and authority of that government, and tended to sedition. But the malcontents refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, declined to answer, and again talked of appealing to England. The Court therefore found them guilty, and imposed fines of varying amounts, to be remitted upon their making public acknowledgment of their misdemeanours.

This sentence might certainly have been far more harsh; but, even as it stood, it was a questionable exercise of power. Four of the Deputies and three of the Magistrates dissented from the judgment; and there can be no doubt that Vane, had he still been in the colony, would have thrown all his influence into the scale against punishing these agitators for expressing opinions contrary to those of the ruling authorities. On the 10th of June, 1645, that benevolent but eccentric politician had written a letter to Winthrop, expressing a fear lest the Independents of New England, while backed with power, should, by their own principles and practice, teach their opponents in the old country how to root them out. The case of the Massachusetts Presbyterians fully justified this fear. Their prosecution was an act of oppression, proceeding from a sentiment of intolerance, and committed in the idle hope of constraining every one in the settlement to an exact conformity in religion. The attempt was a failure, as all such attempts must necessarily be. The offer to remit the fines on confession of guilt was unanimously rejected by the accused, and two of their number prepared to leave for England with a petition to Parliament, in which they and their coadjutors requested that settled churches might be introduced into the plantation; that the laws of the realm might be established there; and that a Governor or body of Commissioners might be appointed. As a punishment for this fresh offence, additional fines were inflicted; but one of the petitioners—Robert Child, a doctor who had taken his degree at the University of Padua—departed for England early in 1647. He had been preceded a few weeks before by Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, who, though not belonging to Massachusetts, had been chosen by the rulers of that colony to represent their cause at London, because of his known abilities and high character.

These two had no sooner arrived in their native country than they fell to pamphleteering, after the fashion of those days. Child's brother, inspired no doubt by Child himself, and he perhaps by Vassall, published a trenchant assault on the Massachusetts Government, and Winslow replied in a tract which had for its main purpose a defence of that Government against the charge of persecuting the Presbyterians. A further defence from the same pen was contained in a work called "Hypocrisie Unmasked," which Winslow put forth early in 1647,* as an answer to Gorton's "Simplicitie's Defence," issued a few months before. In an Appendix to "Hypocrisie Unmasked," Winslow gives what he terms a "Briefe Narration" of the disputed facts, in which he endeavours to show that several Presbyterian ministers, and even some of Anabaptist views, were suffered to live and exercise their calling in Massachusetts. But the charge with regard to the Presbyterians was not that they were denied the right of living or preaching in the colony, but that they were excluded from divers privileges enjoyed by the Independents; and this is not even touched upon by Winslow. As respects the Anabaptists, it is beyond question that many were "harried out of the land," to use the expressive phrase of King James, when intimating his own intentions with regard to the whole body of Dissenters in England, and to point to a few capricious instances of indulgence does not constitute any real answer to the accusation, as far as they were concerned. Winslow admits that Massachusetts had a law decreeing the banishment of Anabaptists, but denies that it was ever executed upon any, excepting those who behaved insolently to the magistrates—a futile distinction, when it was the magistrates themselves who

* As Winslow did not sail for England until the middle of December, 1646, and the book in question was printed in London, and even written there, it is clear that the "Hypocrisie Unmasked" must have been issued in what we should now call 1647. But at that period the legal year commenced on the 25th of March; so that Winslow's reply to Gorton, being published some time before the 25th, is on the title-page dated 1646.

determined what was unbecoming behaviour, and who could always, when they pleased, cloak religious enmity under a pretended regard for the dignity of the civil power. Even the cases of two Presbyterian ministers, mentioned by Winslow as instances of toleration, are found, on examination, to bear a different complexion; for one of these ministers was described as "a lover of the New England churches according to the New England model," so that his Presbyterianism could not have been extreme; while the other, being "a bold man" who "would speak his mind," was, according to Winthrop, forbidden to preach at Boston at the marriage there of one of his congregation.* The position of the Presbyterians in New England was similar to that of all Nonconformists in the old country down to a very recent period. If not actually oppressed, they were subjected to political disabilities of a vexatious and insulting nature.

This feeling of sectarian jealousy was accompanied, in the minds of many, by a distrust of the people as the source of political power. The rulers of Massachusetts showed on several occasions how little they were disposed to yield up their authority into the hands of the electors, and to receive from them, at short intervals of time, a renewal of their commission. The course of events was too inevitably democratic for any such resistance to be successful; but some of the Fathers of New England testified strongly against the popular tendencies, and did their best to restrict the suffrage in many ways. Their object was to establish a species of aristocratic republic, with a narrow theological basis. Winthrop, in a letter which he addressed to the founders of Connecticut, uttered an emphatic warning against what he conceived to be the dangers of democracy, and observed:—"The best part of a community is always the least, and of that best part the wiser is always the lesser; wherefore the old law was, 'choose ye out judges,' &c., and 'thou shalt bring the matter to the judge.'" And in 1645, when Deputy-Governor, he gave expression to somewhat similar sentiments in a speech which he delivered after his acquittal on a charge of unjustly committing to prison certain offenders who refused to produce bail in a case arising out of military disturbances at Hingham.

"You," he said, directly addressing the people assembled in open court, "have called us to office; but, being called, we have our authority from God: it is the ordinance of God, and hath the image of God stamped on it, and the contempt of it hath been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. . . . . The covenant between us and you is, that we shall govern you and judge your causes according to the laws of God and our best skill. As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error, not in the will, but the skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the grand enemy of truth and peace; and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, moral, federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority—a liberty for that only which is just and good.† For this liberty you are to stand with your lives; and whatever crosses it is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority, and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted to by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their liberty by murmuring at the honour and power of authority."‡ There was a great deal of truth, nobly expressed, in these thoughtful sentences; yet it is not difficult to see in them a rooted dislike of popular criticism on the acts of men in power. Nevertheless, Winthrop was re-elected to the post of Governor in the following year (1646), and every year after until his death in 1649.

With this Hingham case were mixed up considerations touching the jurisdiction of the mother country over the colonies. That jurisdiction had been asserted by the creators of the disturbance, and was of course denied by the authorities, who were always ready to punish severely any appeal to the English King or Parliament. The question was fully argued by the Government of Massachusetts in a remonstrance and petition to the English Commissioners for the Plantations, carried with him to Europe by Winslow when he left, in 1646, to repel the charges of Gorton, Child, and others. In his private instructions (as Winthrop relates in his Journal) Winslow was enjoined to maintain that the freemen of Massachusetts had a right to omit the King's name from legal processes, in order to avoid appeals, and because the Company claimed to exercise its powers "by a free donation of absolute government." He was also to submit

* Notes in Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers" (Boston, 1841) to Winslow's "Briefe Narration."

† "——— Who loves that must first be wise and good."
MILTON.

‡ Belknap's American Biography, edited by F. M. Hubbard (New York, 1843), Vol. III., Art. "Winthrop."—Belknap appears to have followed the report in the Massachusetts Historical Collection. Winslow himself gives in his Journal a report of his own speech which to some extent differs in phraseology, but is substantially to the same effect.

that the colonies had always shown their subjection to England by framing their government according to the patent received from her; that their political constitution was in accordance with the charter; and that the same document, by granting absolute powers of government to the colonists, secured them against the imposition of a General Governor. "We conceive," said the Elders of Massachusetts in a formal declaration drawn up at the request of the General Court, "that, in point of government, we have, granted by patent, such full and ample power of choosing all officers that shall command and rule over us, of making all laws and rules of our obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeal or other ways of interrupting our proceedings do lie against us." To like purpose wrote Winslow in his reply to Child, where he contends that, if the English Parliament should impose laws on the colonies, they having no burgesses in the House of Commons, nor being capable of a summons, by reason of their separation from London by a distance of three thousand miles, the settlers would be deprived of their liberties as Englishmen.

In their remonstrance to the Parliamentary Commission, the rulers of Massachusetts took very high ground. They asserted their independence in plain terms, but at the same time adopted a studiously courteous, and in some respects deferential tone. "An order from England," they wrote, "is prejudicial to our chartered liberties, and to our well-being in this remote part of the world. Times may be changed, for all things here below are subject to vanity, and other Princes or Parliaments may arise. Let not succeeding generations have cause to lament, and say, 'England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries; and yet these liberties were lost in the season when England itself recovered its own.' We rode out the dangers of the sea;—shall we perish in port? We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government. . . . The wisdom and experience of that great council, the English Parliament, are more able to prescribe rules of government, and judge causes, than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up; yet the vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influences. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded nor so seasonably applied as might either be useful to us or safe for yourselves in your discharge in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us when we have the government in our own hands, the State of England shall not answer for it." *

Such were the views which Winslow was instructed to urge and defend before the Commissioners for the Plantations. The matter ended in a kind of compromise. By consenting to plead their cause before the officials of the English Parliament, and thus soliciting a favourable consideration of their case, the New England colonies conceded in effect that jurisdiction which they denied in terms. On the other hand, the Commissioners showed every disposition to be conciliatory. With reference to the question of appeal, they declared that they would not encourage any appeals from the judicial decisions of the colonial authorities, nor restrain the bounds of their jurisdiction to a narrower compass than was indicated by their letters patent, but would leave to them that freedom and latitude which they could in any way duly claim, since a limitation of their power in such matters might be very prejudicial, if not destructive, to the government and public peace of the settlements. Respecting Gorton and his friends, the Commissioners followed a somewhat hesitating course. On the 15th of May, 1646, before the arrival of Winslow in England, they had issued an order to the Government of Massachusetts, commanding them to permit Gorton, and all the late inhabitants of Narragansett Bay, to live and plant on the disputed lands at Shawomet, till such time as the adverse claim of Massachusetts could be presented and considered. In May, 1647, when the final decision was given, after the representations of Winslow had been heard, the Commissioners simply recommended that the government within whose jurisdiction the Gortonites should appear to be, should allow them to remain in their settlements, and encourage them with protection and assistance, provided they demeaned themselves peaceably, and did not endanger any of the English colonies by a prejudicial correspondence with the Indians. Gorton accordingly returned to America, but, on landing at Boston, would at once have been apprehended, had he not produced a letter from the Earl of Warwick, head of the Parliamentary Commission, requesting that he might be suffered to pass to his home. Child was even less successful than Gorton. He found no support in his complaints, and was ultimately prevailed upon by his friends to give an undertaking not to cause any

* Bancroft's History of the United States, chap. 10.

further trouble to the New England colonies. The truth is that the federated plantations were reaping the benefit of their friendliness to the Republican party in the mother country, and were also favoured by the recent turn of events. The English Presbyterians were not so strong in 1647 as they had been in 1646; they were beginning to feel uneasy at the increasing influence of the Independents; and they probably thought it bad policy to provoke a powerful opposition for the sake of a distant quarrel. At all events, New England went her way unmolested. Very few persons in Massachusetts ventured to raise the disputed questions anew, and at the next elections the candidates of the discontented party were defeated by large majorities. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that the Presbyterians of New England had some real grievances for redress, though it is possible that these may have been exaggerated, as such complaints often are, by irritable or ambitious men.

While these matters were being debated in England, the Synod of divines which had met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was continuing its sittings. It had been adjourned in September, 1646, to the ensuing spring, and, having then again assembled, was once more broken up, after a few days' consultation, by the outbreak of an epidemic. Its third session took place in the summer of 1648, and, by an unanimous vote passed on the 6th of August, the Westminster Confession of Faith was approved of, excepting with regard to such matters as concerned the Presbyterian discipline. The question of church government, however, was not evaded; for the Synod published in October a system of discipline, which they desired might be presented to the several churches, and to the General Court, for their consideration and acceptance. The authors of this document recognised the authority of occasional Synods, composed of Elders and other messengers of churches, to give advice and admonition, or, in extreme cases, to withhold fellowship from an offending church; but not to pronounce church censures in way of discipline, nor to perform any other act of church authority or jurisdiction. They also conceded to the civil power a considerable latitude in the punishment of offences against received ideas in religion. The acts that were to be thus restrained were described as "idolatry, blasphemy, heresy, venting corrupt and pernicious opinions, open contempt of the word preached, profanation of the Lord's Day, disturbing the peaceable administration and exercise of the worship and holy things of God, and the like." Schismatical churches, and those obstinately adhering to any corrupt way of their own, were to be subject to the coercive power of the magistrates.

The General Court took time to consider this "Platform," as it was called;* but in October, 1649, they resolved to commend it to the discussion of the several churches within the jurisdiction, at the same time desiring to know whether they thought it suitable, before the Court proceeded any farther. Two years later—in October, 1651—a brief declaratory vote of the General Court gave expression to their agreement with the substance of what the Synod had set forth. In later years, however, the system of church government thus created was modified in several particulars; and indeed it is obvious that the genius of Independency was opposed to so strict a limitation of individual churches. It is difficult to see in what essential respect the regimen differed from Presbyterianism, or, excepting in the introduction of a popular element, from church government by Bishops. That it tended to persecution for conscience' sake, is apparent at a glance; though the agency for persecution, and the responsibility for it, were cunningly divided between occasional Synods and the civil magistracy. In point of fact, neither was to persecute, but both were to do it together. They were like the two nuns in "Tristram Shandy," who, by sharing the pronunciation of the objectionable words, hoped to avoid the sin of those who were less scrupulous, while reaping all the advantages of its commission.

The visit of Roger Williams to England, and its results, were circumstances relating to the same period. That single-hearted enthusiast departed for his native land in 1643, with the intention of soliciting a charter for the government of Rhode Island and the adjacent country on the continent. This he obtained—partly through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, who remembered him as an old friend, partly on account of his merits as a missionary among the Indians. The patent which was granted him associated the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport in one community, by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England. In 1644, he returned to America, carrying with him the charter, and a letter from certain members of Parliament, requesting that he might receive friendly treatment from the Magistrates of Massachusetts. Passing through that colony without molestation, he reached his own province in Sep-

* The word "Platform," in the sense of a general declaration of principles, is sometimes regarded as of modern and American growth; but it was used in England as far back as the sixteenth century.

tember, and was received with demonstrations of the liveliest joy. As he approached his capital, the waters of Providence River were seen to be covered with a fleet of fourteen canoes. Williams was taken on board one of these small craft, and conveyed in triumph to Providence. It is related by a contemporary writer that the successful negotiator was "elevated and transported out of himself;" and well he might be, for the hunted fugitive of 1636 had in less than nine years become the honoured head of a rising colony.

Nevertheless, he had still many troubles. Plymouth and Massachusetts laid claim to certain portions of the Narragansett territory, and the various settlements included in the patent were distracted by internal quarrels. An attempt to establish a regular and orderly government under the Patent of Providence Plantations was made in May, 1647; but it proved a failure. Three Assemblies were called in three successive years, and a General Court was created on the basis of representation—certainly a great improvement on the disorderly assemblages of the whole people which had formerly been held. But, after much wrangling and personal jealousy, the Assemblies came to an end in 1650, and Roger Williams was compelled once more to go to England. Coddington, who had already caused disturbances on Rhode Island, had been invested by the Council of State in the old country with the government of the islands in Narragansett Bay, though these were generally regarded as forming part of the Providence Plantation. The division threatened a serious weakening of the little State, and Williams, on again reaching England, obtained, in 1652, a revocation of the commission granted to Coddington, a confirmation of the charter, and a union of the territories now forming the State of Rhode Island.* On this as on the former occasion, Sir Henry Vane proved himself the chief friend of the colony, though he was so little blind to its faults that he wrote a letter reproving the settlers for the want of harmony which prevailed among them. His interest, however, was not wholly misplaced; for, despite the dissensions so frequently arising among its leading men, the plantation prospered. "We have long been free," said the colonists, in an address of thanks which they sent to Sir Henry in 1654, "from the iron yoke of wolvish bishops. We have sitten dry from the streams of blood spilt by the wars in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor, in this colony, have we been consumed by the overzealous fire of the (so-called) godly Christian magistrates. We have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tithes are. We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven." Such were the contributions which Rhode Island brought to the sum-total of American freedom.

* While in England the second time, Williams had a correspondence with Mrs. Sadleir, Sir Edward Coke's daughter, to which reference has before been made. To this lady, Williams sent a copy of a devotional work of his, written when among the Indians, and followed it up by another of his productions, directed against persecution. Mrs. Sadleir returned the latter without reading it, and begged her correspondent to trouble her no more in that kind. Nevertheless, he wrote to her again; to which she replied: "It seems you have a face of brass, so that you cannot blush;" adding that such foul and false aspersions as he had cast upon "Charles the Martyr" could only have proceeded from such a villain as himself. Thence she launched out into the general polemics of the time, and, alluding to Milton, remarked:—"If I be not mistaken, that is he that hath wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce; and, if report says true, he had at that time two or three wives living. This, perhaps, were good doctrine in New England, but it is most abominable in Old England. For his book that he wrote against the late King, that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who struck him with blindness. . . . God has begun his punishment upon him here: his punishment will be hereafter in hell." She further told Williams that he and a certain theological treatise would "make a good fire;" and she finally expressed a wish that he were back in "the place" whence he came—by which this energetic lady may have meant either New England, or that region where the punishment of Milton was to be completed.



GORTON'S LANDING.

CHAPTER XXI.

Efforts for the Conversion of the Indians to Christianity—Their Susceptibility to Religious Impressions—John Eliot, the Apostle of the Red Man—His first Attempts at Conversion—Grant of Land to the Indians by the General Court of Massachusetts—Establishment of a Court of Judicature for the Converted Natives—Spread of Civilisation—Self-devotion of Eliot—Jealousy and Opposition of Many of the Indian Chiefs—Commencement of a Town of Christianised Indians, and Formation of a Native Church—Martha's Vineyard—Missionary Exertions of Thomas Mayhew in that Island—Society for the Promoting and Propagating of the Gospel in America, created by an Ordinance of the English Parliament—Daniel Gookin—Progress of Conversion to the End of the Seventeenth Century—Dislike of Christianity amongst several of the Tribes—Degraded Condition of the Converted Indians—Present State and Opinions of the Red Men—Their Fondness for raising Questions in Theology—Roman Catholic Conversions—Decay of the Indian Race.

The missionary efforts of Eliot, the Mayhews, and other apostles of Christianity among the Indians, must not be overlooked in any record of the progress of New England. It has been shown that the native populations of America had a religion of their own, which, however imperfect and deformed by superstition, prepared their minds for the reception of spiritual influences. Roger Williams has testified that he never knew a red man who denied the existence of a God. Most of the early English settlers confess that the aborigines had a form of worship and a definite belief; though some, refusing to see even the rudiments of religion in anything which differs from their own creed, have denied that these wanderers of the desert had the least conception of Deity, or of an existence prolonged beyond the grave. One thing is clear—that, both in Virginia and the more northern settlements, the Indians occasionally sought the English settlers, and requested instruction in their tenets. The thoughtful and melancholy character of the North American savage would naturally predispose him to the consideration of doctrines appealing powerfully to the conscience and the soul; and, though it by no means necessarily follows that he would adopt them, we find that in New England some of the natives were readily and quickly imbued with the Sabbatarian ideas of the Puritan settlers. That this was often merely the submission of fear to strength, is certain. It is recorded that a Connecticut Indian, named Wequash, was convinced that the God of the English was a most dreadful God, because he had seen the courage, fury, and success with which the white men had fallen on their enemies during the Pequot war. But a similar feeling has probably been at the root of many conversions, and the spread of Christianity in the early ages was due in some degree to the power of the sword.

The religious enthusiasts who founded the States of New England were not likely to pass over any opportunity for spreading a knowledge of the Gospel; and towards the close of 1644 the General Court of Massachusetts made an order for throwing on the several County Courts the responsibility of civilising the Indians, and instructing them in the worship of God. Two years afterwards it was determined that two persons should every year be chosen by the Elders of the churches, and be commissioned, with the agreement of those churches, and in association with whomsoever would freely offer themselves for the service, to make known the principles of the Christian faith among the aboriginal tribes. But a week before the passing of this order, John Eliot, minister of Roxbury, Massachusetts, and formerly a student at Cambridge in England, had already begun the work. He had for some time given attention to the study of one of the Indian languages—a task in which he derived considerable help from a young native who had been servant in an English house, and was therefore acquainted with both tongues. This man he took into his own dwelling, and, by conversing with him, acquired a facility in the use of words which to a European are particularly harsh and difficult. In a preliminary interview with some natives, he told them that they and the English were all one, with two exceptions: viz., that the English knew, served, and prayed to God, and the Indians did not; and that the English laboured in building, planting, and clothing themselves, and the Indians did not. If the Indians would do as the English in these matters, there would no longer be any distinction between them. They answered that they knew not how to pray to God, nor how to serve him. Eliot rejoined that he would go to their wigwams, and teach them.

On the 28th of October, 1646, he went forth, in company with three others, and was met by five or six natives at a little distance from the falls of Charles River. In a hut not far off, many Indians, including women and children, were found assembled. After a short prayer in English, Eliot preached for an hour and a quarter in the Indian language, repeating and explaining the ten Commandments, and setting forth as plainly as he could the chief doctrines of Christianity. This exposition,

on that and subsequent occasions, he accompanied by vehement persuasions to repentance, and then answered such questions as the listeners had to propose, some of which wandered from religious grounds to matters of physical geography and science. These efforts induced a certain number of Indians, despite the opposition of their priests, to express some desire to accept Christianity, or at least to have their children brought up in that faith. It came to be a popular opinion among the colonists that the barbarians were descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel, and that they were to be brought back to the true fold before the commencement of the millennial age. In more recent times, the English themselves have been traced up to these lost tribes; the subject being one on which more than the Israelites have gone astray. But the fancy was doubtless not without its effect in quickening missionary zeal, and its somewhat visionary character was checked by the practical genius of Eliot. That enterprising minister directed his attention to the training of his converts in agriculture and the simple mechanical arts; he also suggested the propriety of their being concentrated in compact settlements, where they would be removed from the adverse influences of their heathen fellow-countrymen. The General Court, in consequence, gave the Indians of Massachusetts some land to build a town upon, which they thankfully received, and called it by a name which signifies "rejoicing." A number of these proselytes held a meeting, and agreed on a set of laws tending to the formation of a decent and well-regulated society; and on the 26th of May, 1647, the General Court made an order, decreeing that, in consequence of some of the Indians having expressed a desire to see a court of ordinary judicature set up among them, one or more of the Magistrates should keep such a court every quarter, with permission to the sachems to hold a court of their own once a month. The ground on which the native town was to be built having been marked out, Eliot supplied the Indians with implements of labour, and bestowed money on those who worked hardest. In a little while, a number of wigwams, much superior to the generality of Indian hovels, and divided into separate rooms, arose in the solitude. The women learned to spin, and in time were seen at the markets of the white men, with brooms, staves, baskets, fish, poultry, and the fruits of the season. Others laboured with the English in the hay-fields or at harvest; but the native dislike of severe work, or physical inability to perform it, was frequently apparent.

Nevertheless, the good example spread, and the Indians near Concord expressed a wish to be civilised, and to receive the Christian religion. These also agreed on a system of laws, and petitioned the Government to grant them a piece of land for the beginning of a settlement. Eliot was indefatigable in the work which he had taken up. The spirit of the ancient Apostles was strong in him, and no danger, no fatigue, no suffering, was sufficient to prevent his prosecution of a task with which he believed himself to have been divinely charged. He travelled all over the Massachusetts and Plymouth plantations, and even preached to Indians in the remote places about Cape Cod. In a letter to Winslow, he mentions that he had not been dry, day or night, from a certain Tuesday to the following Saturday, but had travelled from place to place in that condition, pulling off his wet boots at night, wringing out his stockings, and so putting them on again. At such seasons he had considered the exhortation of the Apostle Paul to his son Timothy, that we should "endure hardness, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ." He usually went on his missionary work once a fortnight, and it is said that on these occasions he often narrowly escaped death at the hands of some of the Indian princes and priests. In records of this nature, one never knows how much to allow for the afflatus of religious writers. But all established religions are fond of persecuting their adversaries, if not restrained by the power of the State; and when we find the various sects of Christians condemning one another to the block or the fire, it does not seem at all improbable that many Indian sachems would have been gratified by scalping an English minister, if they could have found an opportunity, or had they dared to rouse the vengeance of English communities.

The converts were few in comparison with the unconverted. The ruling men among the tribes —especially those in the New England colonies south of Massachusetts — were jealous lest their privileges should be taken away from them; and the mass of the natives were not so much out of love with their savage freedom as to desire to exchange it for subjection to the stranger. But dislike of religious innovation — one of the most powerful feelings in the human breast, whether civilised or barbarian—was the sentiment chiefly concerned in the opposition to Eliot. The Mohegan Indians were so much annoyed at being compelled by the General Court of Connecticut to pray to God, that Uncas himself went to the seat of government at Hartford to protest against it. Another sachem attended one of the missionary lectures, and strongly opposed the building of an Indian town,

assuring Eliot that those who prayed according to the Christian belief did not pay him as much tribute as before. The same chief became himself a Christian not long after; but in the case of such a man it is perhaps excusable to suspect an interested motive. Philip, ruler of the Wampanoags, told Eliot that he cared no more for his Gospel than for one of his buttons. Massasoit, sachem of the Pokanokets—a very faithful friend of the English—desired on one occasion, though of course without obtaining his desire, that a clause should be inserted in a treaty with the Plymouth settlers, to the effect that the English should never attempt to convert the warriors of his tribe from the religion they professed. All who favoured Christianity were banished from the society of their own people; some were put to death; and a general massacre of the proselytes would perhaps have taken place, but for fear of the consequences. Many of the Christianised Indians still retained a dread of the powows, or sorcerers—a set of men who were thought able to cure or to inflict diseases, to bewitch the living, and to raise the dead to life. Others braved the mysterious incantations of these impostors. Jaccomes, a Christian convert, having been threatened by some of the powows with sudden destruction unless he returned to his old religion, replied, at a great assembly of his countrymen, that, although the deity they worshipped had great power, he was subservient to the Christian God. This mingling of the old opinions with the new is remarkable, and curiously illustrates that process by which an element of ancient Paganism crept into primitive Christianity, and became perpetuated in certain forms of ritual, and perhaps some shades of doctrine.

In spite of menaces and discouragements, the missionary movement made progress, and, by the direction of Eliot, the Praying Indians, as they were called, built themselves a town on Charles River, about eighteen miles west of Boston. This town they called Natick, and it was commenced in 1650. It consisted of three long streets, with several small houses, a fort, a bridge, and one large hall, which served as a meeting-house and school-room, and in which Eliot had a bedchamber. Thither the reclaimed Indians of the earlier settlement were removed, and Eliot proposed that they should be governed by the Scriptures in all things, whether of church or state, and that, like the Israelites of old, they should elect a ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifties, and ten rulers of tens.* This was done, and, in that primitive state of society, the plan appears to have answered. The new converts continued several years in the position of catechumens, during which time they were visited once a week by an English minister, who preached to them, and answered such questions as they might propose; and on the 13th of October, 1652, about fourteen or fifteen Indians made distinct and open confession of their faith. That the number should have been so few, after six years of zealous ministry by Eliot and others, says little for the disposition of the Indians in those parts to profess unequivocally the doctrines of their conquerors. The confessions of faith were communicated by the examining ministers to the several colonial churches; but the latter hesitated about admitting the converts to communion with themselves. The formation of these Christianised Indians into a regular church did not take place until 1660, and, although there was much rejoicing over the fact, both in England and America, the result seems to have been but small. The conversions were almost entirely among those Indians who were the most dependent on the English, the most broken-spirited, and the most miserable. The number of proselytes, when at its largest, about 1674, was returned at four thousand; but it is to be suspected that several of these were not very earnest in the faith. To the more sober-minded it appeared at an early date that many of the Indians simply acted a part to please the English, and it was feared, after awhile, that even the most sincere had somewhat cooled in their enthusiasm.

Still, it is probable that some of them were in earnest, and hopes were entertained of the conversion of the entire race. A "Praying Indian" became a bachelor of arts at Cambridge. Little villages of Indian converts arose on Cape Cod, in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and about the neighbourhood of Boston. Missionary success was more particularly observable in Martha's Vineyard—a small island off the coast of Massachusetts, for which a patent had been obtained from the Earl of Stirling by a settler named Thomas Mayhew, who had originally come from Southampton in England, and who was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts in 1634. Ten years afterwards, this gentleman left Watertown, on the mainland, for Martha's Vineyard, to which both the Earl of Stirling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges made a claim, and with sufficient plausibility to render it prudent on the part of Mayhew to pay both. His son had established himself on the island a year or two before the father settled there; and it was not long ere the latter transferred Martha's Vineyard, the adjacent island of

* Exodus xviii. 21—25.

Nantucket, and the Elizabeth Isles—all of which came within the patent—to the Government of Massachusetts. Nothing could exceed the wretchedness of the Indians in Martha's Vineyard; and the two Mayhews, moved by compassion, soon turned their attention to these miserable creatures, in the hope of bettering their condition. Like Eliot, the younger Mayhew acquired a knowledge of the native tongue, and in 1644—two years before the apostle of the continental Indians had begun the work of conversion—he commenced his missionary labours. These he continued for about thirteen years, but in 1657 embarked for England in a ship which appears to have been lost at sea. Mayhew's zeal and industry in his self-appointed task were equal to Eliot's. He had a wife and three children, for whom he was obliged to toil with his hands while he was at the same time engaged in the difficult enterprise of civilising a number of debased and furious savages. His earnings were small, and his life was passed in a truly apostolic poverty. Yet by 1650 he had persuaded eight powows, and two hundred and eighty others, to adopt Christianity; and after his death his father, though seventy years of age, continued the son's work, and did not cease until his own death at ninety-two.

In consequence of what was occurring in America, the English Parliament, in March, 1648, instructed the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations to prepare and bring in an ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England. Nothing, however, was immediately done, owing, doubtless, to the revolutionary condition of affairs; but in July, 1649, another ordinance provided for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel in the northern colonies of America by means of a corporation in England, to consist of a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with authority to hold lands, goods, and money in the old country. With a view to starting this society in its operations, it was ordered that a general collection should be made throughout England and Wales; and the Federal Commissioners of New England, with such agents as they should appoint, were nominated for receiving and disposing of the money thus acquired. This was an assumption of jurisdiction over the New England States, such as the Governments of those States, considering the very high ground which some of them had assumed, might have been expected to resist; but they do not seem to have done so. The elder Mayhew told the Indians with whom he was concerned that he was deputed by the King of England to govern all who should settle in those islands; and he persuaded the native princes not only to adopt English laws and methods of rule, but to submit themselves to the English monarch.

No question of jurisdiction was permitted to interfere with the work of conversion. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent from England to the colonies large remittances of money, tools, and commodities, and the New Englanders themselves supplied funds in a still larger proportion. These resources were laid out by the Federal Commissioners of New England in the remuneration of missionaries and their assistants (the latter including some natives); in the training of young men to be useful in teaching such Indian children as should be taken into the college at Cambridge; in the erection of a building in that college for the accommodation of native pupils; in the printing of catechisms and other books in the Indian tongue; and in the encouragement of deserving Indians by small pecuniary bounties. Eliot was not always satisfied with the way in which the funds were distributed, and made so much opposition—even at times communicating direct with the society in England—that the London corporation, while acknowledging the excellence of his work and of his nature, and recommending an increase of his salary (which was done), bewailed his "turbulent and clamorous proceedings," in a letter to the Federal Commissioners. The knowledge of these dissensions seriously diminished the flow of contributions from England; yet the work of conversion in America went on with a fair degree of success. In process of time, the labour of the English missionaries was shared by native preachers; but it was necessary to keep the Indians strictly under English authority. To this end, Commissioners were appointed to hear and determine all judicial matters. As early as 1656, Daniel Gookin, a man of considerable position in the governing body of Massachusetts, was chosen ruler over the Praying Indians of that colony—an office which, with a brief exception, he held to his death. Gookin went to Boston from Virginia in 1644. He seems to have been a Kentish man, belonging to a family of which some members had settled in Ireland. His father, in 1621, arrived in Virginia from that island, with a large number of cows and goats. The son was too much a Puritan to live comfortably in the episcopalian colony of the south, and therefore removed to Massachusetts. His services in the conversion of the Indians were great, and he has left a treatise on the history of these Christianised savages, which is among our chief sources of information on the subject.

After the accession of Charles Stuart to the throne of England in 1660, the charter of the cor-

poration for propagating the Gospel, having been granted by the Commonwealth, became void, and Colonel Beddingfield, a Roman Catholic officer in the King's army, of whom a considerable part of the land possessed by the company had been purchased, seized it for his own use, alleging that he had sold it under the value. A fresh charter was granted by the King, and the celebrated Robert Boyle was appointed first governor of the new association, which at once made an attempt to recover the lands seized by Beddingfield. The latter was favoured by the Attorney-General and other influential men; but the decision of the Court of Chancery was in favour of the corporation. Under the direction of the reinstated Society, the conversion of the Indians proceeded steadily for some years. In 1687, Dr. Increase Mather, minister of Boston, stated in a letter to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht, that there were then six churches of baptised Indians in New England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ. Cotton Mather, son of Increase Mather, relates that in 1695 three thousand adult Indian converts were established in Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and that in the latter island five assemblies were held, some of which had native preachers. Schools for the instruction of the young, and justices of the peace for the management of native affairs, were to be found in various parts of Massachusetts, and at the close of the seventeenth century it might have appeared probable to a sanguine mind that the whole body of Indians in New England would in time be converted to Christianity, though the total number of converts was then less than it had been a quarter of a century before. But the tribes inhabiting the southern parts of the Federation were not so tractable as their northern brethren. The Mohegans, Narragansetts, Wampanoags, and Nyantics, were more powerful and united than the Indians of Massachusetts; their spirit consequently was much higher, and they resented any interference with their ancient gods and immemorial customs. Roger Williams, with all his knowledge of the Indian tongue and of the Indian character, with all his devotion to the native cause, and with all that influence over the savages which his benevolence, truthfulness, and courage had secured, could not make many converts among the Narragansetts he so frequently visited. He was even reproached



CONVERTED INDIAN AND "POWOWS."



MAYHEW AND THE NARRAGANSETT SACHEM.

on this score, as if he had been wanting in zeal, which does not seem to have been the case.

The truth is, there is something in the Indian nature, and in the theological views inherited or acquired by the Indian race, which does not harmonise with Christianity. These savages are not merely indifferent to that religion; as a rule, they positively dislike it. Some curious particulars on this head are given by the Rev. Experience Mayhew in a journal of his visits to the remains of the Pequot and Mohegan Indians in the years 1713 and 1714. He records that those tribes were greatly prejudiced against the Christian faith, though they appear to have received him with much courtesy, and to have thanked him for his good will. A sachem of the Narragansetts bid the same preacher go and make the English good first, and observed that, owing to the many religious divisions among the conquering race, his people would not know what sect to follow, if they were inclined to adopt Christianity at all. He then upbraided the missionary for hindering him from his business, and in an angry humour turned away. In the following year, a member of the same tribe told Experience Mayhew — who appears to have met with no great success in his missionary projects — that he and his comrades believed in a God, and worshipped him; that there were various modes of worshipping, but that, as they conceived their own to be good, they saw no reason for changing it. Another remarked that the difficulties of the Christian religion were such as the Indians could not endure. Others again contended that the English, for all they could see, were none the better for being Christians, as they would cheat the Indians of their land, and wrong them in many ways. These heathens, however, seem to have been acquainted with the virtues of tolerance and candour; for they confessed that, having heard Mr. Mayhew, they were not sensible that it had done them any hurt. They consented to hear the preacher again; but, in the end, the utmost that could be effected was to induce the people to admit a school for their children.

Notwithstanding what looked like a hopeful commencement, these attempts to Christianise the red man were little better than failures. After 1674, the number of converts diminished, and every year the Praying Indians sank deeper into the slough of idleness, poverty, vice, and degradation. Whatever savage virtues they may have had in their unreclaimed condition were lost; whatever vices belonged to them by nature were augmented and intensified by those which they acquired from their conquerors. Sloth and drunkenness had them by the throat, and would not be shaken off. They wandered about the country, ragged, abject, disconsolate, and contemptible, ready to sell their lands, and the very clothes off their backs, for a few bottles of that fiery potation which soothed to forgetfulness, or maddened to a transient fury. It is recorded of them that they observed pretty well one part of the Fourth Commandment, to keep holy the Sabbath Day, but neglected the other, which enjoins six days of labour. The college for the education of Indian youth, established with a view to preparing them for the ministry, was abandoned after awhile, because it was found to be utterly useless. The task of preaching to the Indians devolved entirely on the English, and, although some still devoted themselves to the work with exemplary enthusiasm and industry, it must have been with dwindling hopes each year.* The number of Christian Indians at the present day is but small. Roman Catholics and Protestants have alike failed, as to any broad and lasting results. The aboriginal races of America retire before the advance of a superior race; but in retiring they preserve in the main the faith of ancient times. Their contact with Europeans, however, has insensibly modified that faith, rendering it more pure, exalted, and refined than it had originally been. The Indian conception of God is more spiritual now than it was in the seventeenth century; and this improvement is doubtless to be attributed in part to the teaching of the missionaries, in part also to the slow and subtle influences of civilisation. Idolatry has no existence among these people, if we may trust Mr. George Catlin.† That inquirer into Indian life and habits derides the opinion of those who say that the red man has no religion worthy of the name. He asserts that the North American Indian is everywhere, in his native state, a highly moral and religious being, possessing an intuitive knowledge of some great Author of his being and of the universe, and living in the hope or the apprehension of a future state, in which he will be rewarded or punished according to his actions in this world. Yet he will not listen to the missionary. The Christian religion is in his mind identified with the rapacity, cruelty, and many vices of the white man. A Sioux chief on

* Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana (Books III. and VI.); Neal's and Palfrey's Histories of New England; Bancroft's History of the United States; Neill's English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century; etc. The original materials of all later accounts are to be found in the pamphlets and books on the subject issued at the period of the conversions.

† Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians. Third Edition, 1842. Vol. II., Letter 58.

the Upper Missouri made, in the course of conversation with Mr. Catlin, a series of comments which showed that the weak points of civilisation were not unknown to him. He thought it disgraceful that white men should hang their criminals like dogs; cruel that they should imprison debtors who could not pay; immodest that male doctors should be present at the period of child-birth; inhuman that parents should whip their children. The difficulty of explaining a new set of religious principles to people having a definite faith of their own, which they regard as superior to any other, is strikingly illustrated by a remark of the same chieftain. He said he had heard that the Great Spirit of the white people was the child of a white woman, and that he was at last put to death. The Great Spirit of the Indians, he added, had got no mother; the Indians had never killed *him*, and in fact he could not die. These were the remarks, not of a scoffer, or of a man indifferent to religion, but of one who believed himself to be already in possession of the truth.

Even in the time of Eliot, the Indians showed that their minds were acutely sensible to those subtle questions which have always formed the difficulties of theology and morals. The savages on the banks of the Charles asked their instructor why God did not give all men good hearts, and why, if he were omnipotent, he did not kill the devil, who made men so bad. They required to know whether God foresaw who should repent and believe, and who not—an evident dallying with the terrible problem of predestination and free will. They demanded to be informed where their little children, who died before they had sinned, went after death, and where those went who had never heard of Christ. When Eliot preached against polygamy, an Indian convert propounded to him this case of conscience:—Suppose a man had had two wives before he knew God—the first childless, the second the mother of many children whom he exceedingly loved: which of those two wives was he to put away? It was also inquired whether a squaw who had deserted her husband, and lived with another man, was to be received again if she repented after her conversion to Christianity. Other questions, touching on morals and even politics, were asked; but theology was the favourite. The fondness of the Indian mind for mooting points of the utmost refinement, such as have puzzled acute thinkers, and divided the Christian world from very early times, is a noteworthy feature in the spiritual history of the race.

On the whole, the Roman Catholics have done more than the Protestants in converting the North American Indians, though even in their case the results are but small. In Louisiana, Acadie, Canada, and other parts of the Continent, the French Jesuits worked industriously in the field of missionary labour, and some proselytes were made. The historian Neal is indignant with these priests for instilling idolatrous ideas into the minds of the savages; but it is possible that what to an extreme Protestant susceptibility may have seemed like idolatry, was really influential in attracting a set of barbarians to the more esoteric doctrines of Christianity. Cotton Mather quotes from a catechism used by the Jesuits in their instructions, and is shocked that in this composition Heaven should be described as a place having a very fair soil, the inhabitants of which want neither for meat nor clothes; and Hell as a fiery pit in the centre of the earth, where it is always dark with smoke, where the eyes of the damned are always in pain from the effects of the vapour, where the devils are very ill-shaped things with vizards on, and where the damned feed on hot ashes, serpents, and melted lead. The puerility of such descriptions is of course obvious; but it is not worse than many things touching the supernatural world which the Puritans themselves believed. The conversion of the Indians was often effected by means which will not bear strict examination. In Maryland, a great number of savages submitted to be baptised by the Catholics for the sake of some new shirts which were promised them on that condition; but the converts, not knowing how to wash them when dirty, required a fresh supply after a few weeks, with the threat of renouncing their baptism if the demand were refused. At the present time, numerous societies in the United States prosecute the work of conversion; but their efforts are rewarded with slight success. The Indian seems to resent the religion of his vanquishers, as if it were part of the injury which he has suffered at their hands. He refuses to worship with the Christian, or to be civilised by him. He has adopted the vices of the stranger, but will not profit by his higher qualities and his larger powers. Retreating each year more and more towards the west—seeking in the ever-dwindling forests, and in the prairies that are destined to be seats of future civilisation, that independence which he has lost for generations on the Atlantic—the red man still feebly struggles for the historic life of his race, but struggles vainly. He presents the melancholy picture of a nationality devoted to extinction. He has some qualities which make such a fate distressing even to those who supplant him; but a people which, whether from its own fault or that of others, does not advance with the advancing ages, is doomed. It vanishes before the more complex organ-

isation which presses on its path; and in time its existence is to be traced only in a few mounds and scattered graves, in single words, in fading legends, in the wandering echoes of a pathetic past, and in those ineradicable names which cling to hill, and stream, and cataract, like the memory of the dead.

CHAPTER XXII.

Religious Persecution in Massachusetts—The Anabaptists, or Baptists—Their Appearance in New England—Severe Treatment of the Sect—Various Opinions as to the Conduct of the Colonial Authorities—Rise of the Quaker Sect—The Insanities of James Naylor—Life and Opinions of George Fox—The Earlier and Later Doctrines of the Friends—First Arrival of Quakers at Boston — Laws against them passed by the New England Legislatures—Mutilation of Quakers at Boston—Quakers condemned to Death after return from Banishment—Rhode Island Legislators on Toleration—Execution of Quakers—Unpopularity of the Law, and its subsequent Mitigation—Abatement of the Religious Persecution—Letter of Robert Boyle on the subject.

It is not improbable that one reason why the proselytising of the Indians was attended by such slight and temporary success is to be found in the bitter religious dissensions constantly occurring amongst the colonists, and of which the natives were certainly not ignorant. When the Narragansett sachem bid Experience Mayhew reform his own people before he thought of converting others, and said that if an Indian were desirous of becoming a Christian he would not know what form of Christianity to follow, he gave expression to feelings which had long been familiar to his race. The theological quarrels of the New Englanders have already occupied our attention to a painful degree; but the record is not yet finished. The evil spirit of religious persecution still darkened the minds and hardened the hearts of the rulers of Massachusetts—men otherwise of clear intellects and noble natures. Mr. Bancroft believes that the elder Winthrop, some time before his death, professed himself weary of banishing heretics; but the majority of his colleagues were sensible of no such fatigue or remorse. Dudley shrank with dismay from the thought that their love of truth should be so cold as to tolerate error; thus repeating the old trick of all persecutors, that of begging the entire question as to what is true and what false in the region of religious faith. Cotton thought it better to tolerate hypocrites than opponents. Another minister affirmed that what he rather ingeniously called "Polypiety" was the greatest impiety in the world, and that it was sacrilegious ignorance to say that men ought to have liberty of conscience. A third declared that religion admitted of no eccentric notions—a saying which puts into admirably pithy form the most vital principle of Roman Catholicism. Such were the dogmas of Puritan Papistry, as enunciated by men of the highest mark in the plantation; and, although several doubted their validity, they were for a time triumphant.

In 1651, Massachusetts was the scene of a lamentable collision with the Anabaptists, or, as the members of that body preferred to call themselves, the Baptists. The distinguishing tenet of these sectaries was that baptism should be administered only to adults. As, where this had been performed in infancy, they baptised again in mature life, they were called by their opponents Anabaptists,—Rebaptisers; but, according to their own contention, the rite that had taken place in childhood was no baptism at all, so that the prefix indicating repetition was discarded by them as involving an incorrect statement. A great deal of discredit attached to the sect and its opinions, owing to the wild doctrines and insane excesses committed by the Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the incendiaries Münzer and John of Leyden headed two successive rebellions at Mühlhausen and Münster, and caused a terrible effusion of blood. But the English Anabaptists, though it is probable they drew some of their principles from certain Dutch fanatics who settled in England in large numbers during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, were men of much cooler minds and much more blameless lives. They were an offshoot from the followers of Robert Brown, the father of Puritanism, but were not formed into a distinct community before the reign of Charles I. In New England they soon acquired importance. Roger Williams was for a time of this opinion, though the views which constituted his religious individuality, and brought him into collision with the authorities, were of a different nature. The New England Anabaptists were men rather difficult to deal with, owing to the whimsicality of some of their

ideas; but they do not seem to have been guilty of any culpable extravagances. In the Plymouth Government, in 1650, a number of these sectaries, headed by one Obadiah Holmes, were subjected to the usual kind of persecution. They were summoned before the General Court, and ordered to desist from their peculiar practices; but they answered as the more orthodox Puritans had answered the Bishops in England: they appealed to the law of their consciences, and said it was better to obey God than man. Holmes went next year into the Massachusetts jurisdiction, accompanied by a minister named Clarke, from Rhode Island, and another Baptist named Crandall. These men could not have made a more unfortunate selection, if their design was to find a place where they could live in peace. As far back as 1644, the Massachusetts Magistrates had made an order for banishing such as continued obstinate in their heresy after due conviction. In this statute, the persons struck at were identified with the German Anabaptists who had created so much mischief in the previous century. They were described as "incendiaries of commonwealths," "infectors of persons in main matters of religion," and "troublers of churches in all places where they have been." Even *before* the passing of this law, an unfortunate man had been whipped for affirming that infant baptism was anti-Christian—"not for his opinion," says Winthrop, in a most remarkable piece of casuistry, "but for his reproaching the Lord's ordinance, and for his bold and evil behaviour, both at home and in the Court." The General Court of Massachusetts, in a Declaration published in November, 1646, said that the order in question was passed only as a protection against possible disturbances of the peace, and that it had then never been put in execution against any of the Anabaptists, although such were known to live among them. It even appears that at that very time the head of Harvard College was a minister holding the condemned views; but it is probable that he forbore from making any prominent display of his opinion, or endeavouring to convince others; and ultimately he felt compelled to resign, owing to the objection made to his tenets. The law expressly forbade all open condemnation of the rite of infant baptism, and all attempts at conversion; it simply left unpunished that which the greatest tyrant cannot touch—a private opinion.

The reason why Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall went to Massachusetts is not clear. At any rate, from whatever motive, they put themselves in the power of the oppressor, and were of course oppressed. Having taken up their residence at Lynn, a little town about ten miles from Boston, ostensibly for the purpose of visiting a sick and aged friend of their own persuasion, they were arrested the very next day, when, it being the Sabbath, they were assembled for religious exercises. In the afternoon they were taken to the church meeting of the town; but Clarke declared that he could not join in the service, persisted in wearing his hat, and endeavoured, at the conclusion of the sermon, to address the congregation. On the following morning the offenders were carried before the magistrates, who sent them in custody to Boston. There they were tried and sentenced to various fines, or in default to be whipped. In the true spirit of aggressive martyrdom, they elected not to pay the fines, but to submit to the flogging. Some of Clarke's friends paid the penalty for him, without his knowledge; Crandall was released, on promising to appear at the next Court; but Holmes received thirty lashes at the whipping-post. This was bad enough; but what followed was worse. Two of Holmes's friends, who were spectators of his punishment, took him by the hand in the market-place, and praised God for the sufferer's courage and constancy. For this they were summoned before the General Court, and fined, with the alternative of whipping. The treatment of Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall is sufficient proof that the Massachusetts authorities would suffer no real or effective dissent from their own interpretation of religion. The charges on which the three Baptists were convicted were that they had held a private religious meeting on the Lord's Day; that they had offensively disturbed the peace of the congregation of Lynn; that they had denied the orthodoxy of the said church; that they had endeavoured to seduce and draw aside others; and that they had administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to various persons. Their conduct seems to have been blameable simply with respect to their behaviour at the meeting-house; but even this is susceptible of excuse, for it should be recollected that they were forcibly taken there against their will, and in violation of their conscience. As for the rest, it was a mere repetition of what had happened in England in the days of Elizabeth and James I. The shade of Archbishop Laud might have considered itself avenged. The rebels against the Act of Uniformity, the martyrs of the High Commission Court, had their own Act and their own Court, for doing the same thing in the same way. They were falsifying their main principle, that every distinct body of Christians is a legitimate church, and may proceed to organise its own ministry and forms of worship, without either the sanction or the interference of the State.

Even Cotton Mather, the zealous advocate of Massachusetts orthodoxy, admits that the New England churches gave some provocation to the Baptists, by their ministers passing severe censures on those of that persuasion who went out of church whenever infants were brought in to be baptised; which exasperated them to so great a degree that they withdrew wholly from the communion to which they had previously belonged, and set up for themselves. But the more liberal and tolerant Daniel Neal leaves it to his readers to judge for themselves who had most reason to complain: the New England churches, which would suffer the Baptists neither to live quietly in the old communion, nor to separate from it peaceably; or those unhappy persons who were treated so roughly for following the law of their consciences. The Baptists were in truth held responsible for all the frantic excesses of the German Anabaptists more than a hundred years before, though it was never shown that they sympathised with those extravagances. The prejudice against them was deep and long-lived, and they were again subjected to persecution in the early years of Charles II.'s reign. From that period, however, the spirit of religious rancour abated somewhat of its vehemence. The re-establishment, or rather the complete establishment for the first time, of the mother country's jurisdiction, had a tendency to mitigate local tyrannies.



GEORGE FOX.

The oppression of the Quakers was still more severe than that of the Baptists; but it should be

added that there was more to justify or at least excuse it. The singular body of people called Quakers by their opponents, and Friends among themselves, first arose in the north of England about the year 1644. Under the leadership of George Fox, who began preaching in 1647, when he was only twenty-three years of age, the sect attracted to itself many followers, and challenged the attention of the authorities. At first, these enthusiasts called themselves "The People of the Lord," "Children of Light," and other such terms; but the designation of Quakers, though originally applied to them in derision by those who were not of their way of thinking, was soon used by themselves in a serious spirit. They were fond of quoting from the Bible numerous passages which refer to the operation of religious awe and rapture in causing men to tremble. Hence they were popularly called Quakers or Shakers, in a ludicrous or scoffing sense; but they retorted that Christ had bidden his disciples quake for fear, and that therefore all men ought to be Quakers. By 1652 the new sect was well known all over England, owing to the exertions of George Fox, Richard Farnworth, and James Naylor. The last-named was for a time the most influential of the three, and also the most extravagant. It is indeed impossible to regard him as anything but a madman. Fox and his followers were at length compelled to cast off their associate, and in 1655 he was imprisoned in Exeter gaol for opinions and conduct which the law regarded as blasphemous. While in prison, he was addressed by his converts as "the Everlasting Sun of Righteousness, the Prince of Peace, the Only Begotten Son of God, the fairest among ten thousand," &c. On being released, he passed through Glastonbury and Wells in a sort of triumphal fashion. Large numbers of men and women paid him almost divine honours. At Bristol, the crowds shouted "Hosanna!" before him, and applied to him the language of the Song of Solomon. It was clearly necessary to put down such insane and anarchical pretensions; but the Government of the Commonwealth proceeded after the old cruel fashion of the monarchy it had supplanted, and sentenced Naylor to a punishment of terrible severity. He was tried before the House of Commons in 1656, and a considerable minority were for condemning him to death. As it was, he was pilloried at Westminster, whipped, pilloried again, bored through the tongue with a hot iron,



NEW PLYMOUTH.

and branded on the forehead. Then he was taken down to Bristol, conveyed through the city on a horse's back with his face to the tail, and publicly whipped in five different localities. Finally he was sent back to London, and shut up in solitary confinement, with only such food as he could earn by his labour. Soon afterwards he recanted, and, before his death in 1660, was reunited to the less extreme body of Quakers who followed the guidance of George Fox.

Fox was not quite so great a fanatic as Naylor; but he used to force himself into churches, to interrupt the services, and to insult the magistrates before whom he was brought. He was by trade a shoemaker at Drayton in Leicestershire, and, like many persons of sedentary occupation and defective mental training, was subject from an early age to religious melancholy—a tendency fostered to rank exuberance by the acrid and stimulating air of theological controversy breathed at that time by all Englishmen. His brain was slightly touched, and he wrote a species of jargon such as defies interpretation. None of the religious sects satisfied his requirements. The Puritanical habit of appealing to the letter of Scripture on every occasion seemed to him only another form of spiritual slavery. He looked for some light within the soul itself, which, after due searching, he conceived might be discovered.

Wandering alone among the hills of Derbyshire, —sitting in hollow trees and solitary places until night came on,—walking mournfully about during the hours of darkness, as one possessed of many sorrows (such is the pathetic account given by an early historian of the Quakers),—he was lifted into regions of mystical reverie, and had strange intimations touching the things written in the Apocalypse. Visions were vouchsafed to him, and he asserted a power of casting out devils. He felt a disgust for all manner of forms. The being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not, in his opinion, enough to make a man a minister of Christ. A hireling priesthood was an abomination. God did not dwell in temples made with hands. The Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any one. The Lord commanded him to *Thou* and *Thee* every man and woman without distinction. The Lord would not suffer him to bid people "Good morrow" or "Good evening," since all such expressions implied that there were bad days; nor might he bow, or scrape with his leg. He went into the law courts, crying for justice. He fasted with severity; he clothed himself in leather. Churches he called idol-temples or steeple-houses; the bells he likened to market bells, and the priest to the chapman who desired to set forth his wares.* He was frequently flogged and imprisoned; but his proselytes became so numerous, especially among the soldiers, that the Government, hoping to silence him by favours, offered to give him a captaincy. This of course he refused, and the Quaker movement went on, despite all efforts to suppress it. The mob often treated the poor enthusiasts with brutal violence, and the authorities emulated their roughness. From 1651 to 1657 as many as 1,900 Quakers were imprisoned in England; and twenty-one died in gaol. In at least one instance, however, death was owing to the man's own folly. Evelyn relates that a prisoner in London made an attempt to emulate the feat of a co-religionist, who was said to have fasted twenty days; and that he died on the tenth. The early Quakers were indeed a sore trouble to all decent communities. Some of them went abroad stark naked—"for a testimony," according to the cant of their sect; though what it testified, beyond the madness or moral corruption of the actors and their abettors, it would be hard to say. A woman presented herself in this state before the Protector in Whitehall Chapel; and the same thing was done in America.

By some singular process of reasoning, many persons took it into their heads that the Quakers were Romish emissaries in disguise, and they were even so described in a warrant for the apprehension of some of their number. They themselves, on the other hand, conceived that they were divinely commissioned to convert the Pope and the Sultan, and actually sent members of their body to Rome and Adrianople for that purpose. When Charles II. ascended the throne, he seemed disposed, with the indolent good nature which at times distinguished him when nothing was to be gained by a contrary course, to leave dissenting sects quietly to themselves; but the Quakers, having refused to take the oath of allegiance, on the ground that all oaths are illegal, were again persecuted with much rigour. Men and women were transported to the West Indies, where they were sold into slavery for terms of various duration. In the course of a few years, the Friends fell under the influence of men possessing higher mental powers, greater cultivation, and cooler heads, than the early devotees. By the efforts of Penn, Barclay, and some others, the society acquired a distinct organisation and a definite set of religious principles. Previous to the appearance of those comparatively sober writers, Quaker theology

* Among the chief authorities as to the early doings of the Friends, are Fox's own "Journal," and Sewel's "History of the Quakers." Lord Macaulay (History of England, chap. 17) gives a striking specimen of the confusion and incoherence of Fox's style.

had presented nothing but a cloudy haze of mystical sentiment, not greatly, if at all, superior to the ravings of Ludovick Muggleton. It spoke in a vague way of inward Light, and of the movements of the Spirit; but, being in its very essence a protest against formalism, it was wanting in exactness and definition. In some respects it had an analogy with the doctrines of those numerous sects which, in former ages, sprang from the union of Christianity with Neo-Platonism; but, after its first wildness was spent, it assumed the proportions and characteristics with which we are all acquainted. The protesters against formalism became the greatest of formalists; and a certain pugnacity of conduct has long been noted in men who deny the lawfulness of war, even for purposes of self-defence. Yet ever since the days of Penn, Quakers have stood high in the estimation of all liberal and candid observers. They have some of the best and most genuine qualities of human nature. Philanthropy has received no greater services than from the Society of Friends; while politics and social usage have been raised to higher levels by the sedate ideals of a sect which, on account of a few harmless eccentricities and a few exaggerations of principle, has at all times been the favourite butt of caricature.

Unfortunately, the era of insane extravagance had not passed when Quakers found their way into America. It was in 1656 that they first appeared among the colonists of the New World, to the consternation equally of Episcopalians and Puritans. We have already seen that they were treated with great cruelty in Virginia and Maryland. The schismatical new-comers were scourged, pilloried, imprisoned, and hunted out of the country; yet their opinions made progress in those southern settlements, and in twenty years Maryland had a large number of Quakers among her population. In New England, the followers of George Fox were persecuted with greater severity than elsewhere. Their approach had been heralded by an influx of their literature, and the authorities of Massachusetts, not liking the tenets so ostentatiously advanced, resolved to exclude the authors, should they follow. In July, 1656, a vessel arrived in Boston harbour from Barbadoes, carrying among its other passengers two Quaker women, named Mary Fisher and Anne Austin. They were searched for marks of witchcraft, and then expelled; but in less than a month another ship brought five male and four female Quakers. These also were denied a residence, and were again put on board the vessel, to be taken back to England. During a brief detention in prison, they increased the prejudice against them by applying insulting terms to the magistrates and ministers of Boston. The General Court of Massachusetts retorted in kind by calling the Quakers a "cursed sect of heretics," retailers of "blasphemous opinions," and walkers in "pernicious ways." Certainly, some of the views put forward by these Children of Light were of a nature to startle a community whose reverence for the very letter of the Bible was extreme. Though there can be no doubt that the Friends were Christians in their own estimation, they seemed at times to deny or explain away the most distinctive doctrines of Christianity. One of them — Samuel Fisher — said that the Scriptures were not God's voice; that in some things they were fallible, and so were not fit to be the rule; and that the only real guide and law was the light of Christ in the heart — which of course might mean anything that anybody supposed that light to signify. The faithful were bidden to seek Christ within, rather than Christ without. The obligation of the Sabbath, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the prayers and preachings of public ministers, even the doctrine of the Trinity, were repudiated by these innovators. George Fox appears to have bordered on Pantheism, if he did not more than border on it. He taught that the "imagined God beyond the stars," and the "carnal Christ," were falsities; and, with his usual love of coarse and offensive language, declared that to speak of Christ as God and man in one person was a lie.* These, and such as these, were the opinions which alarmed the people and rulers of New England.

At the instigation of Massachusetts, the General Courts of all the united colonies passed laws against the Quakers. The unwelcome intruders were to be driven out of the several jurisdictions, and to be imprisoned until that could be accomplished. But the Massachusetts law was much more severe than those of the other three confederated plantations. It imposed a fine of a hundred pounds on any shipmaster who should bring Quakers into the territory, and required security for the re-transportation of such passengers to the port whence they came. It likewise enacted that all Quakers should be imprisoned and severely whipped; that the circulation and even concealment of Quaker books should be visited by a fine of five pounds; that persons presuming to defend the incriminated opinions should be sharply punished; and that any person reviling the magistrates or ministers, after the manner of the hated sect, should be both fined and flogged. This law was soon enforced. One Mary Clarke,

* Fox's work, "The Sword of the Lord drawn," as quoted by Daniel Neal in his "History of New England," Vol. I., chap. 7.

from London, was whipped in the month of August, 1657. Christopher Holden and John Copeland, who had come to the colony the previous year, had been sent back to England, and had reappeared at Salem (where they addressed the congregation in the meeting-house), were scourged and sent to gaol, and a man and his wife who had harboured them were imprisoned. At a later period, some Quakers in prison were, for refusing to work, subjected to such repeated and merciless floggings that one of them nearly died beneath the lash. It was also proposed that those who refused to pay their fines should be sold to Virginia or Barbadoes, where they would have lived in a servitude not greatly differing from slavery; but, though an order to this effect was issued, it was never carried out. Still, the difficulty was not overcome, and more severe laws were passed. The fine for harbouring Quakers was increased to forty shillings for each hour; and it was ordered that every Quaker coming into the jurisdiction after having been expelled, should for the first offence suffer the loss of one ear, for the second lose the other, and for the third be bored through the tongue with a hot iron. In 1658, Holden, Copeland, and John Rouse, having twice returned from banishment, were deprived of their right ears by the knife of the hangman. After the sentence was executed, they said:—"Those who do it ignorantly, we desire from our hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads, and such shall know in the day of account that each drop of our blood shall be heavier than a millstone." This was the only time that such an act of mutilation was committed in New England, and it would appear that the punishment of boring through the tongue was never put in force. Indeed, the colonists were so much ashamed of the law that it was soon repealed.

The authorities, however, were far from inclined to leniency. The Federal Commissioners, when in session at Boston in the autumn of 1658, voted a set of resolutions recommending the General Courts of the four colonies to make a law condemning to death such Quakers as should return to the several jurisdictions after being twice expelled. From this fate nothing was to save them but a public renunciation of their "cursed opinions and devilish tenets." The colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven did not proceed so far as this recommendation suggested; but Plymouth treated the heretics with so much rigour that Captain James Cudworth, one of the Magistrates, repeatedly protested against it, and was at last deprived of his captaincy for entertaining a Quaker at his house, though he differed from the Quaker doctrine. It would appear from a letter of this gentleman to a friend in London, dated December 10th, 1658, that the Government of Plymouth had forgotten the milder spirit of its early days, and was inclined to a despotic and vexatious policy. "Our civil powers," he writes, "are so exercised in matters of religion and conscience that we have no time to do anything that tends to promote the civil prosperity of the place. We must now have a State religion, such as the powers of this world will allow, and no other; a State ministry, and a State way of maintenance; and we must worship and serve the Lord Jesus as the world shall appoint us. We must all go to the public place of meeting in the parish where we dwell, or be presented." He goes on to say that they were so wrapped up in a labyrinth of confused laws that the power of the freemen was quite lost. Sandwich men might not go to Massachusetts, lest they should be taken up for Quakers. Nay, they might not go about their occasions in other towns of the Plymouth colony, because of warrants which lay in ambush to apprehend and take them before a magistrate, so that they should give an account of their business. The situation altogether inspired Captain Cudworth with so gloomy a feeling that he could derive comfort only from the fact that they had still among them "worthy Mr. Dunster, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear his testimony against the spirit of persecution."* This was the Anabaptist President of Harvard College, who, on account of his opinions, resigned that position in 1654, and went to live in Plymouth colony.

Massachusetts, true to its habit of religious despotism, bated not one jot of the severity advised by the Commissioners. No doubt the early Quakers were a troublesome set. Some amount of supervision over a people who made it part of their conscience to disturb congregations and revile judges, and who thought it edifying to march through towns and villages stark naked, was imperatively required. But to thrust them out of the community, to subject them to torture, to threaten them with death, and to forbid all discussion of their opinions, was a grievous error. It is possible that the authorities hoped the mere threat of death would be sufficient. Capital punishment had before then been denounced against Antinomians and other troublers of the commonwealth; and the passing of a law to that effect had been found to have a deterring influence. But it is always dangerous to calculate on such a result, and

* Neal's History of New England, Vol. I., chap. 7.

the Quakers had given abundant proof that they had the courage and the obstinacy of martyrdom. They positively courted the most extreme forms of persecution, and were discouraged only by neglect.

The Magistrates of Rhode Island, happily remembering the principles of complete toleration on which that State had been founded, were quick to discover this fact. We have a very remarkable testimony as to their views on the subject, and it would be impossible to find, even in modern times, a more admirable exposition of the safety as well as reasonableness of allowing a free vent to all opinions. In September, 1657, the Federal Commissioners sent a letter to the Chief Magistrate of Rhode Island, desiring that some measures might be taken for excluding Quakers from that jurisdiction, whence, it was said, they found their way into Massachusetts. The authorities thus addressed replied that they had no law among them whereby they could punish any one for only declaring by words, &c., his convictions "concerning the things and ways of God as to salvation and an eternal condition." Moreover, they had found that in those places where Quakers had been suffered to declare themselves freely, and were opposed simply by arguments, they had the least desire to intrude. The preachers of the new doctrine had actually begun to loathe Rhode Island, because they were not opposed by the civil authority, but were permitted quietly to repeat their pretended revelations and admonitions. "Surely," concluded the Rhode Island Magistrates, "we find that they delight to be persecuted by civil powers; and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conceit of their patient sufferings than by consent to their pernicious sayings." This was in spite of the writers' opinion that the doctrines of the Quakers tended to "very absolute cutting down and overturning relations and civil government among men, if generally received."* It was seen that Quaker doctrine was bad, but that persecution for the sake of conscience was worse.

The first six Quakers banished, after the passing of the law punishing those who returned with death, did not again appear in Massachusetts. So far, the Act seemed to be working well; but the appearance was a delusion. A fanatic named William Robinson, living in Rhode Island, conceived that the Lord had commanded him to go to Boston, and lay down his life there. Marmaduke Stevenson, a fellow-believer, felt equally moved to accompany him. They left together in the summer of 1659, and were joined at Boston by Mary Dyer (formerly an adherent of Mrs. Hutchinson) and Nicholas Davis. All four were at once apprehended, sentenced to banishment, and informed that they would be put to death if they returned. The two last departed; but Robinson and Stevenson resolved to defy the law to the utmost. After an absence of four weeks, they returned to Boston, together with a woman from Salem, who showed the Governor of Massachusetts some linen, which she said she had brought for the winding-sheets of those who were to suffer. Mary Dyer also came back to the colony, when the three were arraigned before the General Court, and, upon their own confession that they had returned from banishment, were sentenced to be hanged on the eighth day following. So unpopular was this sentence that a riot and rescue were apprehended. The law in virtue of which it was pronounced had been so vehemently opposed in the House of Deputies that it was carried by a bare majority of one, and then only with the addition of a clause requiring trial by jury in all such cases. The authorities now thought it necessary to appoint a guard of a hundred soldiers, fully armed, for escorting the prisoners to the place of execution; to set a watch in and about the town; and to protect the gaol. If it was hoped that the mere passing of the sentence of death would cause the Quakers to beg for mercy, the hope was without foundation. The sectaries were determined to die; the rulers of Massachusetts were not greatly inclined to baulk them of their wish. On being condemned, Stevenson pronounced a curse upon his judges, and a little before his death put forth a paper stating that, as he was following his plough in the East Riding of Yorkshire, he fell into a sort of rapture, and heard a secret voice in his conscience, saying, "I have ordained thee a prophet to the nations;" that accordingly he went first to Barbadoes, and then to Rhode Island; and that in the latter place he again heard the voice of the Lord commanding him to go to Boston with his brother William Robinson. Mary Dyer wrote a remonstrance from gaol, and, with a strange ignorance of the whole course of what is called modern history, asked if ever such laws had been known among a people professing Christ come in the flesh.

On the 27th of October, 1659, the three were led forth to execution. They made some attempt to address the crowd, but their voices were drowned by a rattle of drums. Yet Robinson and Stevenson were heard to say that they died for Christ, and that they suffered for the sake of conscience. While the sentence was being carried out on these two men, Mary Dyer stood below the gallows with a halter round her neck; and, after the bodies were

* Rhode Island Records.

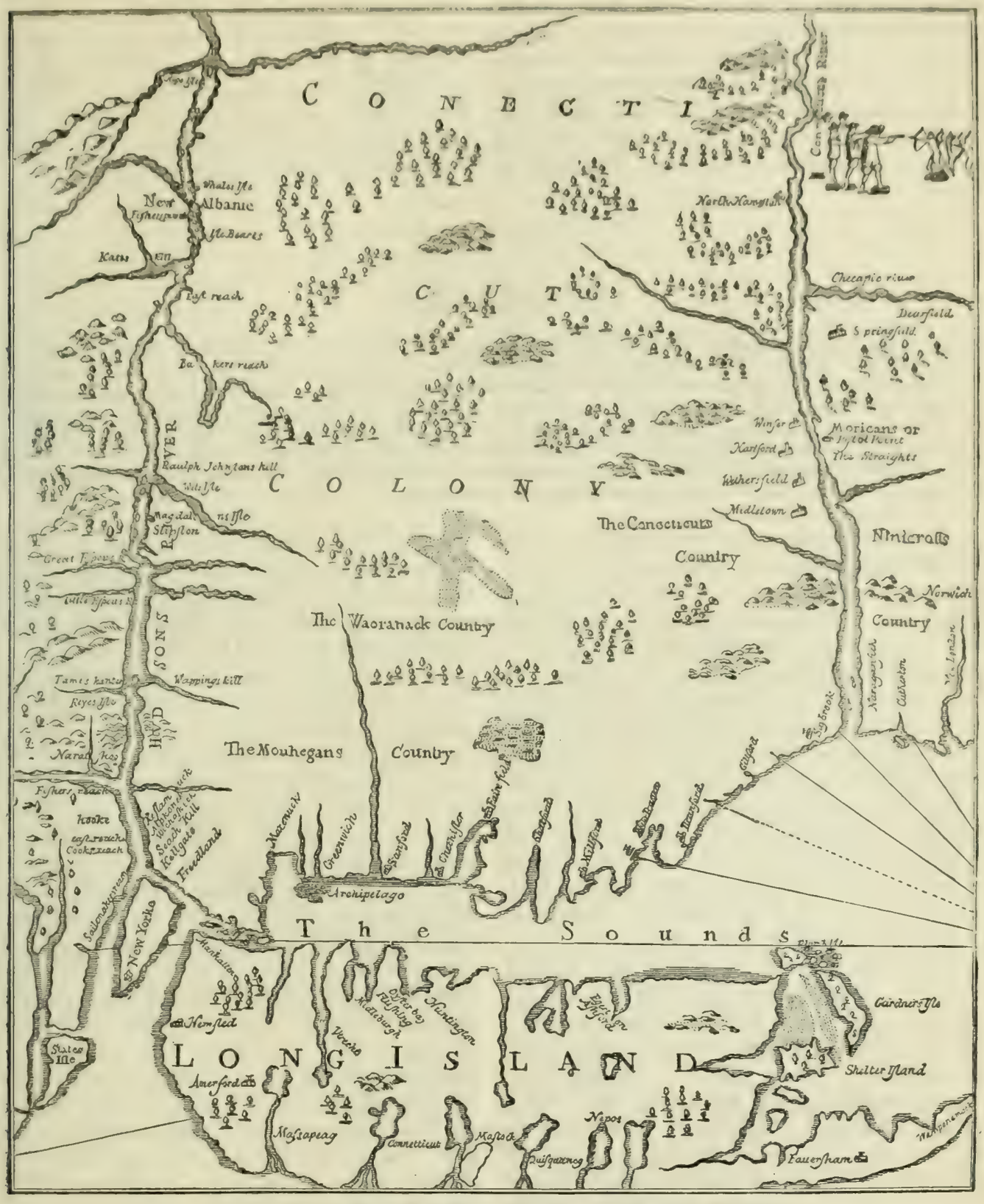
cut down, was told that she might depart under the care of her son, who had come from Rhode Island to intercede on her behalf. She at first exclaimed, "Let me suffer as my brethren, unless you will annul your wicked law;" but ultimately she permitted herself to be led away, and taken out of the jurisdiction. In the following spring (1660), she again entered Massachusetts, was again sentenced to death, and at the foot of the gallows was once more offered her life, if she would promise thenceforth to keep out of the colony. She replied that she had come in obedience to God, and would abide faithful to the death; and, so replying, perished.

Even before this lamentable event, the feeling of animosity to the law had become so widely spread among the masses that the Magistrates felt compelled to issue an apology for their conduct. In 1661, another execution took place. William Leddra, a foreigner, having returned from banishment, was hanged at Boston. During his trial, one Wenlock Christison came into court, appealed to the law of England, disputed with the judges on the justice of their proceedings, and seems to have had the best of the argument. Three months later, he was himself brought to trial. The Magistrates debated for two weeks what they should do with him; and Governor Endicott was very much annoyed at the avowed disinclination of several of his colleagues to pass sentence of death, and furiously declared that he could find it in his heart to go back to England. At length, Christison



INDIAN MEDICINE BAG, MYSTERY WHISTLE, RATTLES, AND DRUM. (*After Catlin.*)

was condemned to die; but when the General Court met, the opposition to any further infliction of the capital sentence was so great that the life of the town towards the frontier; and on the last of these three occasions the flagellation was to be accompanied by branding. No further capital punishments took



CONNECTICUT. (*From the "Mapp of New England, by John Seller."*)

offender was spared. Soon afterwards, an alteration was made in the law. Quakers were not to be hanged unless they returned to the colony four times after being expelled. For the first three offences they were to be whipped at the cart's tail from town to place, and branding was not inflicted under the later act. The Quakers, though their opportunities for realising the joys of martyrdom were thus reduced, continued none the less to disturb the towns of Massachusetts by their denunciations,

their threatenings of fire and sword (in a spiritual sense), their mountebank exhibition of themselves in sackcloth and ashes, and their parading of young women in a state of nudity. The Massachusetts authorities, indeed, seem to have passed from an extreme of severity to an extreme of mildness, resulting, perhaps, from the embarrassment caused by a mandate from Charles II., dated September 9th, 1661, commanding that Quakers under sentence should be transmitted to England. The laws in force were in consequence suspended for about a year, as far as respected corporal punishment and death, and were then revived to the extent of again imposing the penalty of whipping. No Quakers were sent to England for trial, and the madness died out in time. But the persecution of these poor fanatics was a lasting disgrace to Massachusetts, and drew from the illustrious Robert Boyle some words of just condemnation in a letter to John Eliot, the missionary of the Indians.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Renewed Troubles with the Indians—Major Edward Gibbons—Operations against the Narragansetts—Outrages committed by the Natives—Relations of Foreign Nationalities with the Indians—Dissensions amongst the Members of the Confederacy—Settlement of the Pequot Tribe—Operations against Acadie—Proposals from Oliver Cromwell to the New England Colonies—Deaths of New England Settlers—Protectorate of Richard Cromwell—Accession of Charles II.—First Measures of the Restored Monarchy—Addresses from Massachusetts to the King and the English Parliament—Reply of the King—Escape of Regicides to New England—Attempts to discover and arrest the Fugitives—Their Flight and Concealment—Report of Massachusetts Committee on the Relations between the Colony and the Mother Country—Acknowledgment of Charles II. by the Four Confederated Plantations of New England.

INDIAN wars are among the most exciting events of New England history. The struggle with the Pequots assured the safety of the colonies for a time; but in 1645 the Narragansetts caused some alarm by attacking the Mohegans, who were in alliance with the Massachusetts Government. In the first instance, the Federal Commissioners of the four united colonies sent messengers to the hostile sachems, requiring their presence at Boston, either in person or by ambassadors, to declare the grounds of the state of war existing between them. The Narragansett chief replied by a defiance, and the colonies decided for war. A force of three hundred men, well armed, at once took the field, under command of Major Edward Gibbons, of Massachusetts, assisted by a council of war, comprising the commanders of the several colonial contingents. The previous life of Gibbons was not such as to give him a very high moral standing. He had been one of Thomas Morton's riotous set of bacchanalians at Merry Mount. He afterwards professed repentance and conversion, and became a freeman of Boston. But his old habits clung to him, and on one occasion he was fined twenty shillings for being drunk and disorderly. Nevertheless, he was a courageous and skilful soldier, who had filled several military appointments in the colony to which he had attached himself. In his private capacity as a merchant, he had not been very fortunate, though his speculations do not appear to have been hampered by over-nice scruples. Some suspicion of having acted as a buccaneer attaches to this roving adventurer, in the opinion of Mr. Palfrey; and wonderful stories are told by Cotton Mather of miraculous events performed at sea to save Gibbons and his crew from starving when all their stores had run out.

In his operations against the Narragansetts, Gibbons was well supported. The troops were equipped and sent out with remarkable promptitude, and in a few days had assembled near the tribe against whom it was proposed to act. It is recorded by Gorton that Captain Standish, who was in command of the Plymouth contingent, threatened to disarm the Providence plantation, on account of the neutrality of Roger Williams. That minister had always been on good terms with the Narragansetts, and he refused to be a party to any attack on them. He gave his services, however, as a negotiator between the army of the federated colonies and the refractory savages. Before any blows were struck, the latter were induced to send some of their sachems to Boston, where a treaty of peace between the Narragansetts and Nyantics, on the one part, and the English and their native allies on the other, was speedily concluded. By this treaty, the sachems agreed to reimburse the charges of the expedition in four instalments, and to leave four children of their chiefs as hostages. The first instalment was not paid. More than a year passed away, and in 1647 intelligence arrived at Boston, indicating the commencement of fresh plots. Renewed interviews led to evasive explanations, and to promises that were always broken. A

Narragansett Indian made an attempt to assassinate Uncas, and, on being seized, declared that he had been bribed to the act by his chiefs. The Federal Commissioners, now thoroughly alarmed, determined to send twenty men to demand the indemnity, and upon refusal to seize the value in anything they could find. Captain Atherton accordingly passed through the woods at the head of a small force, entered the sachem's wigwam alone, seized the chief by the hair of the head, dragged him out, and with a cocked pistol threatened the other Indians with death if they interfered. Such, at least, is the account given by Cotton Mather; but the incident bears a suspicious resemblance to one related of Captain Smith, in his dealings with Opechancanough, in Virginia. At any rate, the indemnity was paid.

Whether or not the Indians were really concerned in a conspiracy on a large scale, it is certain that they were often very dangerous neighbours, especially in the western settlements of New Haven and Connecticut. An Englishman was murdered by them at Fairfield. The crew of a shipwrecked vessel were killed by the savages on Long Island. A woman at Stamford was so beaten on the head with a hammer by a native that she lost her reason; and when the assailant was about to be executed, his comrades made a hostile demonstration, and it was found necessary to summon aid from New Haven and other towns. Incendiarism was not infrequent, and the wrongdoers were sometimes able successfully to resist the colonists.* In many places the inhabitants were obliged to be perpetually on the watch against these red-skinned warriors, who, with a whoop and a sudden rush, would come pouring into the little frontier towns, scattering dismay and death, until the white men, rallying, would drive them back into the forest, beaten and cowed for the moment, yet nourishing in their hearts projects of a speedy revenge whenever they could surprise the English at a disadvantage, or fight them on unequal terms.

The relations of foreign nationalities with the Indians proved a fruitful cause of trouble to the English planters. The French in Canada were in 1649 so alarmed at the power of the Iroquois, who had almost exterminated the Hurons, and pursued the remnants of that tribe to the very walls of Quebec, that they solicited aid from Massachusetts and Plymouth, but without obtaining what they desired. During the war between the English Commonwealth and Holland, in 1653, the colonies of New Haven and Connecticut were troubled by a rumour that the Dutch had enlisted against them a joint force of Mohawks, Nyantics, and other savages. The feeling of apprehension was so great that the Federal Commissioners held a special meeting at Boston, and the implicated chiefs were summoned to give an account of the matter. They of course denied any such design; but the Commissioners were still far from satisfied, and, on the suggestion of the Dutch Governor himself, a magistrate and two military officers were despatched from the united colonies to New Amsterdam, to receive the explanations of that functionary. In the meanwhile, preparations were made for a war with the Dutch; but no war ensued. It was not thought by any one that the Dutch Governor had completely cleared himself of the crime imputed to him; but, although the colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were strongly in favour of hostilities, the opposition of Massachusetts—by far the most powerful and important member of the Confederation—prevented the taking of any rash step. The alleged conspiracy had certainly not been proved with that absolute fulness which would alone have justified an appeal to the sword; and the event showed that the colonists lost nothing in safety by abstaining from a hasty attack. But it required some moral courage to abstain; for, during the time that the negotiations were pending, the conduct of the Narragansetts and Nyantics was such as to induce the Federal Commissioners to call upon the respective chiefs to appear at Boston, and clear themselves of the charges brought against them. This they refused to do, and the Commissioners talked of coercing them by force of arms, but were again checked by the prudence of Massachusetts.

These matters led to considerable discussion among the Confederated States. Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were unanimously in favour of war, first with the Dutch, and afterwards with the suspected Indians: Massachusetts alone refused, and, by so refusing, prevented a resort to hostile measures, for which her assistance was absolutely necessary. The three smaller colonies were exceedingly incensed at this, and accused the larger plantation of having broken the covenant of association. There had been a previous disagreement in the Confederacy on a question of imposts; but the present quarrel was of a more bitter nature. For a time, it seemed doubtful whether the league established in 1643 would not be dissolved after its ten years' existence. It may perhaps be questioned whether the Articles of Confederation, strictly construed, were not against Massachusetts. By those Articles the four colonies were to support one another in any just war. Massachusetts, it is true,

* Palfrey's New England, Vol. II., chap. 5.

denied the justice of the proposed wars. But it may fairly be asked whether any one member of the Confederation had a right to determine that a war was unjust, and to refuse its aid, when all the other members had voted that it was both just and necessary. That Massachusetts was really in the right, and was following the most prudent and honourable course, does not affect the question as to her duty as one of a political league which had contracted certain general obligations. The governors of Massachusetts believed that it would be against their consciences, and a defiance of God, to engage in a war which they considered uncalled-for. Their case was certainly a hard one, and it is not to be regretted that they persisted in their refusal; yet it is difficult to blame the three other Governments, who thought themselves in peril, and conceived that they had been deserted in their need by one who was bound to aid in their defence. In 1654, however, the quarrel was accommodated by mutual concessions, and Massachusetts joined in an expedition against the Nyantics, which, without any fighting, resulted in those savages giving an engagement for more regular conduct in the future. In the following year, the survivors of the Pequot tribe, who had been distributed among the Mohegans, the Narragansetts, and the Nyantics, and on account of whom those bodies had undertaken to make a yearly payment to the English for their services, were established by the colonists in settlements of their own, to be governed by a simple system of laws, administered by native magistrates. The oppression of these wretched savages by their own countrymen was the reason for taking this humane course; and it appears to have led to satisfactory results, and to something like a well-ordered society.

During the time of the Commonwealth, New England was concerned in some operations against Acadie which cannot be considered creditable. After the death of D'Aulnay, La Tour married his widow, made his submission to the French monarch, and was again received into favour. He was in renewed command in Acadie when a sudden and quite unjustifiable attack on the French settlements in North America once more changed his fortunes. In 1654, towards the close of the Dutch war, three or four English ships, with a few troops on board, were sent to take possession of New Netherland. Intelligence of the treaty of peace with Holland arrived soon after the expedition had reached the western hemisphere. Disappointed of their first object of attack, the commanders turned their forces—now strengthened by recruits enlisted in New England—against the French in the north, although England was at that time at peace with France. La Tour was not sufficiently strong to resist, and he seems, moreover, to have been secretly intriguing with the English for some time. The whole country was speedily in the hands of the attacking party. The French King complained, and not without reason, of this piratical outrage; but Cromwell refused to restore the spoil, and France did not dare to draw the sword in vindication of her rights. The province, which again received the name of Nova Scotia, was bestowed by the conqueror on La Tour, Thomas Temple, and William Crowne; but the traitorous Frenchman sold his share to Temple, and died not long after.

Despite occasional dissensions, the New England colonies pursued their way without serious interruption. The Governments of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate did not interfere with their growing fortunes, and they in their turn were pleased to find their own political and religious principles predominant in the old country. It was, indeed, at one time in contemplation by the rulers of the Commonwealth to impose a new patent on Massachusetts, and to require that colony to keep its courts and issue its warrants in the name of the English Parliament. But the General Court remonstrated against the design, and it was not pursued. Massachusetts, though in a perfectly independent way, was very favourable to the new Government in England, and prohibited all trade with the Royalist colonists until they submitted to the Commonwealth. Oliver Cromwell thought so highly of the Puritan settlers that, after his subjection of Ireland, he proposed to them, in 1651, to remove to that island, as a strong Protestant guard against the Romanist and Celtic population. Some few of the Massachusetts people were in favour of accepting this offer; but Endicott, writing to Cromwell on behalf of the General Court, said that, although the authorities would not prevent any persons or families from removing, they were not favourable to the project. In their American home, they were in the enjoyment of health, plenty, peace, liberty, and an opportunity for spreading the Gospel among the heathen; and they felt no desire for change. Their decision was wise; for in Ireland their descendants would have been speedily merged in a race which, notwithstanding the brilliant gifts and attractive qualities of individuals, has never been able, collectively, to occupy a successful position in the world. Cromwell, however, did not lose sight of the New Englanders. Undeterred by the refusal of his first offer, he asked them, in 1655, to settle in Jamaica, which island had just been conquered by his fleet. Emigrants thither were to

have lands free of rent for a term of seven years, and afterwards to pay at the rate of only a penny an acre per year. No custom, excise, impost, or duty, was to be demanded of them for four years; and in other respects the terms proposed were of the most favourable kind. Six vessels were to be provided for the transportation of the colonists; but the Protector was from time to time to appoint their Governor, Assistants, and Commander-in-Chief. The General Court of Massachusetts took eight months to consider the letter in which these offers were put forth. They then ordered that a reply should be sent; but five months more elapsed ere it was composed and despatched. In October, 1656, they informed his Highness that they had doubts as to the climate of Jamaica suiting the English race. This did not amount to a positive refusal; but it was evident to Oliver that the colonists were not willing to change their position of independence for one of subjection to the Protector's Government.

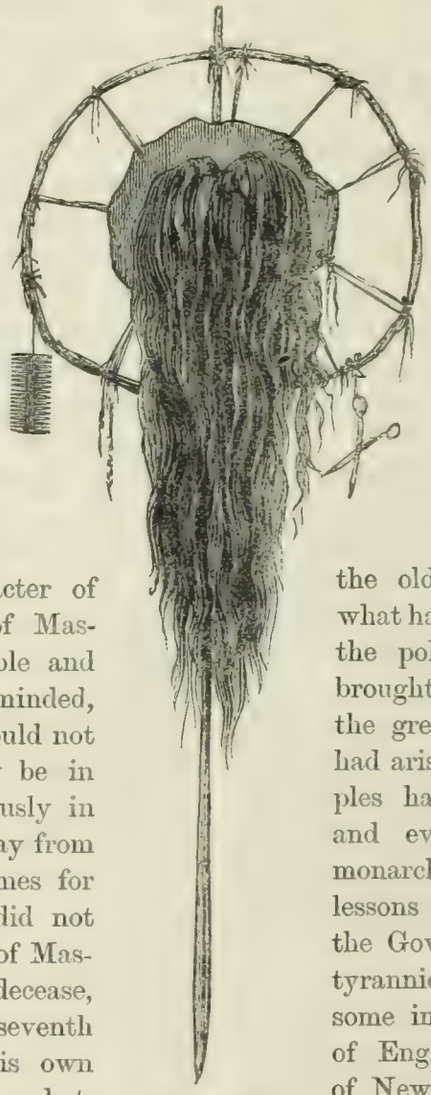
Plymouth showed a more submisssive spirit towards the English Commonwealth, and the Protectorate of Cromwell, than Massachusetts. It acknowledged the paramount authority of both, and made preparations for an attack on New Netherland in aid of the English war against the Dutch. In 1652 the colonists applied to the Council of State at London for a confirmation of their property on the Kennebec, where some independent settlers had established themselves; and, having obtained this, they forced the people to take an oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth of England and the colony of Plymouth. But Plymouth was always faithful to the mother country.

The original founders of the New England States were now rapidly passing away in the course of nature. The deaths of Brewster in 1644, of Winthrop in 1649, and of Bradford in 1657, have already been noticed. Edward Winslow died two years earlier than Bradford. His final days were saddened by a melancholy incident. He appears to have settled in England on the fourth occasion of his going there—the visit of 1646, when he was charged with the duty of replying to the accusations of Samuel Gorton and others. This business being settled, Winslow interested himself in the formation of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and in 1654 was one of the commissioners appointed by Cromwell to determine the value of the English ships seized and detained by the King of Denmark, for which restitution was to be made, according to the treaty of peace concluded with the English Government. In the following year, Winslow was one of the three commissioners who were to superintend and direct the operations of the expedition despatched against the Spaniards in the West Indies. The design was ill planned, and led to failure. The commanders, Admiral Penn (father of the celebrated Quaker) and General Venables, disagreed as to the proper mode of proceeding; the commissioners were unable to compose their differences; the troops were landed too far from St. Domingo (the city they proposed to assault), and a vigorous attack by the enemy drove back the weary and ill-provided soldiers to their ships, with a loss of six hundred men. The fleet then sailed to Jamaica, which surrendered without a blow. On the passage from Hispaniola, Winslow breathed his last, exhausted by the heat of the climate, and by the dejection of his spirits consequent on the recent defeat. His death took place on the 8th of May, 1655, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was a native of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, and was only five-and-twenty when he arrived at Cape Cod in the *Mayflower*. The records of New England present no gentler, finer, or more honourable name than his.

Captain Standish died in 1656, at an advanced age. He was a member of an old Lancashire family, and carried into the middle of the seventeenth century all the dashing boldness and knight-errantry of an earlier race of adventurers. In peaceful negotiations he was less successful than in the exploits of guerilla warfare. He was sent to England in 1625, as agent for the colony of Plymouth in the settlement of affairs with the capitalists who had advanced money for commencing the plantation; but the conclusion of the business was reserved for Allerton. It is said that Standish was interrupted by the plague which was then raging in London; but he was not sent again in the following year. A romantic story, told of this hero, has been reproduced by Mr. Longfellow in a poetical form. Having been left a widower in 1621, he conceived an affection for Priscilla Mullins, who lived at a distance from his residence. He therefore sent a young man named John Alden to make proposals for him. John Alden was agreeable and handsome, and the maiden did not care to be wooed by deputy. "Prithee, John," she is reported to have asked, "why do you not speak for yourself?" Thus challenged, the young man spoke to so much purpose that Priscilla soon became his wife. Standish is said never to have forgiven his friend to the day of his death; but Longfellow has represented his conduct in a more generous light. In religion he was anything but a fanatic, and never sympathised with the theological views of his comrades. He was a little man, quick of temper and sudden in

action, but helpful and kindhearted on all serious occasions of need. When many of his fellow-emigrants were lying sick and feeble in the maladies of their first dreadful winter, he nursed them with the devoted tenderness of a woman. But if there were Indians to be attacked, or English roysterers to be overawed, who so fit for the purpose as Captain Miles Standish, chief soldier of the colony of Plymouth?

The other deaths of remarkable men about the same period were those of John Cotton, one of the original pastors of Boston (1652); Thomas Dudley, Deputy-Governor, Governor, and Major-General of Militia in Massachusetts (1653); John Haynes, one of the founders and Governors of Connecticut 1654); Edward Hopkins, also Governor of Connecticut (1657); Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New Haven (1657); and Ralph Partridge, minister of Duxbury (1658). Dudley was one of those men who helped to stamp a character of intolerance on the infant colony of Massachusetts. He was both honourable and sincere, but very gloomy, narrow-minded, opinionated, and unlovable. He would not allow that anybody could possibly be in the right, or otherwise than heinously in the wrong, if he differed in any way from himself, and his voice was at all times for deadly war with any sect which did not rigorously conform to the standard of Massachusetts orthodoxy. After his decease, which took place in the seventy-seventh year of his age, some lines of his own composition were found in his pocket, which show how strong and lasting was his love of persecution. Having reckoned up the usual signs of approaching dissolution, and moralised after the accustomed fashion, he proceeds:—

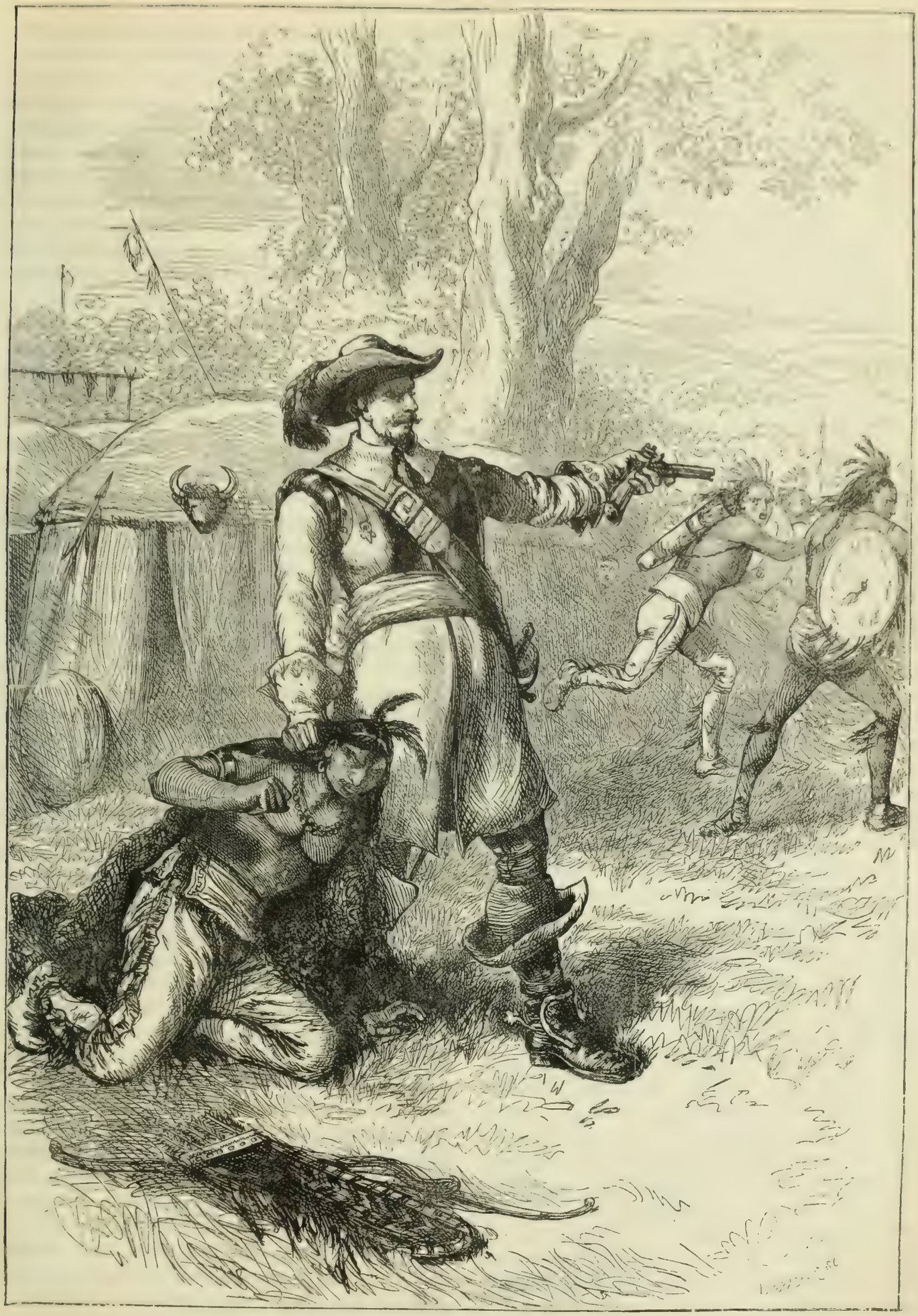


INDIAN SCALP.
(*After Catlin.*)

"Farewell, dear wife, children, and friends!
Hate heresy, make blessed ends.
Bear poverty, live with good men;
So shall we live with joy agen.
Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph 's, 'I died no libertine.'" *

* Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, Book II., chap. 5.

The death of Oliver Cromwell, and the accession to power, for a few months, of his feeble-minded son Richard, made no difference in the fortunes of New England. None of the confederate colonies had proclaimed Oliver; none proclaimed Richard, though an order to do so was sent out by the Council of State. The second Protector professed himself the "very loving friend" of Massachusetts, and, in recommending to the favour of the General Court an acquaintance of his who had an estate to administer within their jurisdiction, assured them that a compliance with his request would be esteemed as a particular respect done to himself, which he would always be ready to return on any occasion when he might further their good and welfare. But he made no attempt to establish the authority of the mother country over the colonies. When Charles II. ascended the throne in 1660, however, another era began, both for the old country and the new. Much of what had formerly existed was restored; but the political state could not be entirely brought back to that which had preceded the great civil war. A fresh generation had arisen; larger and more liberal principles had been proclaimed and enforced; and even the most despotically-inclined monarch could not altogether disregard the lessons of the past twenty years. Though the Government of Charles II. was often tyrannical, and always corrupt, it made some important concessions to the interests of English freedom. But in the colonies of New England the change was not unreasonably regarded with alarm. The Royalist settlements of Virginia and Maryland had nothing to fear, but on the contrary everything to hope, from the re-establishment of ancient forms. Massachusetts, and the other members of the Confederacy, saw in the reinstated fortunes of the Stuarts and of the Episcopal Church a danger which might in a little while become serious. All those theories of social freedom and religious independence for which the Puritans left their native country, might fairly be expected to be flouted and proscribed by the son of him who had lost his head in the attempt to crush them out—by the grandson of that regal pedant who confuted his theological opponents by driving them into foreign lands. The leaders of the New England



COLONEL ATHERTON AND THE INDIANS.

colonies awaited in a watchful spirit the first measures of that Government which the duplicity of Monk had established at the seat of empire.

One of the earliest of these measures was the supercession of the Parliamentary Commission for the management of colonial affairs (established several years before) by a Council of Foreign Plantations. This made no essential difference in the position of the growing American communities; but it showed that the King and his advisers did not intend to leave those little republics to conduct their own business without check. In May, 1661, twelve Privy Councillors were nominated as a Committee for settling the government of New England; yet no immediate result was the consequence. Massachusetts had at that time an agent at London, named Leverett. At an early period, this person informed his principals that the Quakers and other enemies of the Puritan settlers had been making a great display of their grievances; that a petition had been presented for setting a General Governor over the colonies; and that, with the restoration of Episcopacy, various Popish observances had again become common. On the receipt of this letter, the Massachusetts Magistrates convoked an extraordinary General Court, at which it was ordered that addresses should at once be made to "the King's most excellent Majesty" and to "the High Court of Parliament." That which was transmitted to the King prayed for his "gracious protection of them in the continuance both of their civil privileges and of their religion and liberties, according to the grantees' known end of suing for the patent conferred upon the plantation by his royal father." The authors of this address alluded to the reasons why they had transported themselves across the ocean, from the pleasant land where they had been born, to "the vast and waste wilderness" they had subdued. They referred to the complaints of the Quakers, and asserted that those sectaries could only be restrained by death, and that their lives would gladly have been spared, had they consented to depart the jurisdiction, and not return without authority. Finally, they appealed to "the head and heart of that great King who was sometime an exile as they were." The address to the Parliament was equally submissive, and professed the willingness of the petitioners to give an account of the trust committed to them, and of the powers they had exercised. Some of the complaints made against them were briefly noticed; and the favour and encouragement of Parliament were humbly begged. Nothing is more remarkable than the tone of these memorials. There was evidently no longer any thought of defying the authority of the mother country, as in the time of Charles I. The pretension to entire independence was abandoned—by implication at any rate, if not in direct terms. The colonists probably felt that the reaction in England would be too strong to contend against; that the republican party at home had been ruined by its own dissensions and mismanagement; and that the restored monarchy would for years be far more powerful than the monarchy which was tottering to its fall. Such may have been the considerations which dictated these two very dutiful addresses.

The agents appointed to present the addresses were instructed to obtain the favour and good opinion of gentlemen of position, whether in Parliament or about the King's person; to collect information as to how the great powers of the State stood affected towards the memorialists; to explain that what they desired was a continuance of the privileges they had received by their patent, and had hitherto enjoyed, including freedom from appeals to England in any case civil or criminal; and a renewal of the Act that freed from customs. The memorialists specially deprecated any measures tending to the re-appearance of the Quakers; and they charged their agents to proceed with caution and privacy. Much uncertainty was naturally felt as to how the King would receive the advances thus made; and great was the relief of the settlers on the arrival of a despatch from Secretary Morrice to Endicott (dated February 15th, 1661), full of friendly expressions towards the colonies in general, and New England in particular. Liberty, and a tender regard to consciences, were especially promised, and the petitioning plantations were complimented on the long and secure establishment which had existed there. But about the same period an order was transmitted to New England for the apprehension of two fugitive regicides—Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, both of them religious enthusiasts, filled with the mystical ideas prevalent among the Puritans of that day—who had sought shelter in Boston. There could be no doubt as to the intention with regard to those offenders. Ten of their comrades—one of whom was the Rev. Hugh Peters, for some time an important man in Massachusetts, and who, after his return to England, fought on the side of the Parliament, and ultimately became chaplain to Oliver Cromwell—had been executed in October, 1660. On the arrival of the fugitive regicides in Massachusetts, a person who knew them took them before the Governor; told him that they were two of the late King's judges, who had been declared traitors and murderers; and advised him to secure them. Endicott

plied that, without a commission from England, none should meddle with them. For this interference, the informant was called a "malignant"—a word at that time employed to designate adherents of the Royalist party. It is probable enough that the regicides were greatly caressed by the leading men of Boston, for their deeds were in harmony with the principles which Massachusetts had always maintained. But when the Act of Indemnity came over, and it was found that the two fugitives were excepted from its terms, some members of the General Court were in favour of hinting to them the expediency of removing to another jurisdiction. A Court of Assistants refused to give Endicott authority to secure the refugees; and, after four days' delay, they set off for New Haven, where they were concealed in the house of Davenport, their hiding-place in the cellar of which dwelling is still shown. In about a month's time, information arrived that the King had sent a peremptory order to the colonial Governments for their apprehension. Endicott, therefore, despatched two agents with a commission to search Massachusetts (where he knew they would not be found) for the runaways, and to convey letters of recommendation to the Governors of the other plantations. These agents were two young men lately arrived from England, and holding Royalist opinions; but Endicott probably calculated on the colonists baffling their zeal. Many, however, thought that the Governor had gone too far in what he had done, having acted without the sanction of the Federal Council.

The two young Royalists—Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk—left Boston on their difficult quest, and, after a brief visit to Connecticut, proceeded to New Haven. There they had several interviews with Deputy-Governor Leete, from whom they could get neither information nor assistance, though they plainly told him they believed he knew where the missing colonels were. It cannot be doubted that he was really in possession of this knowledge, and that he communicated with the fugitives, to let them know that the pursuers were upon their track. The messengers upbraided Leete with his disloyalty in sheltering such heinous malefactors, threatened him with the King's vengeance, and set before him the danger incurred by any one who concealed or abetted traitors. In vain: Leete was not to be moved. From New Haven, Kellond and Kirk went to New Netherland, where the Dutch Governor promised assistance in case he should be in a position to render any. The Royalist agents then returned to Boston, where they made a report of their proceedings, which is now in the State Paper Office, London. In the meanwhile, the regicides were shifted about from place to place; living sometimes in houses, sometimes in a mill, and for four weeks in a species of cave near a lonely farm house, whence they received their food, and to which they sometimes resorted for better shelter in stormy weather. Large rewards for their apprehension were offered by Kellond and Kirk; yet they remained undiscovered, and for two years lived quietly in a house in or near Milford. Growing emboldened by impunity, they at length appeared in public, and conducted the devotions of a few neighbours. But, more vigorous measures for their arrest being apprehended on the arrival of Commissioners from the King, armed with extraordinary powers, they were again compelled to take flight, and now found a refuge in the town of Hadley, on the north-western frontiers of Massachusetts. Here they lived in obscurity for several years, and died at an advanced period of life. The bones of Goffe—who was the son-in-law of Whalley—are thought to have been discovered, in 1795, in the cellar of the house at Hadley, when that edifice was being demolished.*

The General Court of Massachusetts, perceiving that the time had passed for assuming a position of complete internal sovereignty, appointed, in August, 1661, a day of public thanksgiving for the many mercies which God had bestowed on them, especially in giving them favour in the eyes and heart of their sovereign lord, the King. They then passed a resolution appointing a committee for considering and debating such matters as might concern their patent, laws, privileges, and duty to his Majesty. The intention of this step was defined to be the creation of unity among themselves in the due observance of obedience and fidelity to the authority of England, and in the assertion of their own just privileges. The report of the committee was soon presented at a special session of the General Court, when it was allowed and approved. It affirmed the patent to be (under God) the foundation of their civil polity; that by the powers thus bestowed a Government had been created, which had full authority, legislative and executive, for ruling the people there, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, without appeal, excepting in the case of laws repugnant to those of England; that the plantation had the right of self-defence against all who should attack it, whether by sea or land; that any imposition prejudicial to the country was an infringement of their right; that they were bound to uphold the power of the King, and, as

* Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. II., chap. 13.

far as possible, to discover and prevent all plots and conspiracies against that power; that they should punish all crimes, and uphold the true Christian or Protestant religion; that they were entitled to plead with their Prince against all such as should at any time attempt the violation of their privileges; that the warrant and letter from the King for the apprehension of Colonels Whalley and Goffe ought to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authorities of the colony; and that the General Court would do well to declare that, in case, for the future, any persons legally obnoxious, and flying from the civil justice of the State of England, should arrive in those parts, they might not there expect shelter. After considerable delay and hesitation, the King was formally proclaimed, though all drinking of his health was forbidden. Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut also acknowledged the authority of Charles II. in terms of effusive, but perhaps not very sincere, loyalty; and from 1661 the history of New England entered on a new stage.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Despatch of John Winthrop the Younger to England, to solicit a Royal Charter for Connecticut—Grant by Charles II. of an Ample Patent—Liberal Terms of that Document—Character of the Second John Winthrop—Absorption of New Haven into Connecticut—Questionable Conduct of Winthrop—Opposition of New Haven to the Proposed Incorporation—The Union finally effected—Happy Condition of Connecticut—Claims of Rhode Island—Proceedings of its Agent in England—Grant of a Charter with very extensive Privileges—Provision in favour of Religious Toleration—Exception as regards the Roman Catholics—The Exception annulled at a later Date—Despatch of Agents from Massachusetts to England—Letter of Charles II. to the Massachusetts Colony—Stipulations of the King on behalf of Liberty of Conscience—Death of the Rev. John Norton—Proceedings of the General Court with reference to the King's Letter—The American Policy of Charles II.

Up to the time at which we have now arrived, the colony of Connecticut had possessed no Royal charter. The lands which formed the nucleus of the plantation had been obtained from the assigns of the Earl of Warwick; and to these were added certain territories purchased from Uncas, and those which had been taken from the Pequots after the war. But the settlers were still devoid of all chartered rights, and it was thought advisable to procure some such basis for their political state. John Winthrop the younger, one of the founders of the colony, was accordingly sent to London in 1661, to ask this favour of the King. It must have been a painful journey to him; for, not many months before, his relative by marriage, Hugh Peters, had been executed for his share in the death of Charles I. But the younger Winthrop had bound up his fortunes with those of Connecticut; he was devotedly attached to its interests; and he was not likely to allow a consideration of this nature to stand in the way of such a design. All accounts represent him as a man of blameless private character, of experience as a statesman, of thoughtful and cultivated mind, and of pleasing manners. In his youth he had travelled over a large part of the continent of Europe, including Constantinople; and he was still quite young when he joined his father in Massachusetts. His association with the colony of Connecticut dates from the year 1635; so that, when he was sent on his mission to England, he had been connected with the settlement for the long period of six-and-twenty years. No man was regarded by the plantation with greater favour; no man was better calculated to promote its general interests. His knowledge of local affairs, personal identity with the ends to be served, breadth of intellect, and suavity of demeanour, pointed him out as the fittest person to conduct so delicate a business.

His instructions were to solicit the assistance of the former patentees of Connecticut; to obtain a copy of the patent granted by the Earl of Warwick to Lord Saye and Sele and his associates; to solicit a confirmation of its provisions from the King; and, above all things, to procure, if possible, a Royal charter, conferring liberties and privileges equal to those of Massachusetts. Winthrop arrived in England in August, 1661, and at once experienced the good will of Lord Saye and Sele (then very old), and of the Earl of Manchester, a member of the Puritan party, and a man known for his generous services to all who upheld the liberal cause. By May, 1662, he had pushed his business so well that the King granted the colony a charter of a highly valuable kind. The corporation established by this instrument consisted of nineteen patentees, with such associates as they should from time to time elect. The Company's territories were so defined

as to include the whole colony of New Haven; certain lands claimed by the people of Providence and Rhode Island, and also by the Dutch; and ground to the east of the Pequot river, which Massachusetts regarded as her own. Here was a vast domain marked out for the future—a domain reaching towards the Atlantic on the east, and touching the Pacific on the west. The direction of the reconstituted colony was vested in a Governor, Deputy-Governor, twelve Assistants, and a House of Representatives, to which each town was to send two members. The elections were to be annual, and the Legislature was to meet twice a year. Two Assistants were empowered to administer the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; but there was no positive injunction that those oaths should be taken. The King reserved to himself no right to negative the acts of the colonists; he did not even require that they should be submitted for his inspection: the constituted authorities of the plantation were free to make their own laws, to administer justice without appeals to England, to inflict punishments, and to confer pardons.* The concessions, in short, amounted to very little less than complete independence. So satisfactory a result was due partly to the adroit management of Winthrop; partly to the friendly feeling of Charles II., whose father is said to have been well-disposed to Winthrop's grandfather. It is thought that Winthrop himself had Royalist leanings, and was doubtful as to the justice of the Republican party in the late civil wars. A letter printed in Thurloe's State Papers, addressed by one John Maidston in London to Winthrop in Connecticut, during the month of March, 1660, seems to favour this supposition by the nature of the arguments employed, apparently in reply to remarks or questions by the writer's correspondent. The second John Winthrop was a man of a more graceful, pliant, and accommodating habit of mind than his father. Fond of study, of science, and of general investigation, he may not improbably have disliked the turbulence of revolutionary conditions, and may have preferred the prospects of assured repose under an ancient monarchy to perpetual change under a republic which was the sport of factions and of sectaries. He was one of the earliest correspondents of the Royal Society, and, while in England, was the friend of men eminent in letters and in arts.

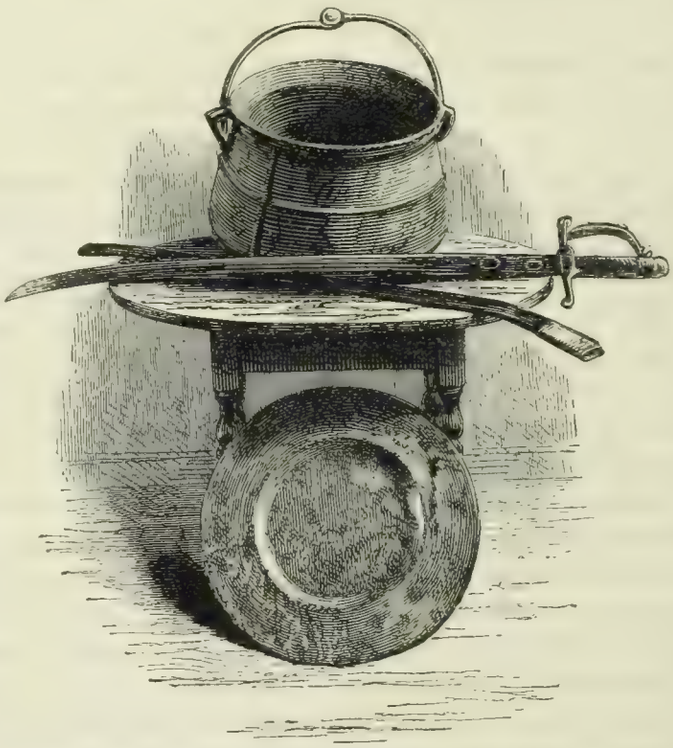
In one respect, the conduct of Winthrop in these negotiations has been questioned as not strictly in accordance with honour. The absorption of New Haven into Connecticut was very much against the wishes of the former colony, and seems to have been an arbitrary and unjust act. New Haven was not represented before the King, and Winthrop had no authority to make any arrangement involving its extinction as a separate province. But a dispute as to jurisdiction had for some years existed between the two colonies, and Winthrop seems to have taken advantage of his position to secure the interests of the plantation which he represented. The assertion of Connecticut was that the New Haven settlers had sat down on lands forming part of those which had been conveyed to Lord Brooke, Lord Save and Sele, and others, by the Earl of Warwick.† Allowing this to have been so, the claim had never been admitted by New Haven, and, as Mr. Palfrey justly points out, that colony belonged to a confederacy of which Winthrop was one of the chief Magistrates, and which, in its articles of agreement, recognised and guaranteed the independence of the plantation now obliterated. The colony of New Haven had arisen in an irregular way from several scattered settlements, which after awhile found it convenient to coalesce; but by 1662 it had acquired a distinct corporate existence. Before leaving New England, Winthrop is said to have assured a friend, who had expressed some fears on the subject, that no extension of Connecticut so as to include New Haven was contemplated, "but rather the contrary;" and that, even if the old patent should be found to include that plantation, the colonists should be at liberty to join or not at their pleasure. It is probable he was sincere in these promises, for, after the charter had passed the seals, he wrote to the General Court to respect his pledge. But, the matter being once settled, it was not likely to be disturbed. The case of New Haven, therefore, seems to have been peculiarly hard, and the conduct of Winthrop, so far, of doubtful justice.

Connecticut, however, rejoiced greatly in its good fortune, and the people expressed their gratitude towards Winthrop by electing him Governor during the remainder of his life, which was extended to 1676. The citizens of New Haven were equally displeased. They declared their intention of resisting the absorption of their colony, at least until some arrangements could be made with Connecticut. Winthrop, who remained in England until 1663, heard before he left of the agitation excited in the smaller colony by the charter he had obtained. He wrote to Deputy-Governor Mason, recommending that, if there had been any unjust intermeddling with New Haven, such acts should be forthwith recalled, and in no case repeated. But the General

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. [illegible]

† "New Haven's Case stated" in New Haven Records.

Court of Connecticut declined to accept this advice. They took steps for promoting what they conceived to be their right; and, although the representatives of Massachusetts and Plymouth in the Federal Council gave their judgment in favour of New Haven, the influence of Connecticut was too strong to be resisted. Some of the towns included in New Haven had from the first placed themselves under the Government of Connecticut; and the former colony, thus weakened and impoverished, was unable successfully to resist, especially as her adversary was supported by the Royal power and authority. Winthrop, on his return from England, used his influence to mitigate the destiny of the smaller settlement, but without effect. Connecticut was resolved to enjoy to the very utmost the privileges conferred by her charter, and would not listen to any suggestions of compromise. Only three towns now adhered to the fortunes of New Haven colony. The yearly allowances for the Governor and Deputy-Governor were, from sheer necessity, reduced to forty pounds and ten pounds respectively; and it was evident that the plantation must shortly succumb, if only from want of means. For some time longer, however, it maintained the struggle with admirable spirit, and even issued a proclamation calling upon seceders to return to their obedience, and pay their arrears of rates. But the majority of those who had once been its citizens were in favour of union with Connecticut. The advantages of association were numerous. A state possessed of considerable power and wealth would thus be created, and the political system of Connecticut was more liberal than that of New Haven. In Connecticut, church membership was not a necessary condition of the franchise; whereas in New Haven the principle of exclusion dear to Massachusetts was enforced. It has been suggested that the existence of this distinction was one of the reasons which inclined the Government of Charles II. to support the larger plantation at the expense of the smaller. New Haven would have been the natural ally of Massachusetts in all religious questions; and her absorption in Connecticut neutralised one element of opposition to the policy of the monarch—a policy which, whatever the motives that prompted it, was liberal in its ultimate effect, and therefore very likely to command the support of a considerable number. However this may have been, the submission of the weaker colony was a foregone conclusion; yet the end was for a while delayed. The General Court of New Haven, in response to a suggestion from the Governor to open another negotiation, expressed a determination not to treat until the usurpations committed on their territory were at an end. The vigour of this proceeding led to a short-lived triumph. Connecticut, being desirous of a treaty, and doubtless ashamed of proceeding to measures of coercion, consented, in 1664, to a provisional restitution of the local authority in those towns which had seceded, and to a continuance for some time longer of the colonial government. The General Court elected under this agreement drew up a powerful statement of grievances as against Connecticut; but this did not suffice to change the current of events, and in 1665 New Haven perforce consented to a union which she found it impossible any longer to oppose.



MILES STANDISH'S SWORD, POT, AND PLATTER—PRESERVED IN PILGRIM HALL, NEW PLYMOUTH.

After the settlement of this strife, the united colonies of Connecticut and New Haven proceeded on their way with tranquillity and success. The Government appears to have wisely applied the exceptional powers which Charles II., on the advice of Lord Clarendon, had granted it. Education was promoted by useful laws, and religious liberty was cherished as one of the greatest possessions of the people. The citizens lived chiefly by agriculture, and, though their existence may seem dull and uninteresting to the dwellers in large cities, it had the charm of repose and security, and of freedom from wasting vice. These tillers of the soil were in the happy condition of being neither rich nor poor. Want was a thing wholly unknown; on the other hand, there were not those

morbid accumulations of wealth which engender wickedness and tempt to crime. During this truly golden age of colonial life, the motive to theft was so entirely absent that houses remained all night with no other fastening than an ordinary latch. Bolts and locks were regarded as superfluities, and Most of the necessaries of life were produced within the limits of the plantation itself. While the men were working in the fields, the women were spinning all needful articles of dress at home. Yet, with this idyllic simplicity, the graces of learning were not forgotten; and Yale College, established



FORT DUMPLING, NEW PLYMOUTH.

the Connecticut farmer had no fear of burglars or rick-burners, as the Connecticut labourer had no fear of poverty during his manhood, or of the workhouse in his old age. Indeed, the farmer and the labourer were identical. The soil was divided among the inhabitants, with the exception of a part which was held as the common property of the State, or for the endowment of new-comers. Litigation was so seldom resorted to that a lawyer could hardly be found in the whole province. in 1700, has a high reputation to this day. Relieved from all anxiety as to the future, the people of Connecticut were prone to enter into the married state, and for a century the population doubled itself once in every twenty years, though emigration was frequent. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, there were probably 17,000 inhabitants of the colony. The government was a little democracy, or rather a collection of little democracies. The town meetings were almost as important as the

gatherings of the General Court. Every inhabitant possessed a vote, and the local assembly had power over the local taxes, the choice of officers, the making of roads and bridges, and the appointing of ministers of religion.* Connecticut was a perfect commonwealth, with whose condition the mother country in no way interfered.

Rhode Island, which had recognised with assiduous readiness the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, was equally quick to proclaim Charles II. as soon as the news of his accession reached that part of America. At the same time, the Government instructed their agent in England, John Clarke, to take whatever steps might to him seem necessary for the preservation of their privileges, liberties, boundaries, and immunities. During the progress of Winthrop's negotiations with respect to the Connecticut charter, Clarke made some antagonistic claims in regard to boundary. The matter was ultimately arranged by a compromise suggested by four arbiters, and agreed to by Clarke and Winthrop. Clarke, who seems to have represented Providence as well as Rhode Island, managed to ingratiate himself with the King, who was well disposed towards the Narragansett plantations, on account of Gorton having induced a large tribe of neighbouring Indians to submit themselves and their lands to the Royal authority. Taking advantage of this fact, and of the generally loyal tendency of the colonists, whose conduct in this respect was strikingly different from that of Massachusetts, Clarke, in a memorial to his Majesty, referred to the dutiful way in which, as true natives of England, they had adhered to their allegiance. He did not miss his reward. On the 8th of July, 1663, the King granted to Rhode Island and Providence a charter creating a body corporate and politic, the features of which were similar to those of the Connecticut charter, with the addition of a proviso that "no person within the said colony, at any time thereafter, should be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference of opinion in matters of religion which did not actually disturb the civil peace of the said colony; but that all and every person and persons might from time to time, and at all times thereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments." This clause, so remarkably establishing the freedom of the intellect on a subject the most delicate and difficult to deal with of any, was doubtless procured by Clarke in obedience to instructions issued to him by his principals in 1658, when they wrote:— "Plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences: we do judge it no less than a point of absolute cruelty."† The motive of Charles II. in granting so highly liberal a provision is not easy to determine. It may possibly have been that he desired to create a political condition in Rhode Island and Providence which would give him a legal title to introduce Roman Catholicism there whenever he pleased, and which would at the same time effectually close the mouths of the colonial leaders. It may have been that he hoped to checkmate the Government of Massachusetts, which had always been exclusive and tyrannical as regards religion, holding in equal horror the Church of Rome, the Church of England, the Quakers, the Antinomians, and the Anabaptists. It may have been mere good nature, of which, in a thoughtless way, the monarch had a fair share. But in any case the gain to humanity was great. Providence and Rhode Island recollected, to their honour, that from the first they had been harbours of refuge to the persecuted. Massachusetts forgot, or wantonly violated, the principle which had led her people across the sea. It is difficult to attribute any really noble motive to Charles II.; yet, as a matter of fact, he helped to redress the intolerance of successful Puritans.

The other features of the charter were equally liberal. No oath of allegiance was prescribed, and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of the colonists. The gratification of the people on reception of the news was great. The document was publicly read, and the broad seal held up in view of the populace, that all might behold it. Thanks were voted to the King for his grace and favour to the united colonies, and also to Lord Clarendon; and gratuities were granted to Clarke, and to the gentleman who brought the charter over. Clarke was certainly in an especial degree worthy of the affectionate regard of those whom he had so well served. He had been twelve years in England, doing the work of the two plantations; and the result of his labours was a boon which the colonists described as inestimable and incomparable. Yet the town of Warwick objected to pay its share of the assessment levied for Clarke's benefit, on the ground that, while in London, he had exercised his calling as a minister of religion, and that he had doubtless in this way found good means for his maintenance. If anything could add to the meanness of this objection, it would be the fact that

* Bancroft.

† Massachusetts Historical Collection.

Clarke had been compelled, during his mission, to eke out his scanty resources by a mortgage on his estate, and that at his death in 1676 he bequeathed all his possessions to the poor, and for the education of the humble. The miserly spirit of Warwick, however, was not shared by the other towns, and the name of Clarke was honoured both by Rhode Island and Providence. The two colonies made good use of the privileges bestowed on them, of which the greatest was religious freedom. That freedom was so wide that it included pagans and infidels; but in process of time one noteworthy exception was introduced. The Roman Catholics were, by the laws of Rhode Island, denied the same liberty which all other bodies enjoyed. This seems hard, and, unless on the ground of necessity, it was unjust. Whether such ground really existed, may be doubtful; but it must be recollected that Romanists too often aim not merely at freedom, but at domination. In old-established and powerful States, so many counter-forces can be brought to bear against this design that freedom may be as safely granted to Papists as to Puritans; and wherever this is the case, the denial of freedom is a crime. But it may have appeared to the Rhode Island assertors of conscience that they were not strong enough for so doubtful an experiment, and that they might endanger all by too liberal a concession. At any rate, if Charles II. really had any hope of making a path for the triumph of Papacy in Providence and Rhode Island, by granting the rights of conscience, he signally failed in his intent.

It is not clear when this exception was made. That it was enacted by special law is certain, for the charter contains no such limitation. In May, 1664, the first regular session after the granting of the Royal patent was held by the General Court, and religious freedom was established in the identical words of that instrument. In the following year, the Legislature expressly put on record that liberty as to the worship of God had been a principle of their colony from the beginning, and that they hoped to preserve it to the end. Fifteen years later—in 1680—the Government of Rhode Island boasted, not without reason, that all their people enjoyed freedom of conscience. It seems probable that the restriction with respect to the Catholics was a result of James II.'s attempt to introduce the religion of Rome into the British dominions. But, as there were no Papists in the colony, the exception could only have been designed as a protection against possible encroachments in the future. This invidious distinction was at once removed when some French ships arrived in the harbours of Rhode Island during the war of independence, as there was no longer even the smallest necessity for its retention, and it might then have acted injuriously. The traditions of Rhode Island were not easily forgotten, and were but seldom violated even in a slight degree.

Massachusetts did not find so much favour with the King as Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence. This was not unnatural; for the latter colonies had always been loyal to the English Government, while Massachusetts had never neglected an opportunity of defying it. After the Restoration, however, it was resolved to send two agents to England with an address to the sovereign. These agents were Bradstreet and Norton. They received their instructions from a committee consisting, nominally, of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, two Magistrates, and three Deputies, though the Governor and his substitute were so much opposed to the contemplated proceeding that they refused to be present at the meetings. Bradstreet and Norton were almost equally unwilling to undertake the mission; for they feared the great responsibility of such negotiations as were contemplated, and moreover dreaded lest they should be detained as hostages for the good conduct of the plantation, or subjected to punishment for their share in those transactions —such as the despotic treatment of Gorton and the persecution of the Quakers—against which complaint was made. To the last they hesitated and raised difficulties, expressing a doubt whether so rash a step was consistent with what, in an odd phrase, they described as "Christian prudence." The Rev. Mr. Norton took advantage of a violent cold and fit of sickness with which, as the records state, the Lord was pleased to visit him, to recede from his engagement, and the ship was actually discharged. But a few days later, "the Lord so encouraged and strengthened the heart" of this great advocate of persecution (for it was he who had been chiefly instrumental in the ill-usage of the Quakers) that he expressed himself willing to go at once.

The messengers departed in February, 1662. In England, they encountered George Fox and some of his associates; yet they met with greater success than was expected. Lord Saye and Sele did his utmost to advance their suit, which was for a formal recognition of their liberty and privileges, especially of their freedom from appeals to England. Other Puritans of distinction helped to support their cause. The King, in a letter to the envoys, dated June 28th, 1662, told Bradstreet and Norton that the address of Massachusetts had been very acceptable to him; that he received them into his protection, confirmed their patent and charter, and was ready

to renew those documents, if desired; and that he pardoned all his subjects of that plantation for crimes and offences committed against him during the late troubles, excepting any persons (if any there were in the colony) who stood attainted of high treason. With these assurances was coupled an expression of his Majesty's desire that from that time forward the oath of allegiance should be taken by the colonists; that the administration of justice should be in his name; and that all laws and ordinances contrary to or derogatory from his authority and government should be repealed. He emphatically required—and, whatever we may think of his character and usual motives, he was here acting on behalf of those principles of religious liberty which Massachusetts was foremost to assert, and first to outrage—that settlers who wished to use the Book of Common Prayer, and to perform their devotions after the manner established in England, should not be denied that freedom, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage on account of it, provided they acted peaceably, and without disturbance to others; moreover, that all persons of good and honest lives should be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the said Book of Common Prayer, and that their children should be admitted to baptism. The King likewise commanded all concerned that, in the election of the Governor and Assistants, the only consideration should be the wisdom and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not the particular character of their opinions; and that all duly qualified freeholders, not vicious in their lives, should be allowed to exercise their vote in the election of civil and military officers, without reference to their ideas concerning church government. The King, however, made exception with regard to the Quakers, "whose principles," he wrote, "being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there." The followers of Fox and Naylor had themselves to thank for this.

The supporters of the popular cause in days of civil strife had not lived in vain. The violent deaths of Strafford, Laud, and Charles I., had borne their fruit. Here was the grandson of James I. preaching toleration to the descendants of the men whom James had hunted across the ocean for conscience' sake! Charles II. could have had no real regard for the principle involved; but he had to some extent learned the lesson which his father perished on the scaffold for his inability to learn. The very levity of the restored monarch helped on the same result. To his profligate, easy, cynical disposition, all religions were pretty much the same. When he was out of spirits or out of health, he was inclined to be a Catholic, and there cannot be a doubt that he died in that faith; but in ordinary seasons he wished not to be troubled by such considerations, and was willing that men should think as they pleased, so long as they did not interrupt his pleasures or endanger his throne. Another motive, in the case of Massachusetts, was doubtless a desire to punish that colony for its aggressive Puritanism and republican independence. Political freedom is in truth nothing but a system of checks and counter-checks; and the jealousy of a monarch may sometimes act as a salutary balance to the absolutism of triumphant demagogues. Humanity is but little concerned in modes of government or forms of ritual; but it is very much concerned in the reality of freedom, and in the breadth and charity of the religious sentiment.

In transmitting his views to the Massachusetts authorities, the King gave orders that his letter should be communicated to and published at the next General Court. This was done, but the missive gave no great satisfaction. Some of those who heard it did not hesitate to say that Norton had laid the foundation of the ruin of their liberties. The liberty of tyrannising over those who differed in religion was of course very hard to be lost, for, as a rule, there is no privilege which men more dearly prize; but it might surely have been remembered that Massachusetts had other liberties, less exquisite perhaps, but more substantially valuable, which the sovereign's letter did not touch. Norton, however, who had previously been one of the most popular men in the colony, was so overwhelmed with obloquy that he retired into solitude, and brooded on his griefs until his health was broken. On Sunday, the 5th of April, 1663—rather more than half a year after his return from England—he attended public worship, and, on reaching home, was struck down by a sudden and fatal attack of apoplexy. The Quakers, in a representation of their hardships to the King, made some time after, spoke of this death as a judgment on the sufferer. They wrote:—"John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord was smitten, and, as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him; and so he died." It is to be feared that, if his words had any more than a general signification, he meant that he was stricken, not for having persecuted the Quakers, but for being concerned in a negotiation which tended to diminish the power of persecuting any one. We cannot do better than adopt the remark of Daniel Neal, who observes:—"Though this reflection of

the Quakers is very unjust, it being impossible for us to distinguish between a natural and judicial death, yet I heartily wish that neither he nor anybody else, by their unchristian severities, had given them occasion to make it." *

The General Court of Massachusetts did not well know what to do with reference to the King's letter. They disliked its injunctions, but at the same time felt the danger of defying them. In October, 1662, however, they directed that the missive should be published, and that all writs, processes, and indictments should be made and sent forth in his Majesty's name, "any usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding." As to other matters, especially religion, it was ordered that all action should be suspended until the next General Court, so that the persons principally concerned might have time and opportunity to consider what was best to be done. The Court then appointed a day of public thanksgiving for the safe and speedy return of the agents to England, and for the continuance of peace, liberty, and the enjoyment of the Gospel; also, a month later, a day of fasting and humiliation, "on account of the afflictive and low estate of the cause and people of God universally, with the prevailing power of Antichrist over the reformed churches beyond the seas," as well as "some public rebukes of God" among themselves. But, though inclined to temporise, the Massachusetts authorities asserted their independence in various ways. The law for flogging Quakers, which had for a time been suspended in consequence of the King's recommendation to that effect, was revived, with a few modifications; though this may perhaps have been regarded as a fulfilment of Charles's later suggestions with reference to those frantic enthusiasts. A censorship of the printing press was for a short time established; and a Captain Breedon, recently come from England, was punished for insolent and contemptuous conduct towards the General Court. The next meeting of the Court was in May, 1663, after the annual elections. A long debate took place as to what was necessary to be done with reference to the Royal letter. A committee was appointed to draw up an answer, which was to be presented at the next session; and permission was given to the Elders, the freemen, and the inhabitants generally, to send in their opinions on the matters at issue.

The American policy of Charles II. was singularly capricious. In some respects it was liberal; in some respects it was reckless. Lands were given away like coin; whole provinces were granted as if they were small estates. Considerable portions of Virginia were bestowed on needy courtiers; large regions in the north were made over to the Duke of York, who also received the country from Connecticut river to Delaware Bay, though a portion of it had been secured by charter to Winthrop, and another portion belonged to the Dutch. The proprietary rights to New Hampshire and Maine were revived for the benefit of the Duke of Monmouth. Acadie was restored to the French, while Prince Rupert and his friends were aggrandised with a monopoly of the vast and savage territories of Hudson's Bay. Thus, some of the worst precedents of preceding reigns were revived; yet the several colonies, now populous and wealthy, continued their career of vigorous life with but slight drawbacks.

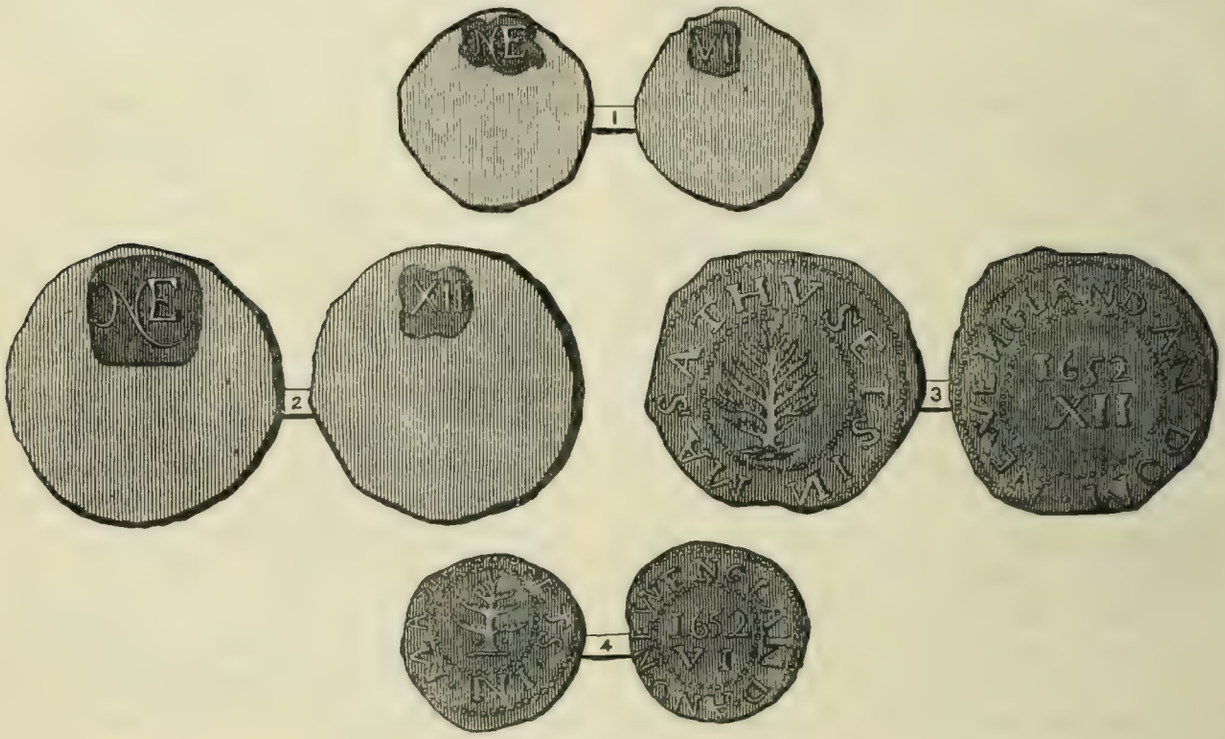
CHAPTER XXV.

Opening of the Year 1664—Position towards one another of Massachusetts and England—Military Strength of Massachusetts—Want of a Circulating Medium in the Colony—Coinage of Money—Suppression of a Politico-Religious Treatise by Eliot—Sir Thomas Temple, and his efforts at London for the Interests of Massachusetts—Appointment by Charles II. of Four Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of the New England Colonies—Arrival of the Commissioners in America—State Paper on the Object of their Appointment—Character and Antecedents of the Four Commissioners—Letter of the King to the Governor of Massachusetts—Instructions of the Royal Agents—Antagonistic Views as to the Character and Design of the Intervention—False Position of Massachusetts, and Errors in the Policy of the King—Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts to Charles II.

In the early part of the year 1664, the position towards one another of Massachusetts and England was that of mutual distrust—of the desire to take some hostile action, combined with a feeling of perplexity as to what would be advisable or safe. Massachusetts would fain have thrown off the yoke of the old country altogether; but she feared the power of the restored Stuarts, with the nation at their back. England would gladly have put an

* Neal's History of New England (1720), chap. 8.—Even Cotton Mather thinks the Quakers were persecuted a little too much. (Magnalia, Book III., Part I., chap. 2.)

end to all republican experiments in America, had she not been filled with a vague, and doubtless salutary, dread of armed resistance from one end of the colony to the other. It may at first sight seem absurd to talk of so young a settlement resisting the country which sent it forth; but the power of Massachusetts alone—and in such a contest she would probably have had the alliance of some of the other New England States—was far from inconsiderable. The population is thought to have amounted at that time to about 25,000. Of these, many must have been of native birth, for the colony had now been in existence nearly five-and-thirty years; and, were similar to those of Oliver Cromwell's fighting men; and it is certain that, in the event of a collision, they would have shown equally good qualities in the field. It is true that they were rather a militia than a regular army; but England itself had very few professional soldiers at that date. Charles II. maintained about 5,000 regular troops to serve as body-guards, and to do duty in the garrisons which were then permanently established in England; but even this was looked upon as an innovation. For any foreign war he must have depended on hasty levies, which would have been mainly recruited from classes where the repub-



MASSACHUSETTS COINAGE.

although the descendants of the emigrants were themselves called English (the term "American" being for some generations applied exclusively to the Indians), they had a very marked feeling of local patriotism. This feeling, indeed, was strongly developed even among those who came from the old country; and nothing was more likely to call it forth to the utmost than any inconsiderate opposition. As all males of the age for military service (which was from sixteen to sixty) were required to be provided with arms and a certain quantity of ammunition, and to understand at least the rudiments of warfare, a fair-sized army must at that time have existed on the soil of Massachusetts. The infantry consisted of musketeers and pikemen; the mounted troops were derived entirely from the propertied classes. These soldiers were well protected, after the fashion of the time, by steel corselets, buff leather jerkins, or quilted coats. Their character and organisation lican feeling of Cromwell's days was still dormant. The danger of openly attacking Massachusetts was therefore too great to be lightly risked. The military power of that colony was in truth not contemptible, and rumours which found their way to England represented it as much greater than it really was.

In many respects the conduct of Massachusetts was such as to offend the mother country. The assumptions of independence were continual; and even while the two commissioners, Bradstreet and Norton, were in England, a proceeding was sanctioned which was very likely to prejudice the settlement still further in the mind of Charles II. This was the issue of a new coin—an act of sovereignty not then for the first time committed, but one the repetition of which at that particular juncture was injudicious. It must be acknowledged, however, that the colony was in a difficulty in this



COMMISSIONERS LANDING AT BOSTON.

respect. The early settlers had taken over with them a certain amount of English coin; but a considerable portion of this soon made its way back to the old country in payment for supplies. Commodities were obtained from the natives by means of barter; and in a little while the emigrants found a sort of available circulating medium in what the Indians call *wampum* or *wampumpeag*—a collection of cylindrical pieces of the shells of testaceous fishes, a quarter of an inch long, less than the stem of a pipe in thickness, and strung lengthwise on a thread. Each piece was at first estimated by the English at a farthing if white, at a halfpenny if black or violet; but a Massachusetts law of 1641 ordered that these shells should pass current at six a penny for any sum under ten pounds, in payment of debts subsequently contracted. Indian corn, beaver-skins, and other produce, were also received as money, at fixed rates; yet the want of a regular coinage became every year more pressing. A good deal of Spanish silver flowed into New England from the West Indies, and several counterfeit coins thus got into circulation. In 1652, the necessity for some legitimate coinage was so great that the General Court of Massachusetts established a mint, and ordered John Hull, goldsmith, the newly-appointed mint-master, to receive bullion, plate, or Spanish coin, and convert it into twelvepenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces. This money, together with English coin, was declared to be the only legal tender after three months from the date of the Act. Each piece had the name "Massachusetts" (spelt "Masathusets"), with a tree in the centre, on one side; on the other, the inscription "New England," and the date, 1652. Although this coinage continued in use for more than thirty years, and different dies were employed at different times, the date always remained the same. The coinage of 1662 was of twopenny pieces in silver, and the object of producing these pieces was stated to be the necessity of answering "the occasions of the country for exchange." It is recorded, in an anecdote of rather doubtful authenticity, that Charles II., on complaining of the presumption of the Massachusetts people in coining money, was reconciled to the fact by being told that the tree on the obverse represented the "Royal Oak" in which the Prince had hid himself after the battle of Worcester. Whether this be true or not, it would seem, from a statement contained in the Massachusetts Archives, that, during the stay of the agents in England, some colonial money was exhibited at the Council table, and not objected to. Yet the issuing of a fresh coinage at such a time was a hazardous step.

As regards some other matters, the General Court showed a disposition to conciliate the home authorities. Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, published in London, in 1659, a work entitled "The Christian Commonwealth, or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ." The dedication is "To the Chosen, and Holy, and Faithful, who manage the Wars of the Lord against Antichrist in Great Britain, and to all the Saints, Faithful Brethren, and Christian People, of the Commonwealth of England." A certain suggestion of Fifth Monarchy views is apparent in this treatise, where the author remarks that the time had come when the Lord was "about to shake all the earth, and throw down that great idol of human wisdom in governments, and set up Scripture government in the room thereof." When news arrived in Massachusetts of Venner's Fifth Monarchy insurrection at the commencement of 1661, less than a year after Charles's accession to the throne, it was thought advisable to take some action against Eliot's book, which, though published in London, had been written in New England. The authorities of Massachusetts were as little inclined to Fifth Monarchism, or to anything which savoured of it, as the King of England himself; for such views struck at the jurisdiction of Magistrates equally with that of regal governors. Here, then, the Magistrates had a good opportunity of obliging Charles, and at the same time of supporting their own power by rebuking one who seemed by implication to call it in question. They accordingly took notice of the work, and found it to be full of seditious principles, and of ideas tending to discredit all established governments in the Christian world, especially that of England. Before the meeting of the next Court, to which all proceedings were deferred, Eliot had made a recantation. The treatise had been written some years, and, upon re-perusing it, the author found, or professed to find, that he had "too manifestly" scandalised the government of England by King, Lords, and Commons, which he now admitted to be "not only a lawful, but an eminent, form of government." The Court thereupon ordered that the acknowledgment should be recorded, and the book be totally suppressed. Eliot was just about to publish a translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue. This work was to be dedicated to the King, and commended to the favour of English divines; so that the author had very particular reasons for desiring to remove any cause of offence in the high circles of the mother country. Some other books, of a character deemed heterodox, were also suppressed about the same time; for the rulers of Massachusetts were not of Milton's opinion, that

we might almost as well kill a man as kill a book.*

While matters were still in suspense between New England and the court, Massachusetts had an efficient friend at London in the person of Sir Thomas Temple, on whom Cromwell had bestowed a large part of Nova Scotia after the conquest of that territory in 1654, and who was now in England looking after his colonial interests. Temple had done his best to ingratiate himself with the King by exhibiting great solicitude, when in New England in August, 1661, as to the arrest of the fugitive regicides, Whalley and Goffe, for whose capture he associated himself in a secret design with two other gentlemen. After this display of officiousness, the motive of which could only have been selfish, Temple was greatly surprised and disappointed, on arriving in England early in 1662, to find himself received very coldly. Representations had been made in London to the discredit both of him and of the colony of Massachusetts. He was at first so overcome by despair at this, that, as he relates in a letter preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, he began to think of ending his days in an obscure cottage. Afterwards, however, he did what was much wiser: he made a personal appeal to the Earl of Manchester, and thus obtained an audience of the King. By his Majesty he was well received. He used his utmost skill and eloquence to set forth the happy and flourishing condition in which Massachusetts then was. So excellent was the progress he seemed to make, that he hoped very shortly to get the former charter renewed, and confidently reckoned on having settled everything satisfactorily by the time any other agent arrived. He found the King, the Chancellor (Lord Clarendon), and all the great Lords, zealous for the welfare of New England. The Chancellor, he reported to the authorities at Boston, commanded him to assure them of his love and friendship to the country, and to say that neither in their privileges, their charter government, nor their church discipline should they receive any prejudice. He added that the King, in sending a message about the Quakers, in September, 1661, did not intend that those troublesome enthusiasts should not be punished, but only that they should not be put to death. There is no ground for supposing that either Charles or his Lord Chancellor had any design of deceiving Temple; but it is certain that the latter took too sanguine a view of the situation. On the 10th of April, 1663, his Majesty in Council declared that he would preserve the charters of New England, but that he intended to despatch Commissioners there, to inquire how those instruments had been observed by the colonists, and to reconcile existing differences.

It was some time before action was taken on this resolve. The King was desirous of moving cautiously; but in May, 1664, the General Court of Massachusetts received intelligence that certain Royal ships were on their way to New England, carrying in them the long-expected Commissioners. The Court, accordingly, ordered that the Captain of the Castle (a fortification in front of Boston towards the sea) should, on the first sight and knowledge of their approach, speedily notify the fact to the Governor and Deputy-Governor. Two other captains were to go on board the ships, and, having given expression to the respectful greetings of the Court, were to make arrangements that the under-officers and soldiers, on landing to refresh themselves, should at no time exceed a convenient number, should leave their arms behind, and should be careful of giving offence to the people and laws of the place. In this order, the colonists spoke of themselves as "his Majesty's good subjects;" yet the position assumed was one of almost complete independence. A day of humiliation and prayer was commanded. The train-bands in and near Boston were called out; and the patent of the colony, together with its duplicate, was entrusted for safe custody to the Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Leverett, and two Deputies, who were to keep its place of deposit a secret. Rather more than two months still elapsed before the Royal ships appeared in sight. It was on the evening of the 23rd of July, 1664, that the *Guinea*, carrying thirty-six guns, and the *Elias*, carrying thirty, cast anchor off Long Wharf, Boston. They had sailed from England ten weeks before, in company with two others of less size, from which they had parted a week or two earlier, during bad weather. The fleet altogether had on board three or four hundred troops, together with four Commissioners—Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick.

The instructions given to these Commissioners were in general accord with certain suggestions on the mode of dealing with the New England colonies contained in a long memoir in the English State Paper Office. The author of this document (whether Lord Clarendon or another) recommends that the agents to be sent should proceed at first with caution and insinuation. Afterwards his Majesty could be guided by new considerations, and might issue fresh instructions based on the

* Areopagitica.

greater amount of knowledge obtained. "It may be presumed," continues the writer, "that they [the New England colonies] will harden in their constitution, and grow on nearer to a commonwealth, towards which they are already well-nigh ripened, if, out of present tenderness, the attempt shall be neglected or deferred, whilst this and that Government are at present under such and so many circumstances that look and promise fairly towards the effecting what is aimed at. If we consider present peace, present concurrence of patentees, present inclinations in the oppressed there, the present settlements in relation to the trades of the plantations, and no present obstacle, which is like to be more favourable hereafter, or that scarce any future accident or state of affairs can in any probability render the reduction of that doubtful people more feasible than at this point of time they may be found to be by the easy methods here proposed (which, being rather means of insinuation than of force, cannot put his Majesty's interests there into a much weaker condition than they are at present, should they fail of their effect), surely the attempt is prudent, seasonable, and necessary, and the success will be of so manifold advantage to his Majesty and his dominions, that they seem worthy of present pursuit."

The first of the four Commissioners, Colonel Richard Nichols, had fought on the side of Charles I. during the civil war, when he was a youth not out of his teens. After the utter ruin of the Stuarts, he had served in the wars of the Fronde under Marshal Turenne, and subsequently under the Prince de Condé. In these warlike exploits he was associated with the Duke of York, afterwards James II.; and he was now not only to act as one of the Commissioners for inquiring into New England affairs, but to administer the Duke's newly-created province in the vicinity of Delaware Bay. He was an honourable man, though a courtier, and his position as Commissioner was objectionable only on the ground that he had interests antagonistic to those of the plantations whose future he was to help in determining. Sir Robert Carr was a Northumberland knight, whose character does not stand very high. Cartwright was suspected in Boston to be a Papist; and Maverick had been already associated with New England, but in ways which brought him into collision with the authorities there. He was one of that body of malcontent Presbyterians who in 1646 threatened to appeal to England against the General Court of Massachusetts, if their grievances were not redressed. When in London at the time of the Restoration, he seems to have interested himself to obtain a General Governor for New England; and it was doubtless the known character of his opinions which recommended him to the post he now filled. But this very fact disqualified him from acting fairly, or at least laid him open to a reasonable suspicion of being unduly swayed by personal feeling. He had been fined and imprisoned, and otherwise harshly dealt with, by the colonial authorities; and it was not in human nature that he should bring to his present task a perfectly judicial mind. Lord Clarendon himself feared that he would act with too much heat and animosity. He wrote to him, on March 5th, 1665, several months after his arrival with the other Commissioners at Boston:—"If you should revenge any old discourtesies at the King's charge, and, as his Commissioner, should do anything upon the memory of past injuries, the King would take it very ill, and do himself justice accordingly." Nothing could be fairer or more honourable than this; but it would have been better had the possibility been recognised a little earlier. A Mr. Curwen, of Salem, who was in London in 1663 or 1664, wrote home that Maverick had publicly denounced the New Englanders as rebels, and had boasted of having told the Council so.

The vessels which arrived at Boston on the 23rd of July had Nichols and Cartwright on board. Three days earlier, Maverick and Carr had landed at Portsmouth, on the Piscataqua, from the other two vessels, the *Martin* and the *William and Nicholas*. Maverick at once assumed a very dictatorial manner; wrote to Boston, suggesting that the Governor and Council should be warned how they dealt with matters that were out of their bounds; and menaced a constable of Portsmouth while he was in the execution of his office. Nichols and Cartwright proceeded with greater consideration. They had a conference with the Magistrates on the third day after their disembarkation, and presented to them a letter addressed to the Governor by the King, his commission to themselves, and a portion of their instructions. In the letter from the King, which bore date April 23rd, 1664, his Majesty declared that he desired to obtain such information as might guide him in his endeavours to advance the well-being of his subjects in New England. He wished also to extinguish "those unreasonable jealousies and malicious calumnies" which found expression in the statement that his subjects in those parts did not submit to his rule, but regarded themselves as independent. He likewise proposed to reconcile such differences as existed upon questions of boundary between the several colonies. The Commissioners were to assure the native tribes of his Majesty's protection, and to overthrow the

usurped authority of the Dutch. They were, moreover, to confer with the colonial authorities of Massachusetts on the matter of his Majesty's former letter (sent by Bradstreet and Norton), and their reply to the same, which, the King observed, had not answered his expectations, nor the professions made by the messengers. The Royal missive, it was added, was to be forthwith communicated to the Council, and, within twenty days, to a General Assembly.

The Commission, which was dated April 25th, gave authority to the four persons named therein to visit the New England colonies, with a view to hearing, receiving, examining, and determining, complaints and appeals in civil, criminal, and military matters. They were to proceed in all things so as to settle the peace and security of the country, acting according to their discretion, as modified by such communications as they might receive from time to time. The Instructions were contained in two distinct documents. One of these was to be considered public, and to be communicated to the Magistrates; the other was private. It seems probable, however, that the Massachusetts authorities were surreptitiously made acquainted with the contents of the latter as well as of the former, and that they were even in possession of a copy before the original left London.* The open Instructions directed the Commissioners to define the lines of boundary of the several chartered jurisdictions, subject to the approval of the King. They were to give redress to any native princes who had been injured. They were to report on the progress of education, and of the conversion of the Indians. Accusations against persons in power were to be treated with caution and leniency; but, in any case that was well proved, the Commissioners were to proceed according to the rules of justice, without respect to persons. His Majesty's representatives were to urge on the colonial authorities a compliance with the King's requisitions made in 1662. They were also to inquire whether any persons attainted for high treason were then within the colony, or had at any time been entertained there, and were to apprehend such persons if they could be discovered. Care was to be taken that the Act of Navigation should be punctually observed; and a report of the constitution of the local government in church and state, of the military force, of the walled and fortified places, and of other matters of detail, was to be sent to the Government at home. In the private Instructions, the Commissioners were informed that the main end and drift of their employment was to inform themselves, and ultimately the King and his Government, of the true and whole state of the New England colonies; to insinuate themselves, by a kind and dexterous carriage, into the good opinion of the principal persons there; to observe the humour and interest both of those in power, and of the people generally; and to create in the colonists a desire to renew their charters, with an eye to the introducing of various alterations. These charters were to be examined by the Commissioners, who were to ascertain in what respects they had been disregarded. Some annual tribute of the products of the country, for the Royal revenue, was to be required; and two other points of a delicate character were to be approached as the agents best could, though they were of so difficult a nature that the King's Ministers confessed they could not give any particular directions as to how the desired result was to be brought about, but were compelled to leave it to the skill of the associated emissaries. The first of these was that the King should have the nomination of the Governor, or at least the approbation of him when chosen by the colonists. The second was that the militia should be put under an officer nominated or recommended by his Majesty; and a strong desire was expressed that the people might be so wrought upon at the General Assembly as to choose Colonel Nichols for their Governor, and Colonel Cartwright for their Major-General.

It is easy to understand that these designs were very distasteful to the rulers of Massachusetts. They had so long regarded the plantation as an independent State, and, owing to the troubles of the parent country, had been so completely left in the undisturbed enjoyment of that idea, that to have it suddenly called in question was mortifying to their pride. In addition to this feeling, in itself not unnatural, they may very reasonably have feared that some invasion of their liberties, either political or religious, or perhaps both, was contemplated by the restored monarchy of England. The founders of those little commonwealths of northern America had fled thither from persecution under the two first Stuarts of the United Kingdom; and it was difficult to regard the existing monarch as other than antagonistic to principles which the Puritans had suffered imprisonment and exile to maintain. At the same time, it is impossible to deny that Charles II. had very strong grounds of right for the course he was now taking. The Government of Massachusetts, in as far as it affected independence, was an usurpation. It existed on territory which was undoubtedly part

* Mr. Palfrey (Vol. II., chap. 15, of his History) quotes a passage from a letter of Colonel Nichols, which seems to establish this fact.

of the dominion of England. It had been formed under a charter granted by the King of England. The colonists, beyond all question, owed allegiance to the English sovereign; but that allegiance they had for some years practically denied, and now only confessed in terms, while acting in a very different sense. The charter had been repeatedly violated, and often in ways involving substantial injustice to many persons. Dissensions had notoriously existed for a long time among the several colonies; and it was better that these should be composed by some one outside the circle of dispute than be left to the arbitrary and self-interested decision of the strongest plantation—in other words, of Massachusetts. The assumption of that Government, that its sentences were to be without appeal, was a monstrous pretence, compatible with nothing but absolute dominion, and asserted for the maintenance of a tyrannical power. It was impossible that England, now that her internal affairs were again settled, could suffer any longer the denial of her sovereignty over her own possessions. Charles II., it must be confessed, showed himself on several occasions not very solicitous for the national honour; but he would have been a traitor of the deepest dye had he permitted the



CHARLES II.

vigorous and expanding colonies of New England to be lost to the Empire for want of a definite and decisive policy.

Nevertheless, objection must be made to some features of the scheme which he proposed to carry out. The determination to enforce the Navigation Act was likely to be exceedingly unpopular, for that measure involved great hardship to the colonists. Even as originally passed by the Commonwealth, it was sufficiently stringent, its object being to confine, or very nearly confine, the carrying trade of commodities to English vessels—a

monopoly which necessarily resulted, wherever enforced, in the enhanced price of all importations. But the operation of the Act was made still more severe after the accession of Charles II., when the import trade of the plantations was restricted to a direct commerce with England, even in the products of foreign countries, with few exceptions. Cromwell had suspended the Act as regarded the New England colonies; but it was now to be put in active operation. The King's desire to wring a paltry revenue from the colonists by an annual tribute was grasping and injudicious; and the suggestion that the militia should be placed under an officer of the monarch's own choosing, though not necessarily tending to any injury, was of a character needlessly to arouse colonial jealousies. The wish to retain in his own hands the appointment of the Governor, was, however, far from unreasonable. No other way of maintaining the connection between a parent State and a colony is so convenient, or so little open to objection, as this. Where the colony is ruled by a freely-elected House of Burgesses, which makes the laws and regulates the taxes, the slight check imposed by a Governor who represents the monarch, and thus guarantees the substantial unity of the Empire, is not likely to prove any serious detriment to colonial liberty, while it may prevent those collisions of antagonistic interests which might otherwise occur. To refer to the Canadian, Australian, and other colonies of Great Britain at the present day, would be idle when considering the conduct of men more than two hundred years ago; but the settlers of New England had before their eyes the example of Virginia, where the appointment of a Governor by the Crown left the people in the enjoyment of prosperity and freedom. It is impossible to understand the dislike of Massachusetts to the presence of such an official, except on the assumption that the existing powers shrank from any moderating influence between themselves and the various religious bodies which they delighted to persecute.



HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

On the 3rd of August, the General Court assembled at Boston, when, after protesting their allegiance to the King, and asserting their determination to adhere to their patent, "so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and men," they passed an order calling for

two hundred volunteers, and providing for their organisation and supply, with a view to a war against the Dutch. They then repealed the law by which the elective franchise was conferred only on church members, and to which the King had taken exception in his letter of June 28th, 1662; but they put in its place another of a very similar character, since it required that all persons claiming political power should, before being allowed to vote, present a certificate from their ministers, testifying to their being "orthodox" in religion, when it would be for the General Court to determine whether or not they should receive the desired privilege. Finally, a committee was appointed for preparing a petition to the King, which should solicit a continuance of the liberties granted by charter. Two months were spent in preparing this petition; but the time was not thrown away, for the document, when produced (which was on the 19th of October, 1664), was certainly a masterly work. It began:—"Dread Sovereign,—The first undertakers of this plantation did obtain a patent wherein is granted full and absolute power of governing all the people of this place by men chosen from among themselves, and according to such laws as they should see meet to establish. A Royal donation, under the great seal, is the greatest security that may be had in human affairs. Under the encouragement and security of the Royal charter, this people did, at their own charges, transport themselves, their wives and families, over the ocean, purchase the lands of the natives, and plant this colony with great labour, hazards, costs, and difficulties; for a long time wrestling with the wants of a wilderness, and the burdens of a new plantation; having also now above thirty years enjoyed the aforesaid power and privilege of government within themselves." The authors of the petition went on to assert that to be governed by rulers of their own choosing, and by laws of their own making, was the fundamental privilege of their patent. But now they were threatened with an arbitrary and alien power, and with the subversion of their liberties, through the agency of "four persons,"—one of whom was their professed enemy,—who were empowered to receive and determine all complaints and appeals according to their discretion. If such things were to go on, the colonists would either be forced to seek new dwellings, or would sink under intolerable burdens. Supposing the aim to be to gratify particular gentlemen by revenues drawn from the land, such a design, the General Court argued, would be a failure, for the colony was much too poor to answer such expectations. If the making of any such attempt should result in driving the people out of the country, it would be difficult to find another people that would stand under any considerable burden, seeing that that was a land where men could subsist only by hard labour and great frugality. "We came not into this wilderness," proceeded the petition, "to seek great things to ourselves, and, if any come after us to seek them here, they will be disappointed. We keep ourselves within our line, and meddle not with matters abroad. A just dependence upon, and subjection to your Majesty, according to our charter, it is far from our hearts to disacknowledge." They would gladly embrace any opportunity of testifying their dutiful affection to the King; but they felt it a great unhappiness to be reduced to such an alternative that they must either destroy their own being, which Nature taught them to preserve, or yield up their liberties, which were dearer to them than their lives. "Royal Sire," they wrote in conclusion—and the passage is assuredly one of singular eloquence—"it is in your power to say of your poor people in New England that they shall not die. If we have found favour in the sight of our King, let our life be given us at our petition (or rather that which is dearer than life, that we have ventured our lives, and willingly passed through many deaths, to obtain); and our all, at our request. Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our religious enjoyments live; so shall we all have yet further cause to say from our heart, 'Let the King live for ever;' and the blessing of them that were ready to perish shall come upon your Majesty, having delivered the poor that cried, and such as had none to help them."* The whole argument is certainly most impressive. It only wants a more unexceptionable basis of facts to be overwhelming.

* Massachusetts Records. Bancroft's United States. Palfrey's New England.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Theories of the General Court of Massachusetts with regard to the Connection between that Colony and the Mother Country—Truisms and Falsities involved in the Argument—Doubtful Position of the Plantation—Endeavour of Massachusetts to be entirely independent of England—Policy of Charles II. towards the New England Colonies—Opinion in the Colony and in England—Collisions between the Royal Commissioners and the Massachusetts Authorities—Death of John Endicott—Letter from Charles II. to the General Court of Plymouth—Proposals of the Commissioners to that Government—General Assent of Plymouth to the Royal Wishes—The Commissioners in the Narragansett Plantations, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence—Opening of Negotiations with the Massachusetts Magistrates—Threatened Appeal of a Criminal to the Commissioners—Divisions of Opinion between the Commissioners and the Magistrates—The Book of Common Prayer—Oath of Allegiance ordered by the General Court—Further Dissensions—An Appeal forbidden and prevented by the Rulers of Massachusetts—Departure of the Commissioners from Boston.

When the members of the General Court of Massachusetts were debating the important question of the relations existing between that colony and the parent State, raised by the arrival of the four Royal Commissioners, they laid down certain general principles of the utmost gravity. Repeating those theories of local independence which they had long formed, they averred that, although the child born on English soil was indisputably an English subject, he possessed, when arrived at mature years, a natural right of expatriation. Thus, every man might withdraw from the land of his birth, and renounce the duty of allegiance together with the claim to protection. The Puritans of New England had emigrated to America because, in the matter of religion, they found the laws of their own country intolerable. In this new world they had established a new, and in some degree independent, political state, on the basis of natural rights. A slight connection with the mother country had been retained, for the sake of convenience; but this connection was purely voluntary. At the same time they admitted—what is in truth destructive of the voluntary theory—that the connection was originally established, and its nature defined, by the charter, which was the only compact attaching them to England. They rejected as a Popish doctrine the right of England to the soil, on the ground of discovery; and they contended that the just and legitimate right belonged to them, because of their having purchased lands from the natives, and established settlements on the territory.* Such, as stated by a modern American, who regards the argument from a favourable and sympathetic point of view, were the ideas on this subject expressed by the rulers of Massachusetts at a very important crisis of their colonial affairs.

The contention was of a character which no sovereign State, whether monarchical or republican, could admit, excepting on compulsion. It rests partly on truisms and partly on falsities. Nothing can be more obviously true than that all people have a natural right of expatriation. When first James, and then Charles, endeavoured to violate this right, they committed an act of gross injustice and tyranny. But the asseveration that the person thus expatriating himself is placed beyond the jurisdiction of his native country, is true only of him who settles in a foreign land. In removing from England to Massachusetts, the emigrants of 1628, and those who followed them, were as much within the sphere of English dominion as if they had simply shifted their homes from Sussex into Yorkshire. It was far too late in 1664 to contend that they had a better right to the territory than the King of England; for, by soliciting a charter from the Royal Power, they had from the very first confessed the sovereignty of the monarch. Their purchase of lands from the Indians gave them, no doubt, the same property in those lands, and in all that could be raised from them, that any gentleman has in his estate; but it conferred no right of independent government. The right of colonial administration, as far as it existed, was derived from the charter; it might be revoked by the Power that conferred the charter; and it certainly implied no privilege of denying the authority of the parent country. On the contrary, the continuance of that authority was in express terms secured. It was provided by the document in question that if any person or persons belonging to the Company, or appointed by it, should rob or despoil by land or sea, or should do any hurt or violence to any of the King's subjects, or the subjects of any other Prince or State in amity with England, the King of England might, in any part of the realm, proclaim that the said offender or offenders should, within a limited time, make restitution or satisfaction; failing which, the said person or persons, so offending, should be outlawed.†

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 12.

† See text of the charter in Massachusetts Records, Vol. I.

If the limits of the existing connection of Massachusetts with England were defined for the colonists by the charter, as Mr. Bancroft asserts, it is clear that the connection, whether it were much or little, was not voluntary, but was a matter of allegiance, perpetuating under new conditions the old allegiance of English subjects to the English monarch.* It may perhaps be a question whether the charter still existed. The proceedings in the Court of King's Bench in 1635, consequent on the writ of *quo warranto*, were supposed at the time to have resulted in the forfeiture of the patent; but that instrument appears to have been implicitly revived, as Winthrop points out, by the order, issued some years later, declaring that the Massachusetts people should enjoy all the liberties therein granted. Certainly, the letters and other official documents of Charles II. recognised its existence; but the question of allegiance remained the same, whether, as a strict matter of law, the charter existed or not. On the one hand, there was nothing in the document which relieved the colonists from their duty as English subjects; on the other, the extinction of the charter, supposing it to *be* extinct, left the King's power over his subjects exactly where it was, unless, indeed, it rendered that power still greater by the abolition of colonial privileges. Moreover, the colonists were in a bad position to take the charter as their standard of legality; for they had violated it so frequently for their own purposes that they were not entitled to quote its terms as a provision against the designs of others. Finally, there was nothing to prove an intention on the part of the King to destroy or abate the liberties of the settlers, excepting the false and fatal liberty of tyrannising over others.

* In an earlier part of his History (chapter 9), Mr. Bancroft says of the charter :—"The instrument confers on the colonists the rights of English subjects; *it does not confer on them new and greater rights.* On the contrary, they are strictly forbidden to make laws or ordinances repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England." Nothing can be more true or more convincing. Further on, the same writer observes :—"The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self-government; but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident that some of those who had already emigrated clamoured that they were become slaves." Even the transfer of the governing body to Massachusetts conferred, in the opinion of Mr. Bancroft, "no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the Company." These admissions do not harmonise with the later argument of the American historian. The fact is, that the creation of a political state, distinct from the legislative power of the Company, was one of many violations of the charter, and therefore could not be pleaded as a matter of right against the King.

When it is argued that the Massachusetts people were willing to retain some connection with England, and for this reason confessed their allegiance to Charles II., it is clear that they could not in the same breath maintain that their allegiance had ceased, and that a perfectly independent government had been established. It must also be recollected that this acknowledgment of subjection to the English State had been made only after the accession of Charles II., when it was feared that measures would be taken for enforcing loyalty. In the reign of the first Charles, the oath of allegiance had been deliberately, and even ostentatiously, omitted. Even during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, when a party favourable to the Puritan settlers was in power, the authority of the mother country had been recognised scarcely more than that of the King of Spain or the Grand Signior. Nothing can be more certain than that the colony of Massachusetts desired to be entirely independent, in name and in fact; that for a time it really was so; and that it would never have admitted the slightest or most nominal dependence, but for fear of consequences which it was not strong enough to resist. The conduct of Charles II. was therefore justifiable. It may have been prompted by selfish motives—by love of dominion, or dread of republican example; but it took a form to which, in the main, no objection can fairly be urged, and it opened the possibility of really greater freedom to the colonists—of a freedom not narrowed by sectarian jealousy, nor embittered by the memory of old feuds. It was indeed the beginning of a new day for those remote settlements, but one not necessarily overshadowed by evil or by serious loss.

Opinion in Massachusetts was considerably divided as to the policy of resisting the Royal Commissioners. A party of privilege and a party of prerogative arose in the settlement; but it must be admitted that the former counted far more adherents than the latter. Any one who appeared to pay court to the Commissioners became very generally unpopular. The agents of the King were regarded with suspicion and dislike; the rulers of the colony were greeted with every evidence of popular reliance. A majority in favour of the Government was obtained in the elections during the spring of 1665; yet the colonists' cause did not make any material progress. Letters to influential friends of the plantation were sent to England; but they brought little comfort. Robert Boyle, one of these friends, observed that, although the Commissioners were not accused of one harmful thing, even in private letters from Massachusetts, they were made the subjects of complaint. It was to the very fact

of their official existence in the colony that the leaders of colonial opinion demurred. But the King's right to send them there could only be questioned by denying to the monarch all practical control over the plantation; and this denial was not likely to be supported by many politicians in the old country.

The Commissioners at first acted, as a body, with scrupulous care to avoid giving offence, though some members were individually truculent. They refused to support a claim advanced by the Duke of Hamilton, who demanded a large tract of land in the possession of Connecticut. In other respects they showed considerable favour to that settlement, and so won upon the good feeling of the people that they soon found in them, as they pointed out in their reports to Charles, a favourable contrast to the disobedient community of Massachusetts. With the latter colony, the Royal agents quickly came into collision. In the absence of Nichols, who was engaged in other affairs, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick told the Magistrates, in February, 1665, that they wished an order to be issued for assembling all the inhabitants on the day of the elections, to the end that they might be informed of his Majesty's grace and favour. The Magistrates declined to issue any such order, as being unreasonable, which it certainly was; whereupon, Colonel Cartwright, in a burst of ill-temper, exclaimed that he who would not attend to the request was a traitor. Maverick was even more offensive than Cartwright. The Massachusetts Archives contain an affidavit of Captain James Oliver and his wife, in which they aver that this gentleman on one occasion denounced the colonists as rebels and traitors for coining money and printing, and added that they (the Commissioners) were the persons to be obeyed. Maverick was a bully, with personal grievances to revenge; but his bad manners did not materially affect the general course of affairs.

About this time, Massachusetts lost the counsels and guidance of one of her very oldest and most conspicuous public servants. John Endicott died on the 15th of March, 1665, at the age of seventy-seven. His life was coeval with the whole history of the plantation; for he was one of the original patentees to whom the grant of lands had been made by the Council for New England in 1628, and he was in command of the little band of emigrants who went over in the same year, and, in conjunction with Roger Conant and his three companions, laid the foundations of the colony. He was the friend and fellow-worker of the great spirits now departed—the heroes of New England's dawning life. He had passed safely through the famine and pestilence of the terrible early days at Salem; and he had borne an important part in all the events which had stamped on Massachusetts its most distinctive character. He lived to see the settlement become prosperous and powerful; he lived also to see the beginning of changes of which it was then impossible to forecast the issue, but which must necessarily have filled him with apprehension. He was a man of many excellent qualities; but tolerance was not one of them. No one did more than he to procure the expulsion of the Episcopalians who settled at Salem in 1629. The cutting out of the red cross from the banner of St. George was the work of his hands; and the Quakers felt the bitterness of his persecution when others were inclined to take a more lenient course. Fanaticism was the most strongly-developed quality of his nature; but he was honest, able, courageous, and, as far as his bigotry would permit him, benevolent. Charles II. did not like him; but the disapprobation of that monarch will do little harm to the posthumous repute of any one. A few weeks before the death of the veteran, the King, speaking through the pen of Secretary Morrice, expressed his suspicion that Endicott was not a person well affected to his person or his government. He even went so far as to intimate to the four Commissioners that he would take it very well if, at the next election, any other person of good reputation were chosen Governor in his place. It was so—but at the order of Providence, not of Charles.

Shortly after their proposal that all the people of Massachusetts should be summoned to Boston to hear the words of the King, the Royal Commissioners departed for the Plymouth jurisdiction, where they presented a letter from Charles, similar in its general effect to that which had been addressed to Massachusetts. In this letter the monarch said he had instructed his Commissioners to give him a full and particular account of the present state and condition of the colony, and how the same might be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favour. His Majesty desired the colonists to know that he took them under his immediate protection, and would no more suffer them to be oppressed or injured by any foreign Power or ill neighbour than he would permit his other subjects to be so injured or oppressed. "And as," the letter continued, "our care and protection will (we doubt not) be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force, so our care and circumspection is no less, that you may live in peace among yourselves, and with those our other subjects who have planted themselves in your

neighbour colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same Prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no contentions and differences among you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdictions of your several colonies, the hearing and determining thereof we have referred to our Commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in case of difficulties, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice." His Majesty added that the Commissioners would intimate his resolve to preserve without the least violation all the liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, already possessed by the colonists—an assurance which, he presumed, would dispose them to exhibit as much loyalty and affection to the throne as if they had continued in their natural country.

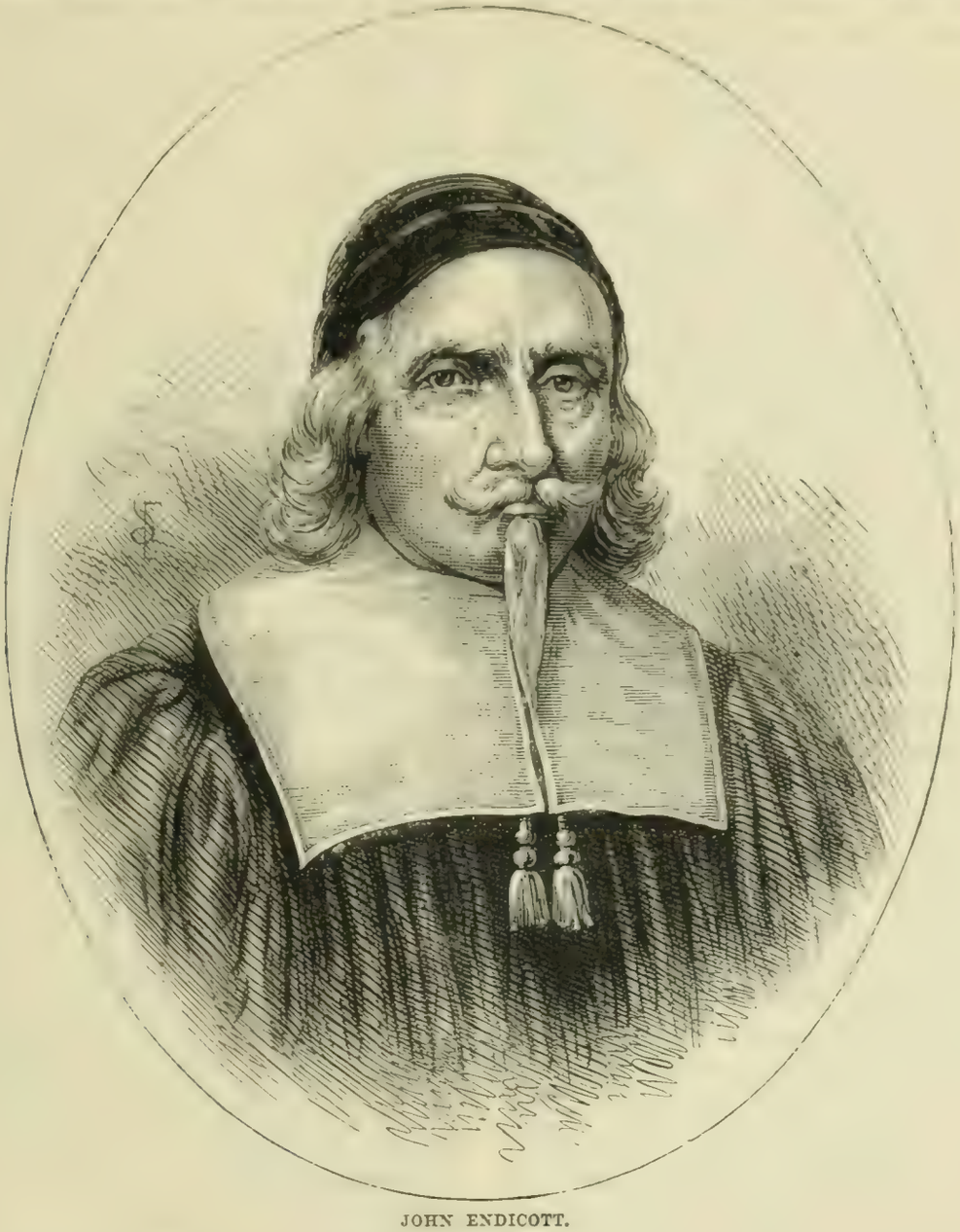
In presenting this letter, the Commissioners made certain proposals, which were—that all householders should take the oath of allegiance; that justice should be administered in the King's name; that the liberty of voting for civil and military officers, and of being chosen to such positions, should in future not be confined to persons of one form of religious faith; that all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and lives not scandalous, should be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and their children to the rite of baptism; and that all laws, and expressions in laws, derogating from the King's Majesty, should be repealed or altered. These suggestions were in accordance with the tenor of Charles's missive to Massachusetts, written in June, 1662, and conveyed with them to America by Bradstreet and Norton on their return from England in the autumn of the same year. The General Court of Plymouth assented to the proposals submitted to them; adding, with regard to the oath of allegiance, the administration of justice in the King's name, and the granting of the suffrage to persons of varying religious belief and practice, that such had always been their custom; and, with respect to laws and expressions disrespectful to his Majesty, that they were not aware of their existence. The stipulation as to the Lord's Supper and baptism was also conceded, but on the understanding that all persons should continue to pay their due proportion of maintenance to the existing ministers until they had one of their own, and even then in all places that were capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations.* Cartwright desired in writing that the General Court, when sending in their adhesion, should add something to the effect that the Articles of Confederation, binding together the four chief New England colonies, would not be construed by New Plymouth as obliging it to refuse his Majesty's authority, even though any one of the others, or all three, should do so. The King, remarked Cartwright, had been informed "that that union was a war-combination made by the Four Colonies when they had a design to throw off their dependence on England, and for that purpose." It is uncertain whether or not Plymouth did as she was desired with regard to the Federation; but Charles was so pleased with the ready obedience of the authorities in that colony that he sent them a letter of commendation. They had, indeed, never assumed so directly rebellious a position towards the mother country as Massachusetts had done, and were now less animated by a spirit of sullen resistance. Nevertheless, the General Court, with many expressions of thanks and protestations of loyalty, declined to accept a charter which was offered on condition that the King should be permitted to select their Governor from three candidates nominated by themselves.

From Plymouth, the Commissioners proceeded to the settlements on Narragansett Bay, where of course they were well received, as the colonists, in their differences with Massachusetts, had always paid great court to the authority of the mother country. Samuel Gorton and others approached the Royal agents with a petition setting forth their grievances, and entreating that some satisfaction for them might be made. The Commissioners, knowing that the territory had in 1644 been ceded, by Gorton's own act, to the English Crown, replied in a way which was perhaps not very satisfactory to the petitioners. They commanded that the country should thenceforward be called "the King's Province," and that no person, of any colony whatsoever, should presume to exercise any jurisdiction there, unless appointed by themselves, the Commissioners. The Magistrates of Rhode Island were provisionally authorised to administer the province until the Royal pleasure should be known. Various arrangements with Indians, and with scattered bodies of settlers, who made conflicting claims to particular territories, were entered into; but in this direction, as in others, difficulties and delays were of frequent occurrence. Roger Williams wrote to Carr:—"Your Honour will never effect by force

* Such, at least, appears to be the meaning of a rather obscure passage.

a safe and lasting conclusion until you have first reduced the Massachusetts to the obedience of his Majesty; and then these appendants, towed at their stern, will easily, and not before, wind about also." After paying a brief visit to Connecticut (where their demands were cheerfully complied with), the Commissioners returned with all speed to Rhode Island, which they had visited but shortly before, and from which they received a scarcely-qualified submission. Here the agents entertained appeals in litigations between private parties, but referred the greater number of them to the General Court or the Governor. Several months later, they reported to the King that the rulers of Rhode Island and Providence approved, as highly reasonable, the Royal demand that appeals should be made to his Majesty's Commissioners. The General Court of Rhode Island, in September, 1666, transmitted an address to the sovereign, promising to promote his interests to the utmost of their power, on all occasions whatsoever; and in memorials to the English Government they detailed their wrongs and sufferings in the past, laid claim to the whole Narragansett country, and craved a rectification of their frontier towards New Plymouth.

On the 2nd of May, 1665, the four Commissioners



JOHN ENDICOTT.

(for Nichols had now rejoined them) arrived a second time in Boston, and it became evident that matters were tending to an issue. The Magistrates of Massachusetts had recently received from the King's Secretary, Morrice, a letter informing them that his Majesty was not pleased with their petition, which was thought to contain frivolous and groundless complaints. In this despatch, reference was made to many allegations of injustice committed by the Government of the colony upon various persons; and the writer concluded:—"I can say no more to you, but that it is in your own power to be very

happy, and to enjoy all that hath been granted to you; but it will be absolutely necessary that you perform and pay all that reverence and obedience which is due from subjects to their King, and which his Majesty will exact from you." This was the manifest forerunner of a storm, and the receipt of such a letter must have greatly disheartened the colonial authorities for the approaching contest. The first discussion after the return of the Commissioners took place in the Court House, where the Royal agents met the Lieutenant-Governor, some Magistrates, and a few Deputies, and presented to them five several writings. Four of these were recapitulations of parts of the King's Instructions to his agents; the fifth was a manifesto of those agents, remarking, amongst other things, on the unreasonableness of the opposition they had experienced in that colony. They utterly denied the truth of a statement which had been circulated, to the effect that the King had sent them over to raise five thousand pounds a-year out of the plantation for his Majesty's use; to demand, besides, twelvepence for every acre of improved land; and to annul many civil liberties and ecclesiastical privileges. They remarked on the excellent opportunity now presented to the colonists for casting to the father of lies, from whom it came, the often-repeated assertion that the people of Massachusetts regarded themselves as independent of the Royal Government. And they concluded by explaining the principles on which, in his Majesty's opinion, the elections of the following day ought to be conducted. The elections resulted in the choice of Richard Bellingham as Governor, and Francis Willoughby as Deputy-Governor. The first of these had been a leading man for several years, and had once before been elected to the chief post, as far back as 1641, when his administration had proved very unpopular and unsatisfactory. He was now, however, of riper years and longer experience, and no one in the colony was better acquainted with the course of its affairs and the nature of its rights. He had been instrumental in procuring the charter of 1629, and was perhaps concerned in drawing it up. Willoughby was one of those who had formed the committee for framing the petition to the King in 1664; and both officials were animated by a strong feeling of local patriotism. On the first day of the ensuing Court, seventy new freemen were admitted, several of whom were not members of any particular church. This was a piece of liberality for which the unorthodox members of the community had to thank the interposition of the Royal Government.

The negotiations with the Commissioners were resumed on the 4th of May. The members of the General Court were not wanting in abundant expressions of loyalty; but the Commissioners were dissatisfied with mere lip-service, and expressed themselves displeased with the long neglect of the King's demands sent by Norton and Bradstreet. They communicated other portions of their Instructions, made various suggestions for the future, and spoke of examining a case upon appeal. A person named John Porter, recently imprisoned for misconduct in Massachusetts, had been released on giving a bond to quit the jurisdiction. He complained to the three Commissioners, who took up his case, and gave directions that he should not be molested while further investigations were being made. The Massachusetts authorities were much offended at this proceeding, by which, they submitted, their patent, and his Majesty's authority committed to them by that instrument, had been seriously infringed. Hereupon, the Commissioners asked a conference with a committee of the Court, when the gentlemen forming the committee submitted that the charter gave to the Governor and Company full and absolute powers of ruling the colony, and enlarged on the "insufferable burden" that would result from the admission of appeals from their judgments. They required to know whether, in any trials which the Commissioners proposed to conduct, they meant to empannel a jury; by what law they would proceed; and whether or not they would admit new evidence. The Commissioners replied that there would be no jury; that the law would be that of England; and that fresh evidence would be received.

It is not surprising that the colonists felt aggrieved at this. To revise the verdict of a jury, in a criminal cause, by the action of four officials appointed by the Crown, and subject to no species of popular responsibility, was a great invasion, not only of colonial privileges, but of the rights of Englishmen, and was a matter totally distinct from any appeal which might have been made to the Commissioners from alleged acts of oppression by the colonial Government itself, having relation to questions of jurisdiction, of territorial possession, or of disputed boundary.* The committee protested against such an abuse of power; but the Commissioners declined to modify their action in the least. In some other respects, the General Court complied with the demands made by the Royal agents. They furnished various details of information with respect to the political, ecclesiastical, social, military,

* It is not precisely stated in the Massachusetts Records that Porter was tried by jury; but such seems to be the natural inference from the context.

and educational condition of the colony; and, as regarded transactions with the natives, referred the Commissioners to the official record of the dealings of the United Colonies with Indian tribes. The Act of Navigation they professed to be unconscious of having greatly violated; and, after glancing at other of the Royal commands (such as the requisition for taking the oath of allegiance, and the administering of justice in the King's name), which had by that time been fulfilled, they came to the difficult subject of the Common Prayer Book. The use of the forms therein prescribed, they argued, would disturb their peace, as they would never have left their native country had it appeared to them consonant with the word of God to perform their devotions in that way. They seem to have forgotten, or purposely to have confused the truth, that the King required nothing more than that those who wished to use the Prayer Book of the Church of England should not be debarred from doing so, or subjected to penalties on that account. To refuse them this right was precisely the same kind of tyranny, though directed to an opposite purpose, that the Puritans had themselves suffered at the hands of James and Charles. It was the old, arrogant assumption that everybody is bound to do as we do, and think as we think, in the matter of religion. The rulers of Massachusetts were not satisfied with the liberty of going their own way. They clung to the vicious prerogative of forcing all men, as far as it was possible, into the same path.

The oath of allegiance put forth by the General Court, and of which they furnished the Commissioners with a copy, ran as follows:—"Whereas I, A. B., am an inhabitant within this jurisdiction, considering how I stand obliged to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, by our charter and the government established thereby, do swear accordingly, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord the King, his heirs and successors; and so proceed as in the printed oaths of freedom and fidelity."* The Commissioners did not admit the sufficiency of this oath. They perceived in it too many qualifications and saving clauses, such as might afterwards be used for purposes of evasion. They complained also of the restrictions on liberty of worship which the authorities were evidently resolved to maintain as long as they could; and objected to the new franchise, which, while granting greater privileges to the holders of obnoxious opinions, made the concession in a manner so hedged about by conditions that the gain was but slight. The Court had confined the suffrage to those who paid ten shillings and upwards to a single rate, though, according to the Commissioners, not one church member in a hundred paid so much, and scarcely three such men were to be found in a town of a hundred inhabitants. "These answers," said the representatives of the Crown, "are so far from being probable to satisfy the King's expectation, that we fear they will highly offend him. Abuse not the King's clemency too much." They again affirmed, in writing, their competency as a Court of Appeal, and asked in direct terms whether the Government of Massachusetts acknowledged his Majesty's commission to be of full force to all the intents and purposes mentioned in it. To this question they expected a positive answer, which they would faithfully report to his Majesty. The Court replied by simply repeating a former request that they might be informed of complaints against them. The Commissioners reiterated their question in a letter consisting of a single sentence, but received no other response than an expression of the Court's opinion that it was beyond their line to declare their sense of the power, intent, or purpose of the commission. It was enough for them, they thought, to acquaint the Commissioners with what they conceived to be granted them by the charter. Hereupon the Commissioners sent notice to the Court that on the following day they would hear and determine the cause of Thomas Deane and others, plaintiffs (who had a grievance in connection with alleged breaches of the Navigation Laws), against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defendants.

This brought matters to a crisis. The appeal was to be investigated at the house of one Captain Thomas Breedon, who, a few years before, had given information against the fugitive regicides, and had always shown himself favourable to the Royal interests. The authorities of Massachusetts forbade the procedure; but the Commissioners would not yield. The General Court then determined on a very bold and high-handed step. At eight o'clock on the morning of May 24th—an hour before the time at which the proceedings were to commence—a messenger from the General Court stationed himself before the dwelling of Captain Breedon, and, with sound of trumpet, delivered a proclamation, in which, after relating the proposed action of the Commissioners, the General Court declared to all the people of the colony, in the name of his Majesty, and by the authority committed to them by him through the charter,

* Massachusetts Records.

that, in the observance of their duty to God, to the King, and to the trust committed to them by the electors, they could not consent to the contemplated appeal; and that it did not consist with the allegiance they owed his Majesty to countenance any who should in such a manner go contrary to his Majesty's direct charge, or be the abettors or consenters thereunto. The same proclamation was delivered in two other parts of the town, and was probably received with a good deal of exultation. On the same day, Daniel Gookin, the well-known ruler over the converted Indians, declared, on taking the oath of allegiance as Magistrate, that he was to be so understood as not to infringe the liberty and privileges granted in the Royal charter. Two days later, another Magistrate made a similar qualification of the oath. The precaution was needless from any honest point of view. There was nothing in the oath which really affected the charter; and the proviso seems to have been intended to cover some strained interpretation of colonial rights.

The action of the General Court with reference to the case of appeal placed the Commissioners in a position of great difficulty. They had no power to enforce their commands, and yet could not admit the validity of what had been done. They accordingly wrote that, since the Court would needs misconstrue all his Majesty's letters and endeavours, and would make use of that authority which he had given them to oppose the sovereignty he exercised, they would lose no more of their labour, but refer the matter to the King, who had power to make himself obeyed in all his dominions. They also furnished the Court with a list of amendments which they desired to see effected in the existing laws, in order to a better recognition of the King's authority. The Court, on the other hand, summoned Deane and his associates before them for a re-examination of their complaint, and on the 26th of May sent a notice to the Commissioners, so that they might be present if they pleased. Of course the Commissioners declined. They declared to the General Court, in his Majesty's name, that it was contrary to the King's will and pleasure that the cause should be examined by any other court than themselves; and immediately afterwards left Boston. Thus ended the first act of a very eventful drama.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Claims of Robert Mason and Ferdinando Gorges—The Provinces of New Hampshire and Maine—The Royal Commissioners in the Northern Towns—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Government for Asserting their Authority in the Disputed Territories—Arbitrary Prosecutions—Royal Government established in Maine—Military Preparations of Massachusetts—Last Official Visit of the Commissioners to Boston—Demand of the King that Massachusetts should send Agents to England—Collision of Carr with a Boston Constable—Determination of Massachusetts not to send the required Agents—Letter from the General Court to Charles II.—Opposition of a Minority in the Colony to the Resolution of the General Court—Opinions expressed in Course of the Debate—Imprudent conduct of the Authorities—Letter to Secretary Morrice—Suggested War with the French in Canada—Weakening of the New England Confederation—Revival of the Quarrel between Charles II. and Massachusetts—New Plan of Action—The Navigation Laws—Despatch of Edward Randolph to New England.

On the Royal Commissioners leaving Boston, in May, 1665, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick proceeded to the northern towns of Massachusetts, while Nichols quitted the jurisdiction altogether, and resumed the prosecution of another business with which he had for some time been charged. The object that the three associated agents now proposed to accomplish, was to inquire into the proprietary claims made to particular portions of the Massachusetts territory. One of these claims was advanced by Robert Mason, grandson of the Captain John Mason to whom reference has before been made. It had for some years been a matter of doubt whether certain lands on the Piscataqua, now included in the State of New Hampshire, were or were not comprised within the region assigned to Massachusetts by its charter. The General Court of that colony, deciding the cause in its own favour, in 1652, after the peremptory fashion which was its wont in all cases where self-interest was concerned, had been in undisturbed possession of the country for thirteen years; for when the Provincial Court of Maine (which had been equally despoiled) appealed to the English Parliament for redress, Winslow, at that time in London as agent of Massachusetts, was enabled to procure the rejection of the appeal by representing that all such complaints proceeded from a band of malcontent royalists. The General Court of the successful plantation, taking into consideration, in 1653, that Mason had

acquired some rights in the soil, ordered that a quantity of land, with privilege of the river, should be laid out for the benefit of his heirs. This, however, was by no means satisfactory to those heirs; and Robert Mason, having petitioned the King on the subject, was referred to the Attorney-General, who decided that he had a good and legal title to the Province of New Hampshire.

Such was one of the disputes on which the Royal Commissioners were empowered to adjudicate, subject to the approval of the King; another was the claim made by the heir of Gorges to the Province of Maine. The grandson of Sir Ferdinando—himself bearing the same Italianised Christian name—was encouraged by the countenance of Charles II. to take measures for the restoration of his authority in that direction. The settlers in Maine had shown themselves disinclined to the rule of Massachusetts; and in May, 1664, the General Court had found it necessary to put a new officer in command of their militia, and to send a committee of three to the insubordinate possession, to require all persons belonging to that district to return peaceably to their former obedience, and all officers to attend to the faithful discharge of their duties. Almost at the same time that this step was taken, Secretary Morrice was directed by the King to acquaint the inhabitants of the province with his Majesty's views on their legal position. They were to the effect that, in the opinion of competent advisers, the claim of Gorges was valid, and the government of Massachusetts usurped. The people were accordingly to make immediate restitution of the province to the rightful owner or his representatives. A year later, the General Court of Massachusetts, while at strife with the Royal Commissioners at Boston, took into consideration the distracted condition of the county of York (the name then given to the province), "occasioned by some persons presuming to claim and exercise government amongst them by a pretended power derived from Ferdinando Gorges, Esq." Immediately afterwards, the Magistrates despatched a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants of York county to remain in their duty and obedience to his Majesty, subject to the authority of the General Court of Massachusetts.

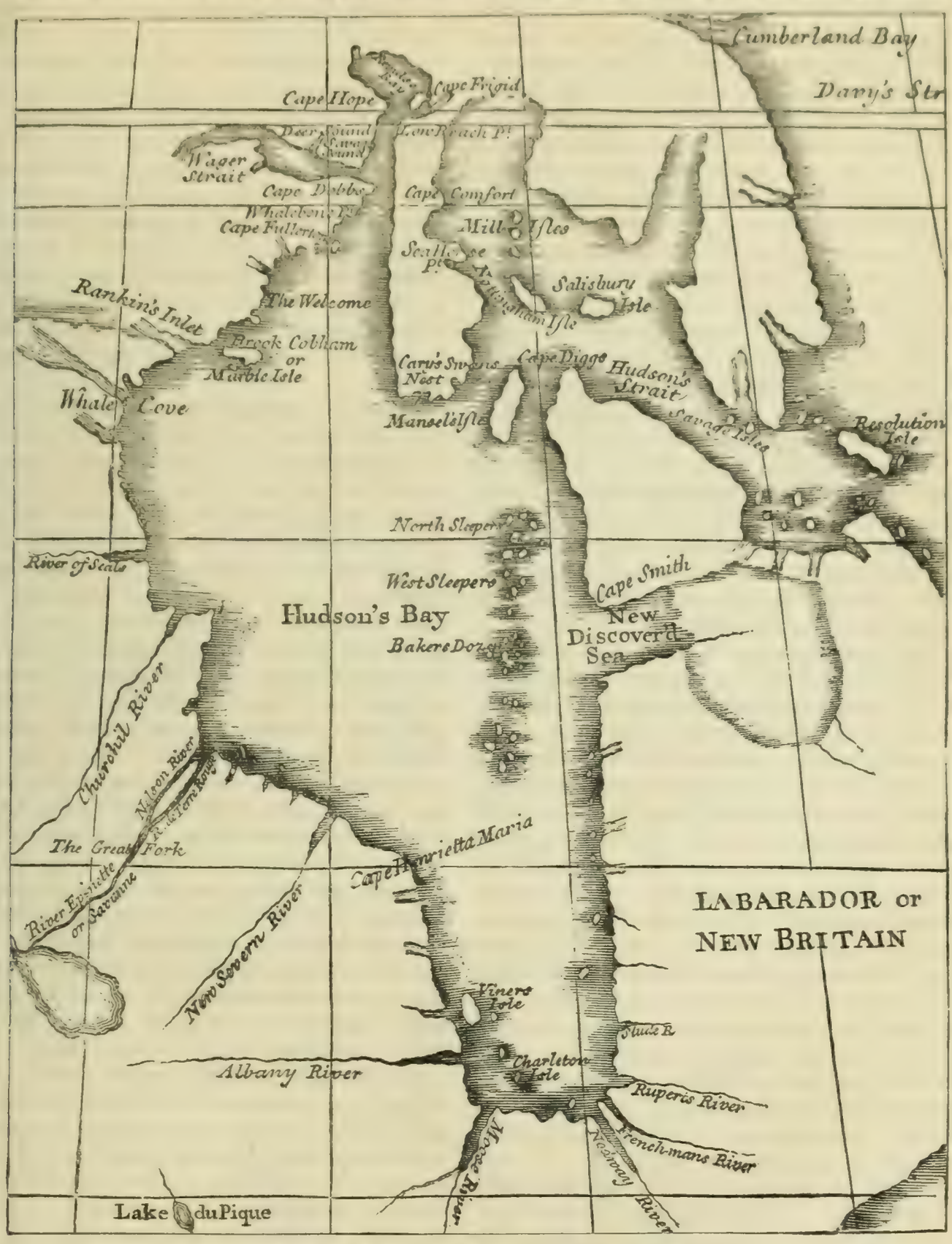
Here were fresh grounds of dissension between the colonists and the Royal agents. The subject was one very proper to be investigated by representatives of the parent State; for, as a plain matter of fact, there was a dispute between Massachusetts and two private individuals as to the ownership of certain lands, and it was the height of injustice for the plantation to decide the case on its own authority and to its own advantage, and at the same time to deny the other parties all right of appeal. Taking advantage of the existing state of affairs, the Commissioners worked on the disaffected in the Piscataqua or New Hampshire towns, and obtained their signatures to a petition to the King, praying for relief from the rule of Massachusetts. It is alleged on the one hand that the conduct of the three Commissioners was so violent that the people were terrified, and knew not what to do; on the other, that the loyal were threatened, and put in great fear. The probability is that the leaders on both sides used their influence to obtain support, and were not scrupulous about the means. The Commissioners formed extreme views as to the best mode of conducting their business with the rulers of Massachusetts. "The readiest and surest way," they wrote to their Government in July, 1665, "is for his Majesty to take away their charter, which they have several ways forfeited." Charles I., they added, was about to revoke that instrument, when the Scottish war broke out in 1639.* It was felt, however, that no such plan could be attempted "without a visible force;" and therefore it was necessary to proceed more discreetly. The towns of Portsmouth and Dover, in New Hampshire, applied to the General Court for assistance; and, as in the case of Maine rather more than a year earlier, a committee, consisting of three Magistrates, was sent thither, with power to act according to discretion. The Magistrates reported to their principals that the majority of the New Hampshire people were opposed to any change. The Commissioners thought differently; and Carr, writing to the three Magistrates from the town of Kittery, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, in the province of Maine, enjoined them to forbear from troubling or molesting the petitioners to the King. So little attention was paid to this requisition, that the committee took very vigorous action against one Abraham Corbet, of Portsmouth, who had been instrumental in obtaining subscriptions to the petition. For this offence he was summoned before the General Court, and condemned to pay a fine of twenty pounds, to be incapable of bearing any office, and to give a bond of a hundred pounds, with sufficient additional security, for his peaceable demeanour in the future. In the Massachusetts Records, the man is spoken of as "a nourisher of much vice and wickedness, by giving irregular entertainment of loose persons in his house;" but it is clear that the condemnation was for his share in promoting the petition.

* The Commissioners say, "in 1636 or 1637;" but this is manifestly an error.



THE FRACAS AT THE "SHIP" TAVERN.

Whatever his general conduct may have been, he was certainly treated in a very despotic manner, with a warrant to forbid those towns, at their utmost peril, to meet, or to do anything commanded



MAP OF HUDSON'S BAY. (*From Dobbs' "Hudson's Bay,"* 1744.)

and there is only too much reason to believe that the Massachusetts authorities exercised a species of terrorism over the populations of the northern towns. The Royal Commissioners alleged that two marshals were sent from the Governor and Council, them by the King's representatives; and, although this statement does not seem to be confirmed by the official Records of the colony, it is so much in harmony with acknowledged acts as not to be in itself improbable.

Arriving in Maine, the Commissioners determined to organise a Government independent both of the Proprietary and of Massachusetts. The motive they alleged for so doing was the fact that several petitions had been received from the inhabitants, in which they expressed a desire to be taken under the King's immediate protection. The new Government was established at York in June, 1665, and the Commissioners appointed Magistrates for each of the eight towns contained in the province, with authority to the whole body to meet as a board for the transaction of general affairs. Having so far settled matters, the Royal agents proceeded in September to the new province beyond the Kennebec, which the sovereign had recently conferred on his brother the Duke of York, and to which they gave the designation of Cornwall, and a system of local government similar to that just established in Maine. The inhabitants of this region were few in number, and very poorly off; but they were at any rate not vexed by questions of disputed jurisdiction. On returning to York, in October, the Commissioners held a court, at which they denied the validity of all titles to land acquired from the natives, or under the Lygonia patent issued in 1630 by the Council for New England.

In the meantime, the Massachusetts authorities were preparing for a more extreme struggle, such as they feared might possibly ensue. Under pretence that the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, was approaching their coasts, but in reality, there can be no doubt, from a different apprehension, they directed that the castle in Boston harbour should be strongly garrisoned, and that other military precautions should be taken. They made laws for the assertion of their authority; and in August despatched another address to the King, complaining of the conduct of his Commissioners, repudiating their malign representations, and affirming that they could see no reason for submitting themselves to the "arbitrary, absolute, and unlimited power" which his Majesty's representatives would impose. Not long afterwards, the Commissioners appeared once more in Boston; but, though the General Court proposed a conference, no meeting took place, and Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick again left the jurisdiction, their latest official visit to which seems to have had no very definite object. The matters at issue now returned into the hands of the Home Government, and Secretary Morrice wrote to the General Court of Massachusetts (under date April 10th, 1666) that, after considering the statements submitted to him from both sides, his Majesty could not but see that the colonists denied his jurisdiction, and affirmed in effect that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments, however unjust, and had no right of appeal. The King had consequently resolved to recall his Commissioners, that they might make their report in person. They were to be accompanied by five, or at least four, persons, as representatives of the plantation, of whom Mr. Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorne were to be two, while the other three, or two, were to be selected by the Massachusetts Council. In the same despatch, the King ordered the liberation of all persons imprisoned for petitioning or applying themselves to the Royal Commissioners, and directed that the Government of Maine, and the boundaries of the several colonies as established by those officials, should be observed until his Majesty should further determine.

Before Carr quitted Boston, he wrote a letter to Lord Lauderdale, in December, 1665, in which he suggested that his Majesty should unite the country to the east of Connecticut River with Rhode Island and the King's Province, and thus form a receptacle for loyal subjects, which would be a great check to Massachusetts, if that colony should rebel. Carr seems to have been one of the most zealous of the Commissioners; but he was not a man of very reputable character. The last we hear of him curiously illustrates the manners of those free-living days. In January, 1667, he was again in Boston, apparently with a view to embarking there for England. He seems, as a solace for his past vexations, to have resolved on a carouse before bidding adieu to the Puritan colony where he had had to endure so much mortification. On a certain Saturday evening he was drinking and rioting at the Ship Tavern, in company with Maverick and Temple, when a constable looked in, and, hinting that it was the eve of the Sabbath, desired the revellers to disperse. The injunction was answered by a shower of blows, which compelled the officer to retreat; and the party then adjourned to a private house, where Arthur Mason, another constable, found them still enjoying themselves. An altercation ensued, and Mason took very high ground, in answer, probably, to some vapouring on the part of Carr, on the score of his being, or having been, a representative of Royalty. The constable — perhaps emulating a speech of Cromwell's, that, on the field of battle, he would as soon fire his pistol against the sovereign as against a private soldier —told Carr that he would have taken away the King himself, had he found him noisy on Saturday evening in Boston. Upon this, Maverick complained to the Governor, and Mason was informed

against, before the Grand Jury, for "maliciously uttering treasonable words." The man having been found guilty, the Magistrates referred the question of further proceedings to the General Court, and finally Mason was solemnly admonished by the Governor. As a set-off against these proceedings, Carr was summoned to answer for riotous and abusive carriage to one of his Majesty's officers; but the termination of the later case is not on record.

Maverick had been in Boston in the previous August (1666), when he was again occupying an official position. In that month he received a letter from Morrice, in obedience to which he required the Governor, in his Majesty's name, to convoke the Council immediately. Maverick shortly afterwards wrote to Governor Prince, of Plymouth, that he feared his discourse with Bellingham that morning had taken off his stomach for breakfast, and that his contemplated discourse with him and his Council in the following week would put him in a like distemper. The Council was not summoned until some weeks had elapsed, and in a little while the General Court voted that the persons cited to England by the King should not be sent. It was also determined, after consultation with the Elders, and a forenoon spent in prayer, to address a letter to Secretary Morrice. In this letter (which was despatched in September) the Court said:—"We may not omit to acquaint your Honour that a writing was delivered to the Governor and Magistrates by Mr. Samuel Maverick, the 6th September, without direction or seal, which he saith is a copy of a signification from his Majesty of his pleasure concerning this colony of the Massachusetts, the certainty whereof seems not to be so clear unto us as former expresses from his Majesty have usually been. We have in all humility given our reasons why we could not submit to the Commissioners and their mandates the last year; which we understand lie before his Majesty; to the substance whereof we have not to add, and therefore cannot expect that the ablest persons among us could be in a capacity to declare our cause more fully."* Although a majority of the Court resolved upon sending the letter (which had been prepared by a committee with Willoughby for its chairman), there were some dissentients. Denison and Bradstreet, two of the Magistrates, were in favour of obeying the King's commands. Bradstreet had probably brought back with him from England, when he went there with Norton as agent for Massachusetts, a more correct judgment than his colleagues could form of the determination of Charles to exact submission from his expatriated subjects. Lord Clarendon had written to Nichols on the 13th of April, 1666, that, if the colonists did not fulfil the King's command to send agents to London, the Government would give them cause to repent it, as his Majesty would not sit down under the affronts he had received. And, although it is not likely that Bradstreet was aware of this communication, he probably knew, from what he had observed when on his mission, that the King would hardly be trifled with beyond a certain point. Denison and Bradstreet were not alone, as far as the whole colony was concerned, in objecting to a policy of continued defiance. The four principal commercial towns—Boston, Salem, Newbury, and Ipswich—sent in petitions, more or less numerously signed, praying for submission to the sovereign's demands.

The General Court was as angry at these petitions as at those which had been circulated in the northern towns with a view to substituting the King's Government for the rule of Massachusetts. It was alleged that the petitioners had unjustly charged, threatened, and reflected upon the Court, to the dishonour of its members; and it was accordingly ordered that four of the Boston signers, and one from each of the other four towns, should appear at the next Court, and answer for their imputed offence. Apparently, however, no further action was taken in the affair. During the debate which preceded the sending of the fresh letter to the King, Willoughby spoke very strongly against yielding to the Royal demands. He said they must consider God's displeasure as well as the monarch's,—their own interests, and the interests of God's things, as well as his Majesty's prerogatives. If, he argued, the King might send for him then, and for another on the morrow, they were a miserable people. The remark that they must consider God's displeasure in the matter, was one of those easy assumptions of enjoying the special favour of Providence which at that time were commonly made by both sides in every dispute, and usually with as much right by the one as by the other. The Boston petitioners employed the very same argument, if such it may be called. They observed that they and their contemporaries were no less concerned than the people of former ages "in that advice of the wise man, to keep the King's commandment because of the oath of God." Both sets of disputants seem to have lost sight of the true principles at issue. The just liberties of the colonists were undoubtedly to be protected by all legitimate means; but it is to be feared that it

* Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV., Part 2.

was rather the right to tyrannise that was now being struggled for. The appointment of the four Commissioners had not in itself threatened a single liberty, political or ecclesiastical; and a judicious and temperate mode of dealing with those officials might have prevented any questionable application of their powers. The summoning of Massachusetts officials to England was undoubtedly an extreme step; but it was provoked, and almost necessitated, by the defiance of the Commissioners. That defiance was succeeded by others indicating the same resolve, and the breach was widened every day. In November, 1666, Maverick came to Boston with a letter signed by Nichols, Carr, and himself, protesting against the action taken by the Court with respect to the signers of the petitions from Boston and the other commercial towns, and soliciting a reconsideration. To this the Magistrates replied that what they had to say upon the subject had already been communicated to Secretary Morrice.

Mr. Palfrey calls attention to a letter to Morrice preserved in the English State Paper Office, which seems, though unofficially, to express the views of the colonial rulers at that time. It is dated October 26th, 1666, and is signed "Samuel Nadhorth." There appears to be no other record of any person bearing that name then in Massachusetts; and Mr. Palfrey believes that it was an anagram of Hathorne or of Danforth.* The writer, whoever he may have been, states that he spoke simply for himself, and without the knowledge of the authorities. "I clearly see," he observes, "that the body of the people have a higher esteem of their liberties than of their lives. They well know they are such twins as God and Nature have joined together, and are resolved to bury their estates and liberties in the same grave." If, it was urged, the malicious accusations of their adversaries should prevail with the King, and his Majesty should impose hard measure upon them, the plantation would be ruined. The colonists might feel compelled to desert the country in large numbers, and in that case the French, who much coveted the land, might occupy it. Referring to the demand for the presence of the Governor and others in England, the writer states that the Governor was an ancient gentleman, nearly eighty years old, and afflicted with many infirmities, such as often incapacitated him for the public service of the country. The correspondent adds:—"Had the Governor and all the leading men of the colony adhered to the Commissioners' mandates, the people were so resolved that they would, for the generality of them (some discontents, Quakers, and others excepted) have utterly protested against their concession." The exceptions would perhaps have proved more numerous than the writer supposed, or cared to allow; but there is nevertheless no room to doubt that the majority of the Massachusetts people felt strongly on the subject of colonial independence, and would have supported the authorities in any measure of resistance which might have been considered necessary.

About the time that the King required the General Court of Massachusetts to send representatives to England, he made proposals to the northern colonies generally to join in an invasion of Canada. Louis XIV. had allied himself with the Dutch, and declared war against England; and it seemed to the Government of Charles II. advisable to seize, if that could be accomplished, on the American possessions of France. But to the rulers of New England the plan appeared far from feasible. They knew that, to effect it, a land-march of four hundred miles must be made over rocky mountains and wide deserts, and that the perils of such an expedition were many and serious, to say nothing of the French strength in the region to be attacked. Boston, however, sent out several privateers, which were of considerable service. The Government of Massachusetts also despatched provisions to the English fleet in the West Indies, and made the King a present of masts for the use of the Royal navy, to the value of two thousand pounds. The masts proved very useful in the war, and Pepys—who, in consequence of his connection with the Admiralty, had good means of knowing—declares that without them they must have failed the next year. On the 31st of July, 1667, peace was made at Breda, and among the stipulations of the treaty was the retransfer of Nova Scotia to France. These matters delayed the further consideration of the quarrel between the King's Government and Massachusetts; but time, though it might soften animosities, could not reconcile so wide and serious a divergence of principles. In some respects, this postponement told against the New England colony; for the Confederacy which had been established in 1643, and which gave to each member the guarantee of general support in cases of emergency, was much weaker than it had been, and seemed likely, in the further progress of years, to sink still lower. By the absorption of New Haven into Connecticut, the league now consisted of three instead of four States; jealousies and misunderstandings had existed for some time; and it was doubtful if concerted action

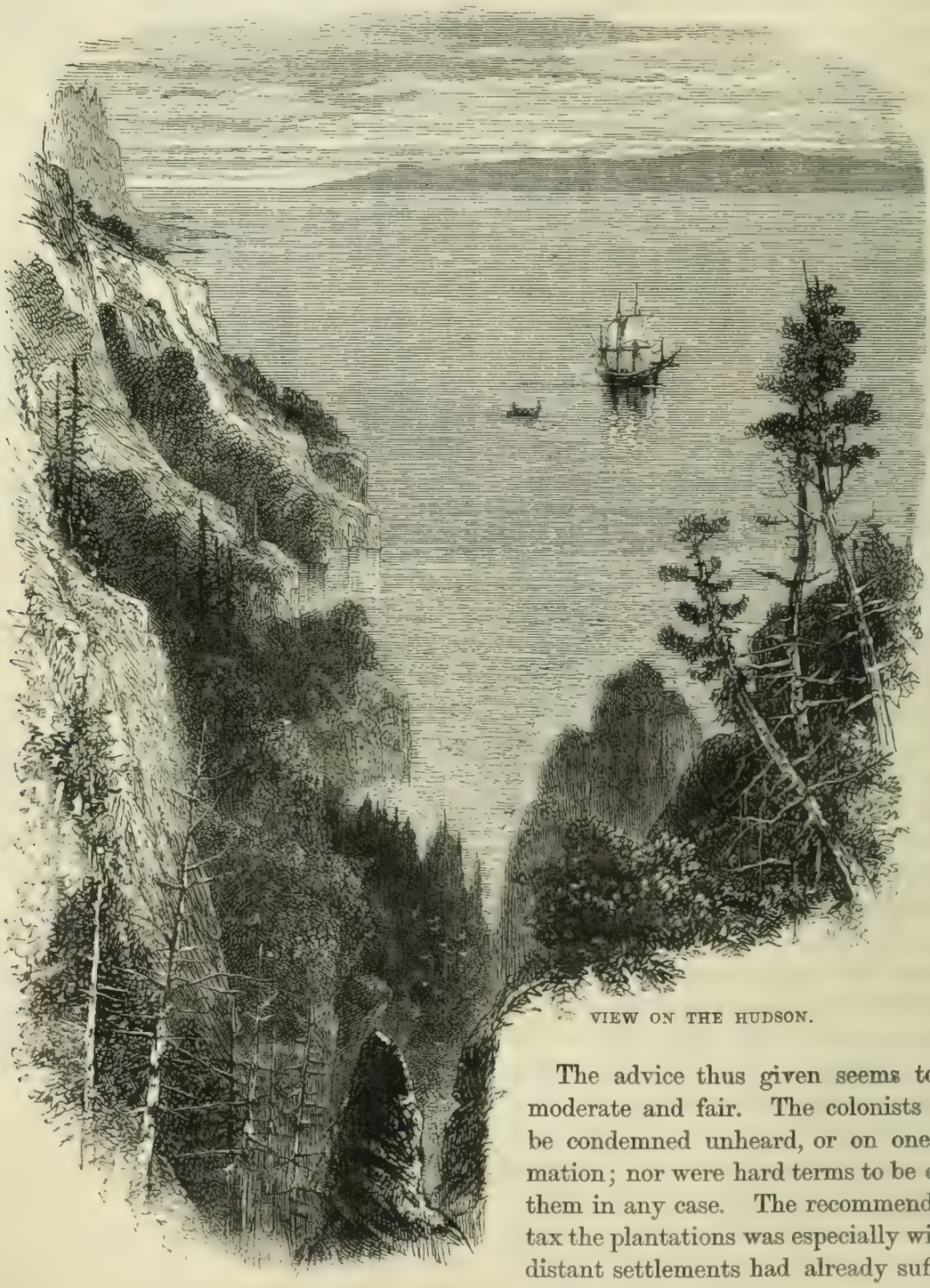
* Danforth was a Magistrate, and a person of great political importance, who in 1661 was largely concerned in the Declaration of Liberties and Duties drawn up by a committee of the General Court.

could be depended on with the same certainty as before. When the Commissioners met, in September, 1667, the representatives of Massachusetts and Plymouth stated that they had no further authority than to treat as to the Indian affairs of the corporation, and to consider any propositions that might be made for entering into a new confederation. These matters were in consequence debated pretty nearly to the exclusion of all others; and, as regards the second of the two, it was resolved to bring the proposal before the Legislatures of the colonies, with suggestions for an alteration of the original articles of agreement.

In the meanwhile, the position of Massachusetts towards the mother country was not forgotten in England. Lord Clarendon fell from power in 1666, and the ministers forming the celebrated Cabal—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, the initials of whose several designations made up the word now forming part of the political vocabulary of England—were not sufficiently in harmony with one another to determine on any vigorous policy. The King, however, did not forget his affront, and frequently brought the subject of Massachusetts before the attention of his advisers. The Council of Foreign Plantations, which in 1660 succeeded to the Parliamentary Commission for the supervision of the colonies, seriously debated what should be done. They saw that the colony was rich, strong, and able to coerce its neighbours. They feared that the people would break away from all dependence on England; and they perceived the desirability of asserting the Royal authority. But it was not so clear what was the best course to take. Some of the Council, according to Evelyn, proposed sending a menacing letter, which those "who better understood the peevish and tetchy humour" of Massachusetts strongly opposed. At length it was determined to adopt a conciliatory plan, so as not to irritate still further a people already on the very brink of renouncing their allegiance to the Crown. Cartwright, one of the four Commissioners, was summoned before the Council to give information; and it was then resolved to send a letter of amnesty. A plan was also proposed for despatching a deputy to New England, under pretence of adjusting boundaries, but with secret instructions to report home as to the condition of the country, and whether it was strong enough to resist the King. This was in 1671; but the scheme languished for some time, and the position of Massachusetts towards the mother country still remained undetermined. Availing itself of this pause, that colony continued to assert its pretensions with vigour and success. In 1668, the General Court issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Maine, commanding them to yield obedience to the colonial laws and officers. Two Magistrates and two Deputies were sent to York, to hold a court and reconstruct the government, which had been superseded in 1665 by the state of things established by the Royal Commissioners. Some opposition was experienced by the Massachusetts authorities; but it was overcome by an exhibition of force, and in the middle of the year Maine once more confessed the rule of Boston.

Yet, although the chief New England colony was thus able for a time to over-ride all opposition, the dangers by which it was threatened still continued to exist. Ferdinando Gorges and Robert Mason were not likely to forget their claims, or to renounce those territorial possessions and promising revenues to which they asserted a right. They did not see their way, however, to actually repossessing themselves of the provinces in which they had an hereditary interest, and accordingly, in 1674, adopted a plan of a different nature. Together with Lord Stirling, heir of the patentee of Nova Scotia, they presented to the King a memorial in which they proposed to surrender to him their respective patents, on condition of having secured to them a third part of all the customs, rents, fines, and miscellaneous profits of the plantations, or some other reasonable compensation. They also suggested the sending over of a Royal Governor, who would not only hinder the encroachments and usurpations of Massachusetts, but in time reduce that plantation to the King's immediate government. The claims of Gorges and Mason having been submitted to the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, those functionaries reported in 1675 that the claimants had a good and legal title to the provinces in question; thus confirming the previous opinion of some years before. By this time the conduct of colonial matters had been again transferred to fresh hands, being now restored to the Privy Council, from which a standing committee was formed, with the designation of "The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations." The members of this committee, having considered the grievances of Gorges and Mason, presented to the King in Council, on the 20th of December, 1675, a report on the subject, in which they said that, however fair the proofs of the petitioners' titles might seem to be, they could not undertake to advise his Majesty to determine anything *ex parte*, and without hearing what the people of Massachusetts had to say. They therefore recommended that the rulers of that colony should be required to

send over agents sufficiently empowered to answer for them. The Privy Council adopted this suggestion of its committee, and determined that the agents should be allowed six months for making their appearance. A few days before, the councillors had agreed that it would be unwise to send out Commissioners a second time, because of the expense, the uncertainty of success, and the danger of receiving some fresh affront. Besides, it would look like awarding execution before the colonists had been heard. It was therefore, they considered, more advisable to require the plantation to send its representatives to England. If it refused, his Majesty would then know better how to proceed. The general plan of operations having been shadowed forth, and accepted by the King, a circular letter to the several New England colonies was composed after much deliberation; but it was determined not to recommend the King to appoint a Governor, or to impose any taxes or other contributions.



VIEW ON THE HUDSON.

The advice thus given seems to have been moderate and fair. The colonists were not to be condemned unheard, or on one-sided information; nor were hard terms to be exacted from them in any case. The recommendation not to tax the plantations was especially wise; for those distant settlements had already suffered from a revenue law passed in February, 1673, by which, for the benefit of the English Exchequer, duties were imposed on certain commodities conveyed from one plantation to another. Considerable irritation, moreover, had been produced by the Navigation Act, which had been contrived with the selfish view of feeding the commerce of the mother country



MUTINY ON HUDSON'S SHIP.

at the expense of its dependencies. It has been previously explained that the object of that Act, as originally passed during the Commonwealth, and enlarged in its operations by the early Parliaments of Charles II., was to confine the trade of the colonies, except in a few special instances, to English ports, and to articles carried in English vessels. The natural effect of monopolies is to enhance the price of commodities to an almost indefinite extent, and thus to aggrandise the small body of dealers to the disadvantage of the much larger body of purchasers. The people of Massachusetts resented the Navigation Act, and evaded it whenever they could. They were a commercial people, placed under circumstances which rendered freedom of trade particularly desirable. The harbour of Boston was crowded with vessels from all the leading nations of Europe. Massachusetts, in its turn, sent out its merchant-ships to the most promising regions of the world, and enjoyed the carrying trade of the chief Anglo-American colonies. Wealth was rapidly accumulating, and it was considered a great hardship that the industry of a people which had nothing but industry to depend on should be crippled, to swell the profits of English capitalists. In effect, the Navigation Act was not greatly felt, because the colonists contrived for the most part to escape its provisions. But the law was against them, and it was feared that it might soon be enforced with stringency. Some men of business in England, it is true, doubted whether the law was not more prejudicial than advantageous in its operation; but these were the exceptions. The greater number conceived that their profit lay in a rigorous application of the statute, and clamoured with no uninfluential voice for a sharp account with the defaulting traders of Boston. Among the persons so thinking was the eminent merchant, Sir Josiah Child, who expressed himself, in a treatise on commercial subjects, strongly in favour of maintaining the existing restrictions on the trade of New England. He was of opinion that foreign plantations do a positive injury to the country which sends them forth, if their trade be not confined to that country by good laws (by which he meant prohibitory laws), and the severe execution of all such enactments. If, he contended, the New England colonies were not kept to the rules of the Navigation Act, the benefit which they might otherwise yield to the parent State would in a few years be wholly lost.

Thus it happened that commercial interests, as then understood, conspired with political reasons to determine the English Government, in 1676, to take up once more those questions of jurisdiction over the North American colonies which had been so unsatisfactorily discussed ten or eleven years earlier. It was thought that the period was a very convenient one for renewing the former attempt, as the Dutch, on whose assistance the Massachusetts men might possibly have reckoned, were engaged in a serious war with France. The King therefore despatched his new demands by an agent who, until then but little known, soon acquired a reputation for the vigour of his proceedings. This was Edward Randolph, a relative of Robert Mason, and previously, it would appear, a dependent on the Duke of York.

But it is necessary that we should now for awhile turn our attention from the affairs of New England, to trace the progress of important events in another direction.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Situation of New York City—Dutch Origin of the State—Maritime Enterprise of the Dutch Republic—Henry Hudson, the English Navigator—His Expedition, in the Service of a Dutch Company, to discover the North-east Passage to Asia—His Voyage diverted to the North-west—Discovery of the Bay of New York, and of the Hudson River—Character of the Scenery—Tragic Fate of Hudson—Colonisation of the Country by the Dutch—Manners and Habits of the Natives—Claim to the Territory set up by the English—Progress of the Dutch Colony of New Netherland—Negotiations with the Colony of Plymouth—A Charter, with Feudal Provisions, imposed on the Dutch Colonists by the Home Government—Collisions between Dutch and English—Peopling of Delaware by Swedes—Sanguinary Feuds between the Dutch of New Netherland and the Indians—Massacre of Indians—Their Retaliations, and Ultimate Conclusion of Peace.

On a small island, situated at the confluence of the Hudson with the East River, or strait of Long Island Sound, rise at the present day the mansions, the humbler dwellings, and the wharfs of a great city, which, though non-existent two centuries and a half ago, is now one of the chief seats of trade, and one of the largest and most remarkable centres of population in the world. New York ranks with the principal cities of either hemisphere. Its commerce is already so vast, and

increases at so rapid a rate, that in the ensuing century it will probably exceed the dealings of any community on the earth. A narrow bay extends in front of this city, and emigrants from all parts of the globe, arriving in those shallower waters from the wide surges of the Atlantic, see before them the towers and steeples of what is to many a place of refuge from the storms of life. Beyond the most prominent and distinctive objects, which seem to start out of the grey environment of sea and frith and river, stretch the pastures, the forests, and the mountains, varied by shining mere and rushing stream, which form the State of New York, and extend from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, on the east, to the Canadas on the north and north-west, to Lakes Erie and Ontario on the west, and on the south to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the Atlantic Ocean. This State, now one of the most important in the Union, was early in the seventeenth century in the possession of savage tribes, and a generation later was a dependency of Holland. Dutch blood still mingles largely in the race that peoples it. Dutch names are to be found scattered about its towns and villages. Dutch forms of architecture yet linger in quiet, out-of-the-way localities; and something also of the Dutch spirit—formal, sedate, industrious, mechanically ingenious, and solidly respectable—is apparent in the manners of the country folk. New York city is cosmopolitan, and at the same time distinctively American. New York State is even now to a certain extent Dutch. Yet for two hundred years it has formed part of that great association of American commonwealths which own kinship with the English nationality.

The region to which our attention is now directed was for many years a battle-ground of races. The Bay of New York is believed to have been discovered by Verazzano, an Italian in the service of France, who in 1524 performed a journey to that part of North America. But neither France nor Italy acquired any possessions on the shores of the Bay. Italy, indeed, is unrepresented in the New World which the maritime genius of her citizens did so much to reveal; and the settlements of the French were in other directions. Those who contended for the mastery in what is now the State of New York were the English and the Dutch; and, strange to say, the first effectual exploration of the land was due to their united efforts. After the Republic of the Seven United Provinces of Holland had been formed, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the people of that Confederation turned their thoughts to commerce and marine adventure, as the most likely methods of consolidating their power by the acquisition of wealth. Even while their desperate struggle with Spain was going on, they were forming plans of colonisation or discovery in the West Indies, in the north of America, and in the south of Africa. The same eager desire to find a northern passage to the distant shores of Asia which had fired the souls of so many Englishmen, and had led to some of the boldest expeditions of that epoch, was then excited in the minds of Dutchmen. They made two attempts, a little before the close of the century, to pass by Nova Zembla and Muscovy to the half-fabulous empire of Cathay, and suffered as Willoughby had suffered before them, though without so fatal a result. The establishment of the Dutch East India Company, in 1602, increased the wish of all speculators to shorten the route to China, Hindostan, and the adjacent countries; and a company of London merchants fitted out an expedition which they placed under the command of an English seaman whose name is now famous in two continents—Henry Hudson. That dauntless navigator started in the year 1607 with his only son, and sailed along the eastern coast of Greenland beyond the 80th degree of latitude, when he was stopped by the ice. He had, however, advanced to within eight degrees of the pole (though his crew consisted of only ten men and a boy), and had thus reached a point never before attained by any seaman. He saw before him the white and silent mystery of the extreme North; then, returning to England, made preparations for another attempt.

In the following year he was again exploring the same perilous and gloomy wastes; but the longed-for secret was not discovered. The London merchants would not risk their capital on a third adventure; and Hudson, whose spirit was as hopeful as ever, offered his services to the East India Company of Holland. By that body a small vessel of discovery was equipped, placed under the command of Hudson, and manned by a crew partly English and partly Dutch. The *Crescent*, as this ship was called, sailed from Amsterdam on the 4th of April, 1609, and fell in with masses of ice in the neighbourhood of Nova Zembla. The design was to find a passage by the north-east; but, this being hindered by the frozen condition of the seas, Hudson resolved on turning to the west. The coast of North America must have been in some degree known to him, and he thought that, if his original object could not be secured, discoveries of value might be made in another direction. Accordingly he followed the eastern shores of Greenland with his face to the south, passed Newfoundland, coasted by Acadie, and anchored, it is believed, at the mouth of the Penobscot, in what is now the

State of Maine. Continuing his voyage, he sighted the promontory of Cape Cod, which Gosnold had discovered seven years before. Hudson was not aware of this previous discovery, and therefore gave to the craggy peninsula the name of New Holland. It is singular that, by the enterprise of an Englishman, the Dutch Republic thus acquired, as against England, an apparent claim to Cape Cod as the north-eastern boundary of New Netherland. The voyage of Hudson was prolonged southward as far as the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, when, recollecting that a colony of his countrymen was established in the neighbouring lands of Virginia, he veered to the north, discovered Delaware Bay, and proceeded on his route.

It was the 3rd of September when the *Crescent* came to an anchor off Sandy Hook, at the opening to those inland waters where the city of New York now stands. About the same time, and again six or seven years later, the French colonists of Canada entered the same part of America from the north; but their attempts led to no permanent result, while that of Hudson has borne important fruit, first to the nationality which he then served, and afterwards to the race to which he belonged. A magnificent scene spread all around. The neighbouring shores were covered with noble oaks, and the winding inlet of the sea appeared to tempt the voyager into promising regions of fertility. The savages paid him many visits; but Hudson did not care to be detained more than a week. Sailing then through the Narrows, he found himself in a convenient harbour at the mouth of a river which he proceeded to explore. This was the stream which has since been known by the great navigator's name. For ten days he proceeded up the river, at first admiring the rich woods, grasses, and flowers which clothed its banks, and the odours which were wafted on the still autumn air towards his ship, but at length oppressed by the melancholy overgrowth of the desert. He advanced so far that a boat which he sent off got a little beyond the site of Albany. The Indians inhabiting the land belonged for the most part to the great Algonquin family, and Hudson communicated with them as well as he could. But the land was so thinly peopled as to be in a great degree solitary. Interminable forests, which no axe had ever touched, burdened the ground, springing rankly from the marshy soil which spread its ooze about their roots. Successive generations of these trees lay prone beneath the shade of those which had succeeded them; the pools and swamps were alive with reptiles; and wild animals, devoid of fear where man so seldom came, saw the passage of Hudson's ship along the channel with quiet wonder. Everything was lonely, neglected, and strange. Vines were to be seen festooning many of the trees; yet the general aspect of Nature was not cheerful. The river, often choked by vast beds of reeds, diverted by sand-bars, or hindered by the dull growth of willows and sycamores, formed, at irregular intervals of its progress, dismal swamps, the malarious air of which was dark with mosquitoes, weaving their airy dances with the incessant activity of insect life. Rotting waters and decaying vegetation made every breath a peril. The land was beautiful, but deadly; and Hudson, satisfied by the examination he had made, retraced his course down the river, and once more gained the ocean.*

He returned, not to Amsterdam, but to Dartmouth, whence he forwarded to his employers an account of the voyage he had just concluded. The river he had explored was not, however, revisited by him; but the Dutch at once claimed sovereignty over the territories now laid open to them. The tragic fate of Hudson, though it draws us momentarily aside from the history of New York, must not be here omitted. In 1610 an English company was formed for once more attempting the north-west passage. Hudson, who was then about sixty years of age, sailed in a ship worked by twenty-three men, and in the summer months made his way through a strait opening westward from the Greenland Sea into a bay of vast dimensions. Both strait and bay are now known by the name of him who thus discovered them, though it would appear that they had been entered nearly a century before by Sebastian Cabot, if not still earlier by the Portuguese, Gaspar de Cortereal. The first impression of the navigator was that he had at length found that long-expected entrance to the Pacific which was to lead the nations of north-western Europe by a shorter route to the east. When, however, he perceived that he was really in no open sea, but in a land-locked bay, he resolved to winter in the southern part, hoping to pursue his discoveries in the spring. He anchored his ship in a small creek, and made the best arrangements that his slight resources allowed for meeting the rigours of the advancing season. His remaining stock of food was for a time eked out by wild fowl from the coast; but at the approach of spring the crew were reduced to great extremities, and were glad to feed on frogs and moss. Nevertheless, Hudson would not relinquish his attempt. He fitted out his shallop for further discoveries, but found that he could not open

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. II., chap. 15.

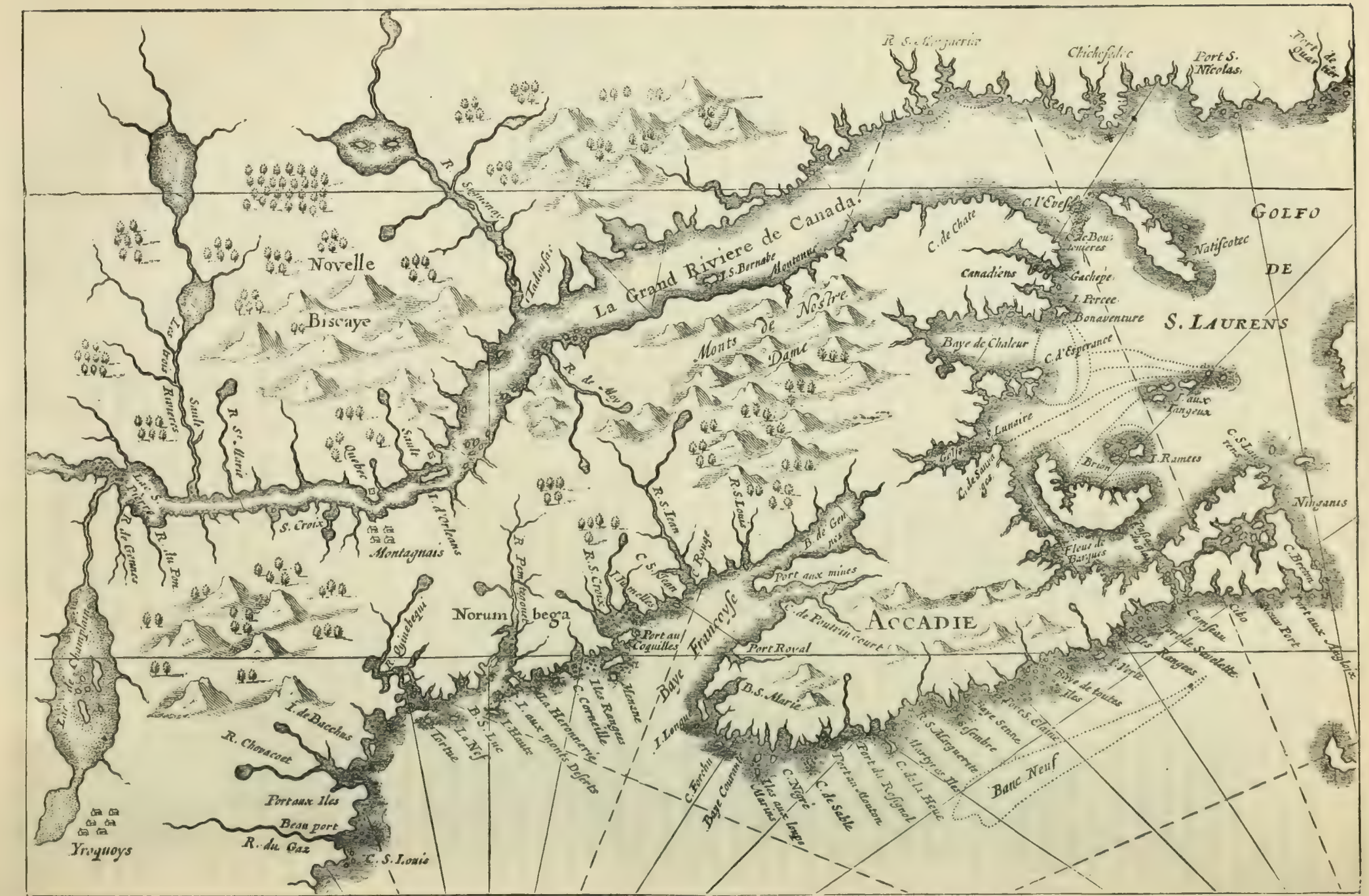
communications with the natives, and was therefore unable to revictual his ship. He divided his last store of bread among his men, and wept as he gave it them. Sadly setting his face towards home in the summer of 1611, he re-entered the narrow seas, and was suddenly confronted by a new danger. The men, rendered wild by distress, proved mutinous. Hudson became angry, and threatened to set the insubordinate on shore. The sailors anticipated any such action by invading their commander's cabin in the night, binding him, and putting him on board the shallop, together with his son and seven others, four of whom were sick. Then ensued one of those acts which raise our common nature to the level of the divine. Philip Staffe, the ship's carpenter, insisted on being put on board the shallop also, saying he would share his captain's fate. The little vessel was cut loose, and drifted with the wind into immeasurable fields of ice. At that midsummer season, in such latitudes, there is no night; but there is desolation unspeakable, and scarcely the possibility of succour to a crew of wandering wretches in an open boat. As those ten men passed out of sight of their assassins, they passed out of all human record. Their end is a mystery. They may have starved with utter hunger; they may have foundered in the icy seas. In any case, they were never heard of more. The mutineers, on their return voyage to England, suffered terrible hardships, and were in the last stage of weakness when picked up by a fishing smack. Four had been killed by savages; one died of want; and all were compelled, when their stores ran out, to live on the fried bones of fowls, on offal, and on candle-grease. Even their prolonged misery, however, will not save them from the detestation of succeeding times. But the name of Hudson will live for ever in the glorious history of maritime adventure.*

The Dutch, in the first instance, sought to turn their new possessions to account by simply trafficking with the Indians. It is generally stated that in 1613 Captain Argall, when returning to Virginia from his attack on the French settlement at Port Royal, found a few rough hovels erected on the island of Manhattan by Dutch mariners and traders in fur; and that, having informed them that the land was a portion of the King of England's territory of Virginia, they made their submission. A modern historian, however, has shown that the relation is improbable.† At any rate, the Dutchmen were soon followed by others. A fort was erected, about 1614, on the shores of Manhattan, and Dutch navigators, pursuing the investigations which Hudson had commenced, made various discoveries in that part of America. Adriaen Block, in a vessel built at Manhattan, explored Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay, and is thought to have sailed into Massachusetts Bay as far as the promontory of Nahant. Block Island, to the south-west of the former bay, takes its name from this seaman. In 1615, the States-General granted to a company of Amsterdam merchants a charter conferring a three years' monopoly of trade in these regions, which were defined as extending between Virginia and New France, from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, thus including the whole of what was afterwards called New England. During the same year, a settlement was begun on an island in the Hudson, a little below the present town of Albany. This river was for a time named after Prince Maurice, the Stadtholder of Holland, who favoured colonisation in America; and in 1621 the Dutch West India Company was formed, with a view to carrying out such projects. The association, which was incorporated for four-and-twenty years, received from the Government the exclusive privilege of trafficking and planting colonies on the coast of Africa from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and on that of America from the Straits of Magellan to the Arctic Ocean—that is to say, the entire length of the continent. This was manifestly an invasion of the previously-acquired rights (such as they were) of other States; but the Dutch Government conferred on the Company no political power or standing whatever. The States-General, it is true, gave the shareholders half a million of guilders, to help them in starting, and held stock to the amount of another half-million; but they did not guarantee any possessions that might be acquired, and declined beforehand to engage actively in any war in which the colonists might be concerned. If the Company conquered territory, the risk must be its own. Of the five branches into which this body corporate was divided, that which was seated at Amsterdam took charge of the contemplated settlements, which now received the name of New Netherland.

The Indians with whom the colonists were to come in contact, differed but little from those of Virginia. Their dwellings were commonly tents, which they moved thrice a year to the quarters assigned to planting, hunting, and fishing. According to old accounts (which, however, were often coloured by the preconceptions of the writers, or distorted by insufficient knowledge and the want of

* Purchas (Pilgrims and Pilgrimage).—Biographia Britannica. Art. "Hudson."

† Brodhead's History of New York, Vol. I.


La Grand Riviere de Canada.
Novelle
Biscaye
Norumbega
ACCADIE
GOLFO
DE
S. LAURENS
Montagnais
Yroquoys
Monts de Dame
Nostre
Baye de Chaleur
Port Royal
Port aux mines
Port au Coquilles
Fleur de Barjues
Banc Neuf
Natiscotec
Canadiens
Gachepe
Bonaventure
Nihganis
Port aux Anglois
Port Quar
Chicheſdic
Port S. Nicolas
Quebec
Montmy
Tadoussac
Port aux Tangeux
Port de Scanelette
Cibo
Camſeau
Bay de toutes Iles
Baye Seine
Port S. Clastre
Port de Rosignol
Port au Mouton
Baye Courante
Baye Longue
Baye Franceyse
Port au Coquilles
Port de Poutrincourt
Port aux mines
Ile aux Heronnerie
Ile aux monts Desert
Ile aux Lapins
Ile Haute
Ile Percee
Ile Rameés
Ile Verte
Ile Marie
Ile Negre
Ile de Sable
Ile Longue
Ile de Bacchus
Ile de Grimaces
Ile de Sauvages
Ile de Monelles
Ile de Marguerite
Ile de la Heue
Ile de Martyrs
Ile de Verte

a common language), these savages worshipped the devil, and, when they met about Michaelmas to engage in hunting, performed a remarkable ceremony of a sacrificial order. The priest first collected money (wampum) from the people. This he set on the top of some flat-roofed house, and, returning to the interior of the building, called upon their god to take it, the worshippers in the meanwhile howling, and beating both the ground and themselves, until, as we are told, a devil appeared in the likeness of a man, a bird, or a beast. The people being then unable to stir for fear, the priest would go out, secure the money, and return to lay the spirit. The Indians of these tribes were much addicted to warfare, which, however, they conducted on a very insignificant scale, counting it a great fight if seven or eight were slain. Their customs with regard to the dead were singular, and suggest a greater amount of tenderness than is usually attributed to savages. In common with other tribes, they buried the dead man upright, with his weapons, money, and goods, for use in the other world, painted their faces black, and lamented at the grave at stated intervals. The grave itself they continued to keep trim, fenced it with a hedge, covered it with mats, and suffered no grass to grow near it. The name of the deceased was not to be mentioned, lest it should renew the grief of his relations. All of the same name changed it for another; and if the name was a word of common speech, they invented a new one, that the mournful sound might not be perpetuated.*



PETER STUYVESANT.

Whether the story about Argall be true or false, it is unquestionable that the English Government always regarded the presence of the Dutch on the river Hudson as an invasion of English territorial rights. Captain Dermer, a companion of Captain Smith, touched at the Dutch settlement in 1615, and reported that the Indians had forbidden the

* Jeremy Collier's Dictionary, 1701. Art. "New York."

Hollanders to settle there, the country being in possession of the English. They answered that they had understood no such thing; that they had found no English there; and that they hoped they had not offended.* Six years later—in 1621—Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador in the Low Countries, was instructed to remonstrate with the States-General against intrusions in New England, as that part of North America began now to be called. The Dutch Government promised to look into the matter, but nothing was done. It is doubtful whether, as alleged by some early writers, the Dutch ever opened negotiations with James I. for a station in the harbour where New Amsterdam (now New York) was erected shortly after the supposed transaction. They seem to have quietly assumed that, as the ground was not previously occupied, except by scattered tribes of Indians, they had as good a right as anybody else. The celebrated Dutch seaman, Cornelius Mey, was there in 1623, when he explored the southern part of New Jersey, ascended the river Delaware, and took possession of the adjacent lands. He built a fort (called by him Fort Nassau) on Timber Creek, a stream flowing into the Delaware, which by the Dutch was designated the South River. The whole country between the southern shore of Delaware Bay and Cape Cod was now included in New Netherland; and serious efforts at colonisation were commenced. The nucleus of New Amsterdam soon grew up on the island of Manhattan, which was purchased of the natives for a small sum. In 1624, Peter Minuits, the commercial agent of the West India Company, was made governor of the settlement, and continued in that office eight years. A family was planted on Long Island, which extends eastward from the mouth of the river Hudson; and symptoms of a vigorous life were everywhere apparent. Holland, while its own existence as an independent State was as yet unassured, was creating new political organisations beyond the Atlantic. The Batavian Republic was not fully recognised until the Peace of Münster, in 1648. Spain still asserted her sovereignty over the United Provinces, though ineffectually; yet Dutchmen were founding fresh States in America, and inflicting such reprisals on Spanish commerce, by means of chartered privateers, that in 1628 the Spanish prizes thus taken were almost eighty-fold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherland for the four preceding seasons.†

The visit to New Plymouth of Isaac de Rasières, chief of the Dutch merchants at New Amsterdam, and second to the Governor, allusion to which has been made in Chapter XIX., occurred in the year 1627. His arrival was preceded by a letter from Minuits to Bradford, informing him of the establishment of the Dutch colony, and assuring him of a wish to cultivate relations of commerce and friendship. Bradford wrote in reply, promising the neighbourly good-will of his fellow-emigrants, and offering business intercourse, but at the same time warning the new-comers against encroaching on any territory north of the fortieth degree of latitude, which belonged to the Council for New England. The Dutch courteously maintained their right to trade in those parts—a right which they derived from the authority of the States-General, and which, they added, they would defend. To this rejoinder Bradford responded by reiterating his statements with greater amplitude and emphasis, and by suggesting a reference of the matters involved to the Governments of England and Holland. A request that the Dutch would send some envoys, for conference on their affairs of business, led to the visit of de Rasières, who left his settlement about the end of September. The authorities of New Amsterdam were very anxious to prevent the Plymouth people from sending expeditions to the west, lest they should discover the large trade in furs which their neighbours were carrying on, and should get it into their own hands. The English had recently built a shallop, in which they proposed to cruise about, and open a trade in wampum. De Rasières, in a letter preserved in the national archives at the Hague, and written after he had returned from Plymouth, says that the English had threatened that, if the Dutch would not leave off dealing with the Indians, they (the English) would be obliged to use other means.

The Dutch envoy came up Buzzard's Bay, early in October, with trumpets blowing, and several attendants about him. He sold various commodities to the Plymouth people, especially wampum, hoping in this way to prevent their seeking a direct trade in that article with the Indians. But the discussion of the matters in dispute does not seem to have been very satisfactory. In returning, de Rasières took with him another remonstrance against the alleged intrusion on English ground. Nevertheless, there had been some interchange of courtesies. The Pilgrims assured the Dutch that they would never forget the kindness they had received in Holland; and the Dutch told the Pilgrims where they would find the best market for the wampum they had bought. The Hollanders

* Briefe Narration of the Original Undertakings, &c., by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in Massachusetts Historical Collection, Vol. XXVI.

† Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. II., chap. 15.

suggested to the English that they would advance their own interests by removing to the lands about the Connecticut; and the English begged the Hollanders not to interrupt their trade in beaver-skins on the Narragansett. Each set of colonists seems in truth to have been afraid of the other. Bradford, in writing to the Council for New England about the state of affairs, said he had been informed that the Dutch far exceeded all the other settlers in that part of America, both in strength of men and in fortifications. The countrymen of de Rasières evidently thought the same of their rivals. It is a noteworthy fact that, before the Pilgrim Fathers left Holland, the Dutch, on two occasions—in 1617, and again in February, 1620—urgently desired them to join in a common settlement on the river Hudson. But Robinson's congregation could not forget that they were Englishmen; and one of their chief reasons for wishing to go to some part of America belonging to the English Crown was that they might not be lost in the Dutch nationality.

New Amsterdam had by 1628 acquired a population of two hundred and seventy persons. It is said that the Indians treated the first settlers with kindness, and gave them their daughters in marriage; but the authority for this statement is itself Indian.* The plantation thus growing in importance, the Dutch Government, in 1629, determined to introduce some check on that condition of freedom which they at first encouraged. The States-General subjected the colonists to a Council of Nine, and imposed on them a charter of privileges contrived for the benefit of those who proposed to plant colonies in New Netherland. Holland, though she had thrown off her foreign tyrants, was a Republic of the aristocratic order; and the political state established in her American dependency by this charter was one strongly imbued with feudalism. It created a number of lords of the manor, with large territorial possessions, and considerable power over the humbler colonists. A creditable feature of the document was the stipulation that the soil was to be purchased of the Indians. One of its bad provisions was that in which, in order to protect the manufactures of the mother country, the colonists were forbidden, on pain of banishment, to make any woollen, linen, or cotton fabric. Yet there was a worse feature than this—the introduction of negro bondage, which, however, was made conditional on the slave trade being found profitable. Under the charter, many large estates were purchased of the natives by wealthy Dutchmen; but, as several of the earlier settlers had already established themselves on some of these territories, disputes frequently arose. The favoured proprietors acquired land in Delaware and New Jersey, as well as in what is now the State of New York. De Vries, an early Dutch writer on America, planted a colony of thirty persons on the southern shore of Delaware Bay in 1631, and in the following year Harvey, the Governor of Virginia, recognised the plantation in a grant of commercial privileges to Clayborne. After the return of De Vries to Holland, Osset, his successor, got into collision with the Indians, and brought a great calamity on the little settlement. The savages, enraged at the death of one of their chiefs, laid an ambush, and succeeded in murdering every one of the emigrants. Delaware soon afterwards passed into the hands of a few Swedish settlers, and ultimately, after another period of Dutch occupancy, into the possession of the English. De Vries, on once more seeking the western hemisphere, in 1633, settled at New Amsterdam. Minuits had been removed from his position of Governor in the previous year, and, on his way back to Holland, was driven by stress of weather into Plymouth, in England, where his ship was seized by Captain Mason, for carrying on an unlawful trade in a country belonging to the English King. The captain also made a representation on the subject to Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. The Dutch Ambassador remonstrated, and the vessel was ultimately released as an act of favour; but the English Government emphatically asserted its right to the territory about Hudson's River.

The successor to Minuits in the government of New Netherland was Walter Van Twiller. Under his administration, a trading house was erected on the Delaware, or South River, and another on the Connecticut, which brought the Dutch colonists into disputes with the English. Van Twiller was succeeded by William Kieft, in whose time the contentions between the English and Dutch were carried to considerable lengths. Armed collisions were not uncommon, for Kieft dealt in summary fashion with all whom he deemed intruders. In 1642 he drove off a party of English who attempted to settle at the north-western end of Long Island, where they had purchased some land of the Indians, and of a person who pretended to be an agent of the Earl of Stirling, patentee of the Council for New England. The Dutch, to mark their sovereignty over the place, set up the arms of the Prince of Orange on a tree. The Englishmen, disregarding this intimation, began to build, took down the Prince's arms, and got one of the Indians to draw a grotesque visage in its place. Kieft was

* Speech of an Indian chief in 1643.

equally peremptory with a factory established on the Delaware by emigrants from New Haven. He destroyed the property of these men, and made the people themselves prisoners. He was also accused of disregarding complaints against the Dutch for harbouring fugitives from justice and runaway servants, for furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition, and for purchasing goods stolen from the English. In 1643, Kieft made a counter-complaint to the federated colonies of New England, alleging encroachments on the part of Connecticut, and desiring to be informed whether, if he were to come to blows with that colony, he should draw upon himself the hostility of its fellows. Some correspondence ensued, without anything being settled; and shortly afterwards the Dutch, finding themselves pressed by the Indians, applied to New Haven for armed assistance. This was refused, but an offer of provisions was made instead.

The temporary colonisation of Delaware by the Swedes took place in the year 1638. Twelve years earlier, Gustavus Adolphus, turning his mind to the advantages which might be derived from colonisation, had encouraged the formation of a commercial company with that object. The settlements which it was hoped to effect in the New World were to be free from the curse of slavery, and to be open as places of refuge to all Protestant countries, and to oppressed Christendom generally. European wars, and the complications of European politics, delayed the realisation of this scheme; but in 1638 a small number of Swedes and Finns were conducted to the Bay of Delaware by Peter Minuits, the first Governor of New Amsterdam, who conceived himself to have been ill-used by his own country. Lands were purchased of the natives, and a fort was erected, which the emigrants entitled Christiana after the infant Queen of their native land. The Dutch were not slow to remonstrate against this invasion of what they regarded as their own province; for, although they would not admit the English claim of prior possession, they were ready enough to advance a similar title themselves. Kieft sent a formal protest against the Scandinavian irruption, but did not dare to make any attempt at ousting the newcomers. In a few years, upwards of a hundred families from the same northern kingdom had arrived in Delaware; and the official residence was established a few miles below the site of Philadelphia, in the present State of Pennsylvania. Some English also settled in the same parts; but they were compelled to submit to Swedish jurisdiction.

The first discovery of the Delaware is one of the many disputed questions of early American history. The Dutch claimed it for themselves, as against the Swedes; but it seems probable that it was really due to the English. In 1610, Captain Argall entered the Bay, and called it after Lord Delaware, who was at that time Governor of Virginia. Three years later it was found that, by a short cut, a passage for boats could be opened from the tributaries of the Chesapeake to the Delaware River. In 1619, Captain Dermer coasted from Cape Cod to Cape Henry, explored the Delaware and the Hudson, and perceived that the Dutch had already opened a trade in furs with the Indians. This shows that the Dutch were acquainted with the country as early as 1619; but it does not prove that they knew or suspected its existence in 1610, or even in 1613. In 1631, Nathaniel Basse, a councillor of Virginia, was authorised to invite New Englanders who disliked "coldness of climate or barrenness of soil" to settle in Delaware Bay. Some Englishmen ascended the river in the following year, and were murdered by the Indians near the site of Fort Nassau, now Gloucester, in New Jersey. English enterprise was just then greatly attracted towards this part of North America; and Sir John Lawrence, Sir Edmund Plowden, and others, petitioned the King for a grant of Long Island and thirty square miles on the mainland, to be called Sion. This petition was renewed at a subsequent date, together with a request for the small isles lying between thirty and forty degrees of latitude, six leagues from the shore in Delaware Bay, and forty square leagues of the adjoining coast, to be held as a county palatine, and called New Albion,* with privileges similar to those which had been granted to the first Lord Baltimore in Newfoundland. The request was granted by King Charles I. on the 24th of July, 1632, when he ordered Secretary John Coke to give directions for the issuing of a patent for Long Island and the adjacent country to Sir Edmund Plowden and his associates. Charles was anxious for an extensive examination of North America, which was still only known in a very general and imperfect way. In September, 1633, he issued to Captain Thomas Young, gentleman, of London, a special commission,† authorising him to fit out ships and appoint officers for exploring all territories of America that

* Sir Edmund Plowden, in his will, dated July 29th, 1655, had the audacity to style himself "Lord, Earl Palatine, Governor, and Captain-General of the Province of New Albion in America;" but his claim to the title of "Earl of Albion" was never recognised by the College of Arms.

† Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIX.

he wished to examine. So ample were the powers granted to this adventurer that English subjects were commanded not to impede his movements, even though they had received patents before the date of his commission. The expedition started in the spring of 1634, under command of Young himself, and of Lieutenant Robert Evelyn, a relative of John Evelyn, the author, and also of Young. During the same year, the explorers appear to have sailed up the Delaware in a shallop, and to have established a post at Eriwomeck, not far from the mouth of the Schuylkill, and another at a spot within the limits of the present city of Philadelphia.*

English and Dutch were now fairly struggling for the mastery in the vicinity of the Delaware. The Dutch position, Fort Nassau, was seized, in September, 1635, by Captain George Holmes and a party from Virginia. These persons were afterwards captured by the Hollanders, and carried to Manhattan, whence they were sent back to James Town. Young, on his return to England, asked permission of the King, on behalf of himself and his associates, to take possession of any such inland countries as they might discover. Jerome Hawley, councillor of Maryland, seems to have been in some position of authority on the Delaware in 1638; for when the Swedes entered that territory, he wrote to Secretary Windebank:—

"Right Honourable,—Upon the 20th of March last, I took the boldness to present you with my letters, wherein I gave only a touch of the business of our Assembly, referring your Honour to the general letters sent by Mr. Kemp from the Governor and Council. Since which time, here arrived a Dutch ship with commission from the young Queen of Sweden, and signed by eight of the chief Lords of Sweden, the copy whereof I would have taken to send to your Honour, but the captain would not permit me to take any copy thereof, except he might have free trade for tobacco to carry to Sweden; which being contrary to his Majesty's instructions, the Governor excused himself thereof. The ship remained here about ten days, to refresh with food and water, during which time the master of the said ship made known that both himself and another ship of his company were bound for Delaware Bay, which is the confines of Virginia and New England; and there they pretend to make a plantation, and to plant tobacco, which the Dutch do also already in Hudson's River, which is the very next river northward from Delaware Bay. All which being his Majesty's territories, I humbly conceive it may be done by his Majesty's subjects of these parts, making use only of some English ships that resort hither for trade yearly, and be no charge at all to his Majesty."

This probably called renewed attention to the country which Dutch, Swedes, and English were alike endeavouring to monopolise; and in 1641 Evelyn, Clayborne, and two others, published in England a statement setting forth the advantages of the country north of the entrance to Delaware Bay. In this document it was alleged that Clayborne had traded on the spot since 1627 (eleven years before the appearance of the Swedes there), and that Evelyn had resided in the region four years, and traded near the Schuylkill. Evelyn returned to America in the following year, and Sir Edmund Plowden visited the place called Eriwomeck, and took possession of it. The Dutch, however, sent two sloops from Manhattan to Fort Nassau, with orders to the commissary to enter the Schuylkill, and dispossess the English.† The day of English domination in this part of America had not yet arrived, and for the present the land was shared by the Dutchmen and the Swedes.

In the meanwhile, affairs were not going on well in the Dutch territories. Sanguinary feuds broke out between the Europeans and the Indians. Acts of violence were committed on both sides, and a regular *vendetta*, after the Corsican fashion, set in. White men and red men alike revenged the deaths of their relatives. A bounty of ten fathom of wampum was offered for every member of the tribe of Raritans; but severity only increased the mischief. A popular assembly was summoned to assist the Governor with its advice, and De Vries urged the propriety of cultivating friendly relations with the natives. A deputation of Algonquin chieftains expressed their sorrow at the continual shedding of blood, and offered to pay a fine for the recent killing of a Dutchman; but at the same time blamed the colonists for selling brandy to their comrades. The Dutchmen themselves, they ventured to remark, would fight with knives when they were drunk, and they could not expect the Indians to do better. Shortly after this interview, a party of Mohawks, armed with muskets, burst upon the Algonquins, and claimed them as tributaries. The latter begged assistance of the Dutch, and Kieft availed himself of the opportunity to attack the wretched savages, with a view to their extermination. On a dark winter's night in 1643, a party of soldiers from the fort at New Amsterdam, strengthened by sailors from some Dutch privateers

* Neill's English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century.

† Neill.

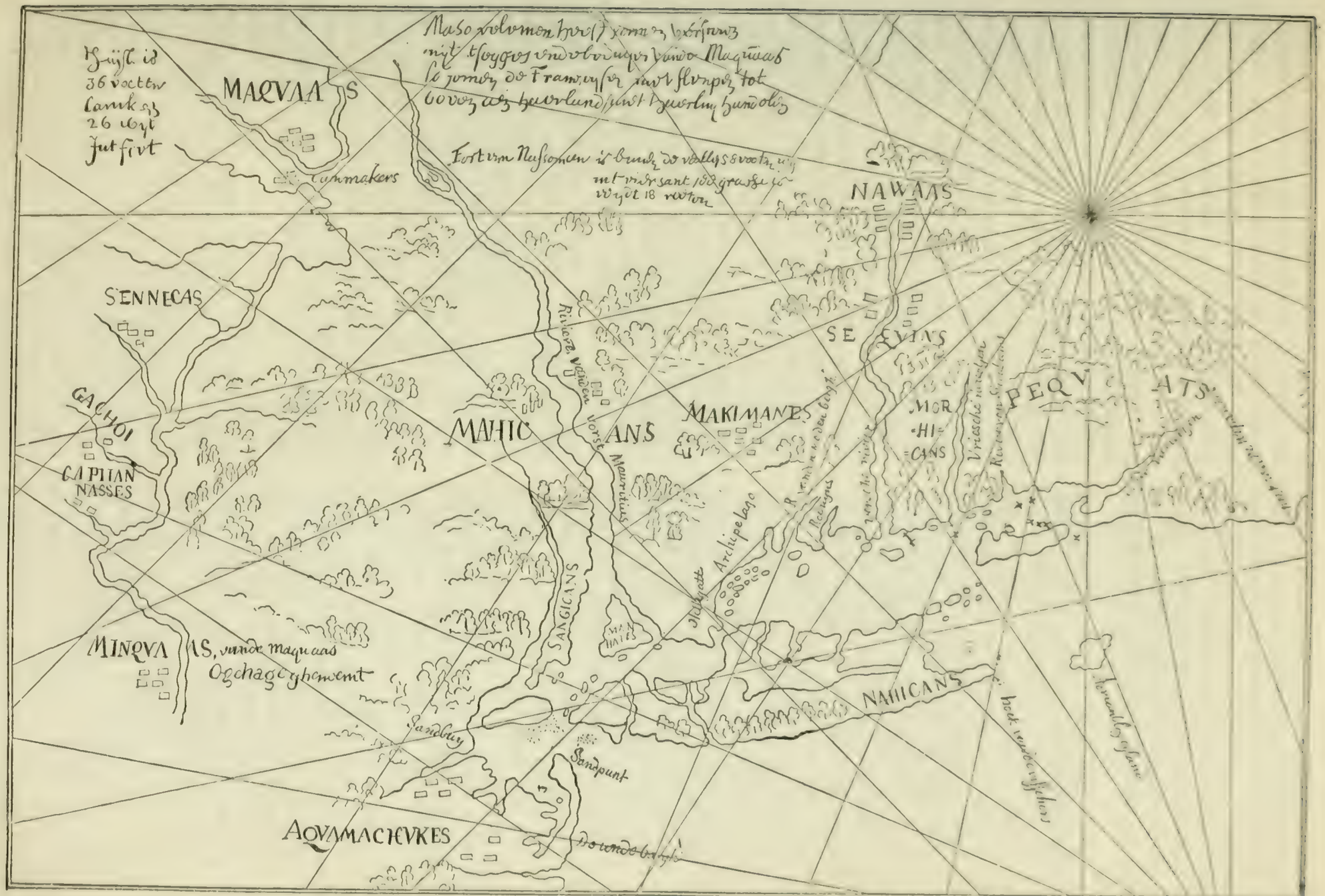
then lying in the harbour, crossed the Hudson, and, guided by one who was well-acquainted with the haunts of the Algonquins, suddenly attacked the unsuspecting men, women, and children encamped in the woodlands. Nearly a hundred were shot down; children were thrown into the river, and all attempts to rescue them prevented. Dawn revealed a horrible scene of carnage; but Kieft, so far from repenting of his atrocity, greeted the returning troops with exultation. The colonists, however, denounced the massacre as a shameful crime, and the Algonquins, made remorseless by their wrong, instituted a series of reprisals so widespread, persistent, stealthy, and successful, that the Dutch plantations were in a little while almost ruined, and the remnant of the population talked of returning to Holland. Many of the settlers were murdered, others carried into captivity; while whole villages were laid in ashes. It was in one of these raids that Mrs. Hutchinson was killed. The state of things at length became so serious that the colonists were compelled to send a deputation to the Indians to sue for peace, which it is doubtful if they would have obtained, had it not been for the mediation of Roger Williams. As it was, the peace did not last long. War again broke out, and continued for two years. The Dutch were commanded by John Underhill, formerly of Boston, the eccentric but courageous soldier who had already distinguished himself in the English hostilities against the Pequots. The war threatened to be one of extermination; but in 1645 peace was once more concluded. A general thanksgiving was appointed by the colony, and it was resolved to repudiate Kieft, the chief author of the mischief. He was deprived of the Governorship in 1646; and in 1647, or the following year, left America for his own country. Whether he would have been punished on arriving there, may be doubtful; but he did not live to put it to the test. The ship was wrecked upon the coast of Wales, and Kieft perished in the angry sea.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland—His Claim to Lands Occupied by the English—Violation of English Jurisdiction by Stuyvesant—Negotiations between New Netherland and New England—The Question referred to Arbitrators—Decision of the Arbitrators against New Netherland—Conquest by the Dutch of the Swedes in Delaware—Flight of Dutch Colonists on the Delaware into New England—Prosperity of New Amsterdam—Large Immigration from various Parts of Europe—Popular Assemblies—Declaration of Political Rights—Opposition of Stuyvesant to the Wishes of the Commonalty—Contemplated Expedition by Cromwell against the Dutch Settlements—New Netherland and Maryland—Revolutionary Condition of the Dutch Colony—Charles II.'s Claims against the Dutch—Conquest of New Netherland by the English.

After the deposition of Kieft from the Governorship of New Netherland, the post was occupied by a man of higher character—Peter Stuyvesant, a valiant soldier who had served with distinction in the West Indies, and had also some reputation as a scholar.* He assumed office in 1646, and at once began a policy of justice towards the Indians. He likewise urged on the mother country, and at length obtained, the substitution of free trade for that system of monopoly which had previously been enforced for the advantage of the home merchant. Under his rule, the colony soon more than recovered the prosperity it had lost. The greater part of the small island of Manhattan was still covered by primeval forest; but the port was busy with arriving and departing ships, and the merchants of Amsterdam looked forward to the day when the commerce of this remote settlement would be sufficient to attract to itself the eager regard of Europe. Yet New Netherland had its troubles, quite apart from those which resulted from the hostility of Indians. The colonists were threatened towards the east by the rivalry, and as they regarded it by the encroachments, of a race to the full as enterprising and as apt to trade as themselves. The disputes with New England as to territorial rights, which had signalised previous years, broke out again under the government of Stuyvesant. As early as 1647, that official sent his Secretary to Boston, with a letter to the Governor (the elder Winthrop), expressing the good will of the Dutch towards the English community, but at the same time laying claim to all lands between the Connecticut and the Delaware. To this letter a somewhat

* Stuyvesant is perhaps best known to the general reader through the amusing fictitious History of New York, written by Washington Irving in the person of a supposed Diedrich Knickerbocker.



THE EARLIEST MAP OF THE NEW NETHERLANDS. (*From the Royal Archives at the Hague.*)

distant answer was returned, as the western colonies of New England feared to say anything which might have the effect of barring their own claims by a seeming recognition of others. Stuyvesant, however, was invited to an interview; and complaint was made of the sale of arms and ammunition by the Dutch to the Indians, and of the extortion by them of high duties from English traders.

Very shortly afterwards, Stuyvesant committed an act which was a glaring violation of the English jurisdiction. He captured a Dutch vessel in the harbour of New Haven for an evasion of dues claimed by New Amsterdam. It may have been that the claim was just; but the Dutch authorities had no more right to effect such a seizure in the waters of an English colony than to commit a similar act in the river Thames. What rendered the matter still more serious was that Stuyvesant, in writing on the subject to the aggrieved plantation, made an implied claim to the whole territory, and directed his letter to "New Haven in the Netherlands." The authorities of that settlement were not slow in carrying out reprisals. They imprisoned three of Stuyvesant's servants who were within their government. Stuyvesant demanded their restitution, but was refused. This occurred in the autumn of 1647; and in March, 1648, the Dutch Governor wrote to John Winthrop, proposing to submit the matters in dispute to him and the Governor of Plymouth, coupled, he added, "with some sort of retractation of his former claim." He had, upon reconsideration, perceived the false situation he had blundered into, and was desirous of a reconciliation with New England, especially as the West India Company had fallen into difficulties, and his own people were getting unruly. The Federal Commissioners, in the following September, addressed to him a joint letter, requiring to be informed what it was he proposed to refer, and what were his credentials; reiterating former complaints; and asserting the English jurisdiction within the English settlements in the most emphatic manner. Perplexed as to what course he should pursue, Stuyvesant, at the close of 1648, wrote home for instructions. The execution of Charles I. in January, 1649, led to a rupture between England and Holland, owing to the support which the latter gave to the Royalist fugitives; and the West India Company, doubtless fearing to bring about any further complication between the two countries, simply instructed their agent in America to live with his neighbours as amicably as he could. After one or two failures in the arrangement of preliminaries, Stuyvesant went to Hartford in September, 1650, while the Federal Commissioners were in session there, and addressed to them a letter which he dated as from "New Netherland." The Commissioners refused to treat until the implied pretension was abandoned. Stuyvesant acquiesced by dating his next letter "Connecticut;" and a correspondence then ensued. Besides minor grievances, the Dutch Governor complained of the English occupation of lands lying on the river Connecticut. The Commissioners, on the other hand, asserted the right of English settlers to plant in that region, and derived the right from "patent, purchase, and possession." Ultimately, Stuyvesant proposed that the Commissioners should delegate two unprejudiced persons out of the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, who, with two referees to be named by himself, should pronounce a judgment to be accepted as final. This was agreed to, and the arbitrators appointed were Simon Bradstreet and Thomas Prince, on the part of Massachusetts and Plymouth respectively, and Thomas Willett and George Baxter, English residents at New Amsterdam, on behalf of the Dutch colony. They were to bring to a conclusion the existing differences between the two parties; to make a provisional definition of boundaries; to determine on some course concerning fugitives; and to lay the bases of a neighbourly union.

These four negotiators did not take long in considering their award. It was made the very day after the issue of their commissions. In all essential respects the decision was against the Dutch; and the definition of boundaries was such as to give to the English the larger part of the disputed territory, though the Dutch were allowed to push their settlements as far as Oyster Bay on Long Island, and to the neighbourhood of Greenwich on the mainland—a very slight concession, scarcely affecting the demands of the English. The settlers at New Amsterdam were greatly annoyed at this conclusion of the business, and Stuyvesant became unpopular in consequence. But it is not easy to see how he could have acted otherwise. His cause was weak; his resources for the assertion of a more aggressive policy were weaker still. He had no power at his disposal at all equal to that which New England could have brought into the field; and he had every reason to believe that he would have obtained no material support from the Government of Holland in the event of an armed collision. The treaty, if such it can be called, received the approbation of the West India Company, the directors of which doubtless saw the futility of resistance; and it was conditionally sanctioned by the States-General in a paper which

is the only document wherein the Dutch Republic recognises the boundaries of the settlement on the Hudson. The arrangement was never ratified in England; but, as the reader is aware, the New England colonies were in 1650 almost entirely independent of the country which had sent them forth.

Notwithstanding the arrangement dictated by the arbitrators, and submitted to by Stuyvesant, disagreements continued to arise. The New Haven people still prosecuted their colonising schemes on the Delaware, and came into frequent collisions with the rival nationality. But the chief opponents of the Dutch in that direction were the Swedes. The former built a fort, which they called Fort Casimir, on the site of Newcastle, within five miles of Christiana, as a protection against the Scandinavians. The Swedes, regarding this as a menace, sent a strong force against the place, and overpowered the garrison; but their triumph was short-lived. The Dutch West India Company gave directions to Stuyvesant to revenge their wrong, to drive the Swedes from the river, or to compel their submission. In September, 1655, the Dutch Governor sailed into the Delaware at the head of more than six hundred men. The expedition was one unbroken series of successes; in a little while, the whole of New Sweden, as it was called, submitted to the stronger. It had existed for about seventeen years, and the colonists, at the period of their subjection, fell short of eight hundred in number. Yet they have left some admixture of their blood among the heterogeneous elements that make up the population of the United States. They were an industrious, simple-minded, moral, and religious race, not without some dash of that wild and turbulent spirit which showed itself, centuries before, in the feats of Vikings and Berserkers. For some generations they cherished the old national sentiment, and were objects of tender interest to the Scandinavian race. Even now, their descendants in America point with a certain pride to the tradition of their northern origin.

A large portion of Delaware was shortly afterwards purchased by the city of Amsterdam, which, in accordance with what in those days was considered good political economy, instituted a strict monopoly in its own favour. The burgomasters required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past and future commands; but this grasping policy defeated itself. The colonists, finding in a little while that the conditions under which they had emigrated were too hard to allow them any chance of success, fled in large numbers to the neighbouring English colonies of Maryland and Virginia. Even soldiers in garrison took every opportunity of leaving, so as to better their fortunes in lands that were less oppressed. To check this out pouring, the proprietary made a law punishing with death any attempt to quit the province; but the flight continued, and by 1657 Delaware was almost deserted. New Amsterdam fared better. It still suffered occasionally from Indian attacks; and during the absence of Stuyvesant, on his expedition to New Sweden, the Algonquins appeared before the town in sixty-four canoes, and committed great havoc in the unprotected country. Yet, on the whole, the prosperity of the older Dutch settlement increased under the rule of Stuyvesant. The number of colonists rapidly augmented after 1650; commerce was pursued on a large scale, and the West India Company exercised a wise supervision over those errors of policy which the Governor at times committed, and those faults of temper into which his soldierly character occasionally betrayed him. A paternal despotism seems to have been Stuyvesant's ideal of government, and in working out this conception he arbitrarily interfered with taxation, the price of labour, the conduct of business, and the practice of religion. The Governor, as a rigid Calvinist, persecuted both Lutherans and Quakers. But the West India Company frequently interposed to moderate his crotchets and his zeal. The directors bid him strictly observe every contract, treat the merchants well, and leave to each honest citizen the peaceful enjoyment of his conscience. Religious toleration was established at an early date, and Jews were permitted to settle on the island, and join in its trade. New Amsterdam speedily became a place of refuge for the oppressed of Europe, and of some parts of America too. So many English settled on Manhattan that they were provided with an English secretary, with preachers who understood the English language, and with an English translation of the body of civil laws. These Englishmen formed an important part of the community, and it was probably owing to their initiative that the Dutch acquired such liberties as they were afterwards enabled to wring from their governors. The remnant of the Piedmontese Protestants, whose massacre moved the indignation of Milton in one of the noblest of his Sonnets, were invited by the municipality of Amsterdam to settle in New Netherland. A free passage was provided for them, and several joined their fellow-believers in the New World. French Protestants also went thither, and in such large numbers that it was found necessary to issue the public documents in French, as well as in Dutch and English. Holland

was by this time overpeopled, and the authorities were glad to send off the poor and unfortunate in large numbers, paying for their transit, and giving them a fresh chance in life under more favourable conditions. Farmers, mechanics, labourers, foreigners, and exiles, were the persons chiefly chosen; for it was wisely seen that mere gentry are of little use in an infant colony. Thus stimulated, population rapidly increased; and by 1664 New Amsterdam was a city of some importance.

Unfortunately, the plantation did not escape the blight of slavery. Africans were introduced into the settlement in large numbers, and the miserable barbarian from a distant quarter of the world had no rights but such as his oppressor granted him out of mere grace and favour. But the white man himself possessed very small political influence. As previously stated, a kind of consultative assemblies, consisting of a few members deputed by the towns, had been called into existence in 1641, to assist the Governor with advice during the Indian troubles; but these assemblies exercised little or no legislative power. Arbitrary imposts, however, were occasionally resisted by the community, or by the particular interests affected. Men were not wanting who for awhile talked of opposing all popular movements by the force of cannon; but the pressure of the commonalty soon became too great to be resisted. The movement against inconsiderate and unchecked taxation was so strenuous, earnest, and general, that in 1647 a compromise was proposed and accepted, by which it was agreed that certain persons should be nominated by the villages, from whom the Governor should appoint tribunes, to act as magistrates in trivial cases, and, on behalf of the towns, to give their opinion when consulted. This concession was followed in 1652, after an appeal to the mother country, by further privileges, granting to the towns some kind of municipal functions; yet the gain was not very considerable, and was limited by the controlling power of the State. In 1653, a general assembly of two deputies from each village of the colony assembled at New Amsterdam; and Stuyvesant, though he did not like such an innovation, was unable to gainsay it. The remonstrance and petition to which this assembly agreed, and which was drafted by the Englishman George Baxter, was a firm expression of political principles, such as the popular party in England had already triumphantly asserted in the House of Commons and on the field of battle. In effect, it ran :—

"The States-General of the United Provinces are our liege lords; we submit to the laws of the United Provinces; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the Fatherland, for we are a member of the State, and not a subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have at our own expense exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms,—demand that no new laws shall be enacted, but with consent of the people; that none shall be appointed to office, but with the approbation of the people; that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."*

A more decided expression of popular rights could not be found, even in the annals of revolutionary France. The principles of government to which modern Europe is every day rapidly approximating had their birth, or at least their first practical application, in America more than two hundred years ago. Englishmen and Dutchmen, beginning the world there under fresh conditions, freed from the trammels both of monarchy and feudalism, sought their ideal of government in the consent of the governed. But in New Netherland the attempt met with strong opposition. The petition of 1653 was not favourably received by Stuyvesant. He looked with contempt on the notion of men governing themselves; denounced the wishes of the petitioners as absurdly extravagant; asked if they would set their names to the visionary aspirations of New Englanders; and demanded whether none of the Dutch nation could be found to draft their petition. He stated in his reply that laws would continue to be made by the Governor and Council; and added that, as evil manners led to good laws for their restraint, the institutions of New Netherland must be good—a compliment to the manners of the settlers which could hardly have repaired the damaged popularity of Stuyvesant. If, said the Governor, the people elected their own officers, every man would vote for one of his own stamp—the thief for a thief, the smuggler for a smuggler; so that fraud and vice would be authorised. This is the fundamental argument of all who deny popular rights—an argument as confidently advanced to-day as in previous ages, though probability was against it from the first, and experience has again and again shown its falsity. Communities are seldom so depraved that the smuggler and the thief form a majority; and it is a fact within the observation of most men that the collective sentiment of societies is generally on the side of what is fair and reasonable, and always in

* As quoted by Mr. Bancroft, who has compressed as well as translated the original Dutch.

advance of that of their worst members. It is the unrestrained despots, the privileged aristocracies, the little coteries that are banded together for purposes of self interest, the demagogues who make street revolutions in the name of the masses they afterwards dread to consult, it is these who are the real dangers to a State, the real supporters of whatever is false, and cruel, and dishonest. If there is one lesson to be derived from history, it is that nations may be trusted with their own interests. Yet it is a lesson which the privileged and the timid seem never capable of learning.

In their rejoinder to Stuyvesant's reply, the petitioners said that they designed nothing but the good of the country and the maintenance of freedom. Nature, they urged, permits all men to constitute society, and assemble for the protection of liberty and property—a democratic doctrine, anticipating those declarations of the Rights of Man which distinguished the close of the eighteenth century. This was perhaps taking rather higher ground than was prudent. Stuyvesant was probably alarmed, fearing some incursion of that Deluge which it is the self-appointed task of men such as he to fend off with little molehills of sand. He pronounced the dissolution of the assembly, and commanded its members to disperse on pain of severe punishment. In his farewell message he haughtily observed that he derived his authority from God and the West India Company—a conjunction which might savour of irreverence, if it were possible to suspect so grave a Calvinist of any such feeling. This time he had the support of his principals, the West India proprietors. They wrote to him that they approved of the taxes he proposed to levy. They exhorted him to have no regard to the consent of the people; to let them no longer indulge the idle dream that taxes could be imposed only by the consent of the governed. Here was imprudence on the part of the Company. The people would not submit to so high-handed a policy, expressed with so much insolence. The taxes were refused, and thoughts were entertained of soliciting the more liberal rule of England.

It so happened that at this very time a feeling of animosity against the Government of New Netherland was strongly excited in the confederated colonies of New England. To the grievances of former years was added a suspicion that Stuyvesant had entered into a plot with the Mohawks, the Nyantics, and other Indians, to attack the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. We have related in a previous Chapter the discussions which took place in the Federal Council on this subject, and have shown how the desire for immediate war, which was shared by three out of the four members of the League, was restrained by the greater coolness and prudence of Massachusetts. Though the Federation was thus withheld from going to war in its corporate capacity, individual colonies still thirsted for revenge. In October, 1653, the General Court of New Haven determined to seek the assistance of the mother country in chastising the New Netherlanders. Connecticut was equally well-disposed to the same plan of action; and circumstances favoured it. Cromwell, in the prosecution of his war with Holland, thought it would not be bad policy to strike a vigorous blow against the Dutch plantations in America, and accordingly sent a small fleet across the Atlantic, to take possession of New Netherland. It was under the command of Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett, both of them Massachusetts colonists, who had recently been in England. On the arrival of these ships at Boston, in June, 1654, both Connecticut and New Haven offered every assistance in their power for furthering the design, whether with or without the co-operation of Massachusetts; and considerable preparations for war were being made when news arrived that peace had been concluded between the two parent States. Stuyvesant was alarmed when he heard of the projected blow, and in great haste sent off to New Haven to inquire if the statement were true; but by that time the proclamation of peace had altered the position of affairs. A few months previously, however, Underhill, who in former years had fought on the side of the Dutch, sailed up the Connecticut to the Dutch house at Hartford, and posted a notice that, by permission of the General Court of Connecticut, he seized upon the place as belonging to enemies of the Commonwealth of England. But the General Court of Connecticut afterwards repudiated his act.

All this while, New Netherland continued on very good terms with Virginia, whose interests in no respects clashed with her own. Even during the war between England and Holland, Virginia and the Dutch settlement on the banks of the Hudson preserved the most perfect amity and good will. With Maryland, however, there was a cause of disagreement. The agent of Lord Baltimore claimed the southern bank of the Delaware, as being included in the Maryland patent. To this the Dutch replied that they had purchased the land from the natives, and colonised it, before the patent to the first Lord Baltimore was issued. It was not denied that such was the case; but the representative of the Maryland proprietor still urged his claim, and hinted at maintaining it by



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force. Interviews between the contending parties took place in 1659 and subsequent years, but no agreement was arrived at. The West India Company (which had not yet sold that particular part of Delaware to the city of Amsterdam) refused to yield an inch of territory, and resolved to defend its possessions, even to the shedding of blood.* The colony of Maryland was unable to seize on the coveted territory, and the two disputants continued to watch one another with a wary eye.

equivalent to saying that New Netherland had, of right, no separate existence at all — a conclusion to which that plantation could not be expected to accede. The time was a very harassing one for the Dutch. The settlers on the banks of the Esopus were attacked by savages, and murdered or carried into captivity. A state of war ensued, and was stopped only by the approach of winter. Internally, the colony was in a rotten and dangerous condition. It swarmed with poor — so much so,



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After the restoration of Charles II., the prospects of New Netherland became very unpromising. Massachusetts and Connecticut urged their claims to certain portions of the Dutch territory, and the latter of those two English colonies even proceeded to take actual possession of lands towards the Hudson.

Stuyvesant complained to the Council of the United Colonies more than once in the year 1663, but without obtaining redress. He was told that the original grant from the States-General bestowed no more than commercial privileges, and that Connecticut by its charter extended to the Pacific. This, as the agents of Connecticut frankly avowed, was

according to the Albany Records, that it was difficult to provide for their relief. Education languished, and almost died out. The settlers, knowing they were little better than the property of a corporation, hung back from going to the relief of villages that were threatened by the Indians, and demanded protection of the paid soldiers which the Company maintained. Such was the inevitable effect of a political condition which denied to men their natural rights, and made them the instruments by which other men, thousands of miles away, were enabled to get rich. Stuyvesant at length felt compelled, notwithstanding his horror of popular legislation, to summon an assembly. It met in 1663; another and larger diet followed in 1664; but the

* Albany Records.

deliberations of the Governor and delegates resulted in no harmony of feeling or unity of aim. There was every reason to believe that the colony would soon be invaded by England; yet nothing was agreed on as to the method of defence. The people still looked to their proprietors and to the home Government for protection against both internal and external enemies. On the other hand, Stuyvesant expected the people to help themselves. Matters grew worse every day. Portions of the colony were in open revolt, or in a mood of sullen discontent. The Connecticut men continued their advance, and purchased lands of the Indians without paying the least heed to the jurisdiction of the Hollanders. Danger from without was met by yet more fatal dangers from within.*

Charles II., forgetting his hospitable treatment by the Dutch Republic when he was an exile, seems to have resolved, shortly after his accession, to attack the Low Countries, and wrest from them whatever possessions they held in the New World. Pretexts were easily found, and a war ensued which is one of the least glorious in English history. Hostilities were still going on when the small fleet containing the four Royal Commissioners was despatched to New England in 1664. Three or four hundred troops were on board the vessels, and it was part of the instructions issued to the Commissioners that they were to overthrow the usurped authority of the Dutch, and, if they could manage it, obtain the co-operation of the New England colonies to that end. The King's claim was founded on the discovery of the mainland of North America by the Cabots, which certainly preceded that of any other navigators, and on the fact of James I. having, in 1606, granted the whole continent between the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude to the London and Plymouth Companies. This grant was prior, by about three years, to Hudson's discovery of the river now called after him, and of the adjacent country. The policy of the English Government was no doubt grasping, but it cannot be said to have been wholly devoid of reason and justice, as States at that time judged such matters. Not only had the Cabots, at the head of an English expedition, been the first to reveal the northern half of the western continent to European eyes; not only had James, on the faith of that discovery, assigned the land to certain corporations; but particular discoveries of regions now claimed by the Dutch—such as Gosnold's about Cape Cod—had been made from time to time. If a general discovery of lands on the Hudson gave the Dutch a pretext for excluding the Swedes and New Englanders from special localities, although unoccupied by any white people, the general discovery of North America by English seamen gave the Government of England a right to exclude the representatives of other Powers. The argument was ungenerous and impolitic all round; but, as against the Dutch, Charles II. had some case. What made the position of the Hollanders still weaker, if not in strict international law, yet in the estimation of ordinary Englishmen, was the circumstance that the discovery of the Hudson had been made by an Englishman in command of a vessel partly manned by Englishmen, though belonging to a Dutch Company. This, perhaps, was not much. The elder Cabot was a Venetian acting in the service of England. Columbus was a Genoese acting in the service of Spain. Such instances of sea-rovers giving their courage and ability to whatever nation would employ them, were frequent in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and were not understood to invalidate the right of any Power under whose flag a discovery was made. Yet the fact in question introduced an apparent flaw into the claim of Holland. As regards the Connecticut River, there was some doubt as to whether the Dutch or the English had the better title to its possession. It is probable, though not certain, that the former were the first to explore that stream; but, according to one of the early settlers, Morton, they told the Plymouth people that they would find it a good place for planting and trade, and thus parted with their exclusive right. In consequence of these representations, confirmed by the reports of Indians, some adventurous spirits from the Pilgrim colony undertook the plantation in 1633. The Dutch, who had already built a fort a little above the present town of Hartford, threatened to fire on the emigrants; but they proceeded in spite of these threats, erected a trading-house at Windsor, purchased lands of the Indians, and established settlements.† The contention of the Dutch that they alone were entitled to Connecticut was therefore doubtful, to say the least.

However these matters may have been, Charles II. determined to make himself master of New Netherland. He had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware, though this was a violation of the alleged rights both of the Dutch and English settlers. As soon as the Royal Commissioners had arrived at Boston, they informed the authorities

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. II., chap. 15.

† Belknap's American Biography. Edition 1843. Note by the Editor to Art. "Bradford."

there of his Majesty's design to attack the Dutch, and solicited assistance from Massachusetts. The General Court accordingly made an order for calling out two hundred volunteers, with proper organisation and supply, much to the surprise and chagrin of the Hollanders, who expected that the request would be refused. A curious proof of this is to be found in a letter addressed by the Directors of the Dutch West India Company to the Directors and Council of New Netherland, April 21st, 1664. "His Royal Majesty of Great Britain," they wrote, "being inclined to reduce all his kingdoms under one form of government in Church and State, hath taken care that Commissioners are ready in England to repair to New England to install Bishops there, the same as in Old England. We believe that the English of the North [*i.e.*, to the north of New Amsterdam], who mostly left England for the aforesaid causes, will not give us henceforth so much trouble, and will prefer to live under us with freedom of conscience, rather than risk that in order to be rid of our authority, and then again to fall under a government from which they formerly fled."* Events showed that the Directors were quite mistaken in their forecast. The people of Massachusetts, much as they suspected the Government of Charles II., had no reason to believe that they would be better off under the arbitrary rule of colonial Dutch. Moreover, they did not forget that they were Englishmen. Pride of race had probably its share in the determination of their course.

Stuyvesant, having reason to anticipate the impending attack, was in some degree prepared for it. New Amsterdam was not ill fortified, and might perhaps have held out against an enemy, if the Governor could have depended on the spirit of the people. But the colonists were alarmed and disaffected, and Stuyvesant, however well inclined to fight, knew that he had not at his command the stuff of which soldiers are made. The English fleet, having passed up the Narrows, moored off the battery in August, 1664, while a camp of New England volunteers was formed on the opposite shores of Long Island. The four Commissioners were on board the fleet, together with John Winthrop the Younger, and two [illegible] of Massachusetts. A joint committee, appointed by the Governor and the city, demanded of Nichols, the principal Commissioner, the cause of his presence. He replied by sending Colonel Cartwright and a party of soldiers with a summons to surrender, in immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty; on which condition the security of the inhabitants, in life, liberty, and property, would be guaranteed. Winthrop advised his personal friends, of whom he had many in the town, to accept these terms. Stuyvesant—a man who had already lost a leg in the wars of his country—answered that such an act would be reproved in Holland. For himself, he declared his willingness to die rather than yield; but the people were of a different mind. The burgomasters required a copy of the letter sent by Colonel Nichols, and, not being able to obtain it, called the principal inhabitants to the town hall, where a resolution was carried, to the effect that the community ought to know all that concerned its welfare. The letter was again demanded, and Stuyvesant passionately tore it into pieces. The burgomasters then drew up a protest against their Governor, and the general disaffection grew more serious every hour. The citizens refused to be enrolled as volunteers in defence of the place; in the small body of regular troops, amounting to no more than a hundred and fifty, symptoms of mutiny became apparent. After negotiations with the English Commissioners on board their vessel, a capitulation was agreed to on the 29th of August, and unanimously accepted at a meeting of the people, though it was not ratified by Stuyvesant until the surrender had virtually been made. The customs, religion, and municipal institutions of the Dutch were left intact, and the people were so well satisfied that only a small proportion returned to Holland. A few days later, Fort Orange surrendered, and was renamed Albany from the Scotch title of the Duke of York.† This was followed, early in October, by the capitulation of the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware; and the English flag now floated over the whole Atlantic coast, from the northern extremity of Maine to the southern limits of Virginia.

* O'Callaghan's Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, Vol. II.

† Albany is an old traditionary or poetical name of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXX.

New York in 1664—New Boundaries of Connecticut—Liberal Treatment of the conquered Dutch Territory—Separation of New Jersey from the Rest of the Dutch Possessions—A Free Constitution granted to New Jersey—Population of that Province—Growth of a Feeling of Discontent—Colonel Nichols Deputy-Governor of New York—Claims of Maryland—Arbitrary System of Government in New York—Resistance of the People to excessive Taxation—Renewed War between England and Holland—Reconquest of New York by the Dutch—Jealousy in England of the Dutch and the New Englanders—Major Edmund Andros—Dispute between the Dutch and the Government of Connecticut—Determination of the Federal Council to resist the Aggressions of the Dutch—Extensive Military and Naval Preparations—Extensive Seizure of English Ships—Contention for the Command of English Villages at the East End of Long Island—Further Proceedings of Connecticut on the same Island—Fury of the Dutch at the Restitution of New York to the English—Claims of Andros on Connecticut Territory—Encounter at Fort Saybrook—Policy of the Duke of York in the Government of his Province—Grant of a Constitution, and its Subsequent Abolition.

New Amsterdam became New York the moment the English flag floated over its public buildings. The population of the place at this period has been estimated at fifteen hundred,* and the town itself was not without some slight pretensions to dignity of appearance. It was built, not of timber or lath-and-plaster, like the majority of new colonial settlements, but of brick and stone, roofed with red and black tiles.† The Dutch sense of substantial domestic comfort had shown itself thus early, and old Amsterdam might not have been ashamed to confess kinship with its humble namesake at the mouth of the Hudson. Colonel Nichols, as soon as he had taken military possession of the town, was proclaimed Deputy-Governor: it was the discharge of his duties in this capacity that kept him so much away from Boston and the other New England towns when his fellow-Commissioners were afterwards endeavouring to fulfil the commands of the King. In 1667, at the peace of Breda, New York was confirmed to the English, who, in exchange, ceded Surinam to the Dutch. The country now forming the State of New Jersey was called Albania, and Long Island was redesignated Yorkshire. Connecticut hoped to receive some benefit from the conquest, and sent Winthrop and four others to New York to argue the question of boundaries with the representatives of his Majesty. The decision of the latter was, that the southern boundary of Connecticut was the sea, and that Long Island (which Connecticut would fain have possessed) was to be under the Government of the Duke of York. The western boundary was to be defined by a creek or river called Momoronook (reputed, according to the Commissioners, to be about twelve miles to the east of West Chester), and by a line drawn from its east point or side in a north-north-westerly direction towards the limits of Massachusetts. It was this decision which made it manifest to the General Court of New Haven that the incorporation of that colony with Connecticut had the support of the Royal agents, and could no longer be resisted.

The transfer of New Netherland to English dominion proved very generally satisfactory to the inhabitants. They acquired in this way a greater amount of liberty than they had possessed under Dutch rule, and their sense of nationality was not violently outraged. The towns were allowed to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan was permitted to elect deputies for the discussion of public affairs. The Navigation Act was not to come into operation for six months, and during that period direct intercourse with Holland remained open. That portion of New Netherland which lay between the Hudson and the Delaware was assigned by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, proprietors of Carolina; and to this new province, which received the name of New Jersey, very considerable liberties were granted. An assembly, composed of the Governor and Council, and of an equal number of popular delegates, was summoned, and security of person and property was guaranteed by laws thus made. There was to be no taxation except by the assembly; and civil and religious freedom received every guarantee which it is possible for a body of proprietors to give. It was, indeed, provided that the proprietors should have a veto on provincial enactments, and on the appointment of judicial officers and executive authorities; but the substantial rights of the colonists were secured by express stipulations. The Indians were to receive satisfaction for their lands, and these were to be leased to the settlers at a moderate quit-rent, which was not to be collected until the expiration of six years after the conquest. Unfortunately, however, the introduction of slavery was permitted, and even encouraged.

The population of New Jersey in 1664 was very small. A few Swedes were there, and a few Dutch. The land had been sighted by Verazzano as early as

* Brodhead's History of New York.

† Neal's History of New England, Vol. II., chap. 8.

1524, and Hudson had landed some of his men on its shores when exploring the great river in 1609. But several successive attempts at colonising had either failed, or but partially succeeded. In 1663, some of the New England Puritans, who had been living on Long Island, solicited of the Dutch permission to establish an independent colony, with powers of self government, on the banks of the Raritan and the Minnisink. After the transfer of the territory to an English company, these Puritans were permitted to settle on Newark Bay, although, as the lands had been previously disposed of to a Dutchman, the later grant was open to question, and became the subject of much dispute. A few Quaker families found their way to the province in 1664. Other patents were issued with an almost prodigal liberality, and by 1665 the coast of New Jersey was dotted over with small plantations and little villages, the scattered outworks of civilisation. Philip Carteret was appointed Governor, and received the submission of the colonists. Four houses were erected into the dignity of a town, which became the capital of the province; and this so-called town was entitled Elizabethtown, in honour of Lady Carteret. A number of Puritans from New Haven established themselves in the colony, and succeeded in giving a decidedly Puritan colour to its institutions. New Jersey in a few years began to acquire importance; but in 1670 an unlucky dispute broke out. The quit-rent which was due to the proprietors at that date was disputed by many of the colonists. They had paid the Indians for their land, and did not see why they should give anything further to a body of proprietors from whom they did not appear to receive the least equivalent. Both Nichols and Carteret had authorised the purchases from the natives, and therefore could not now plead ignorance of the arrangement. Nevertheless, the rents were demanded, and as persistently refused. Great discontent was excited in the colonists, and in May, 1672, they sent deputies to a constituent assembly, which deposed Philip Carteret, and transferred his office to James Carteret, a natural son of Sir George, the co-proprietor of New Jersey. Philip returned to England for fresh instructions, leaving a deputy in the nominal occupation of his place.

He resumed his government in 1675, and from that time followed a very liberal course. The payment of the quit-rents was postponed; liberty of conscience was granted, together with representative institutions. Trade with England, being unencumbered with customs, sprang up into active life; and the commerce of New York suffered so much in consequence, that the latter settlement required the ships of its neighbour to pay tribute. The Governor of New York even entered New Jersey, and endeavoured to override its Assembly by the King's patent to his brother. The members, however, replied that they were the representatives of the freeholders of the province, and that they found the guarantee of their liberties, not in his Majesty's patent, but in Magna Charta. The connection of New Jersey with William Penn, after the sale of the province by the trustees of Sir George Carteret, we shall have to describe at large in a future chapter. But it should here be added that this part of America received an accession to its population, in 1685, by the arrival of a number of Scotch emigrants, who had left their own country after the cruel persecution by which Charles II. endeavoured to supplant Presbyterianism by Episcopacy. In 1688, New Jersey, having been menaced by King James with a diminution of its liberties, in consequence of infringements of the Navigation Laws, surrendered its independent existence, and was annexed to New York.

The remainder of the colony of New Netherland, after the severance of New Jersey, continued under the direction of Nichols, who was much annoyed at the dismemberment. Nichols, though an honourable man, was inclined to despotic ideas in government, and New York did not share all the liberties of its neighbour on the other side of the Hudson. The Deputy-Governor had enough to do to keep things quiet, and resist rival claims. Lord Baltimore continued to assert his right to Delaware; but Nichols denied it as strenuously as the Dutch had done before him. The Marylanders at one time endeavoured to settle the matter by force, and made an armed attack on Lewistown, situated on Delaware Bay. But the country was immediately reclaimed, as belonging to the Duke of York, and the Marylanders did not renew their attempt. The rule of Nichols was firm, but not very liberal. The city of New York and the town of Albany were left in the enjoyment of their municipal franchises; but the province itself received no political constitution. It was governed by Nichols, assisted by a council devoted to his views. The judges were appointed by himself, and removable at his pleasure. The laws, therefore, and the application of those laws, were mainly in the hands of the Deputy-Governor, who ruled his little subject population according to what seemed good in his own eyes. In the year 1665, an elective assembly was held at Hempstead, in Long Island, for the settlement of some trifling local questions; but this is the only instance of the kind under the supervision of Colonel Nichols. It is thought that

on the same occasion the rate of public charges was determined; it is certain that the deputies, before separating, agreed to a very loyal address to the Duke of York, for which they were afterwards ridiculed by their constituents, among whom were many holding republican views. Nichols became unpopular, and added to his ill-repute among the multitude by requiring fresh title-deeds from those who held their lands under Dutch patents, and levying heavy fees for their renewal. He was succeeded, in 1667, by another Deputy-Governor, who was even more absolute. This official laid it down as a principle in politics that the best method for keeping people in order is to act with severity, and to impose such taxes as should leave them no liberty for thinking, except as to how they should discharge their debt to the State. The fate of Charles I. had evidently been wasted on the new Deputy-Governor, who could not think of the people in any other light than as a vile body upon which to make curious experiments. He very nearly drove the Swedes and Finns on the southern shore of the Delaware into rebellion; but, his power being greater than theirs, he managed to carry out his experiments, and get in his taxes.

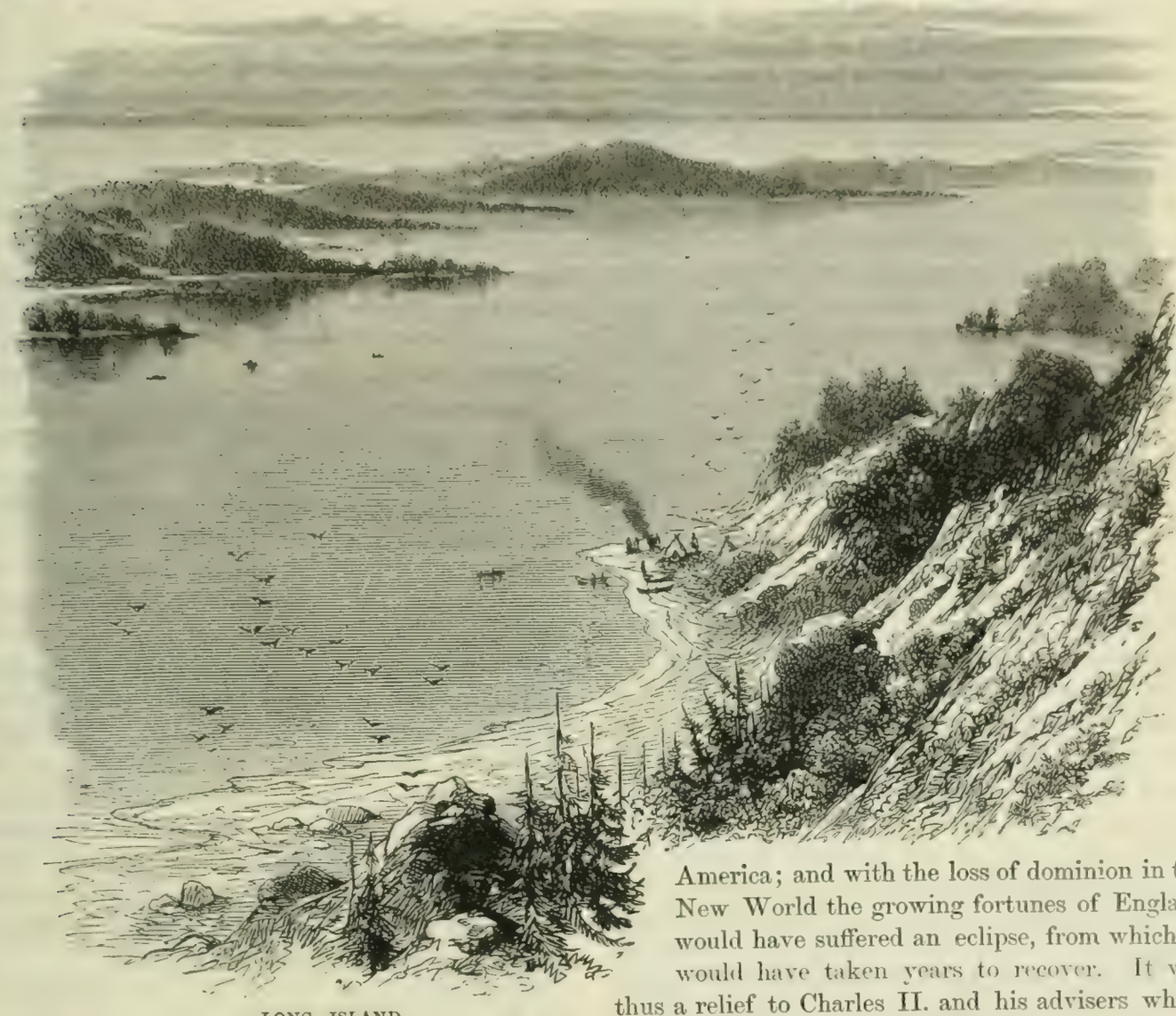
This condition was not likely to last. It was openly challenged in 1670. The towns began to object to so arbitrary a rule, and the villages, taking courage from their example, demanded legislation by annual assemblies. Lovelace, the Deputy-Governor, would not listen to these complaints and requisitions, but at once resorted to his favourite panacea of imposing taxes. He issued an order for a large sum of money, to be expended in defence of the possession against the attacks of external enemies. The purpose was a legitimate one, but the people were not inclined to fulfil it without some guarantee that their rights would be respected in the future. Three of the towns in Long Island expressed their willingness to contribute, if they were at the same time granted the privileges of New England. Other municipalities in the same island refused to pay anything, and denounced the decree of the Deputy-Governor as an outrage on the liberties of Englishmen, and a violation of English law. When the votes of these towns were presented to Lovelace and his Council, they were received with the utmost indignation. It was declared that they were scandalous, illegal, and seditious, and an order was made that they should be publicly burnt before the town hall. Lovelace had already discovered that people are not necessarily restrained from murmuring because they have received sufficient cause to murmur.

Whether from want of funds or from maladministration, the defences of New York were left unrepaired, and the city was in a very exposed condition when, in 1672, war again broke out between England and the Dutch Republic. Charles II. had entered into an alliance with the King of France, and the destruction of Holland was one of the designs which both hoped to accomplish. The English monarch, even before the declaration of war, perfidiously attacked a convoy of Dutch merchant-ships while in the Channel returning from a voyage to the Levant; and when it was openly announced that a state of hostilities was to be considered as existing between the two Powers, the reasons given were so frivolous as to create a feeling of shame in all just men. The Dutch had abundant cause to consider themselves outraged, and they seized on the opportunity for regaining possession of their American colony. On the 30th of July, 1673, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by Cornelius Evertsen and Jacob Binkes, arrived at Staten Island, and prepared to attack the outworks of New York, when the captain of a volunteer company, who had command of the fort, sent a messenger to the fleet, and suggested terms of surrender. The two Dutchmen had already made a descent on Virginia, without effecting anything; but they were now to succeed in their design. Lovelace was absent at the time; the garrison of New York was not strong enough to resist with any chance of success; the fortifications were weak; and the people were disaffected towards their rulers, because of the grasping and selfish tyranny to which they had been subjected. In short, the same causes which led to the easy conquest of the Dutch settlement by the English, now favoured its return into Dutch hands. The people had no heart to fight, for they had little which they could call their own. The material defences had been neglected by the very authorities who had arrogated so much power to themselves; and the day of retribution came with a swiftness and strength which nothing could gainsay. Eight hundred men were landed by the Dutch, who, after a short and almost bloodless struggle, which can only be regarded as a feigned defence, entered the city. Fort Albany was speedily conquered; New Jersey and Delaware cheerfully submitted to the stronger; and nearly all the territory formerly constituting New Netherland returned to its former allegiance.*

The component parts of this territory received many privileges which reconciled them to the change in their condition. In England, the news was of

* Bancroft, Palfrey, and other authorities.

course received with much annoyance. The Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations proposed a plan for the recovery of the province or provinces; but no attempt was made to put it in execution. In the paper containing the particulars of this plan, Lord Shaftesbury wrote, with reference to the New Englanders:—"If the Dutch shall continue to be their neighbours, they may enter into commerce with them, whereby it is to be feared they will at present divert a great part of the trade of England into those countries, and lay a foundation for such a union hereafter between them and Holland as will be very prejudicial to all your Majesty's plantations, if not terrible to England itself."* The return of New Netherland into Dutch hands, coming at a period when disaffection was rife in New England, was certainly a serious fact. English influence on the North American continent was threatened to an extent which naturally excited the apprehensions of the King's Ministers; and that this was in a great degree the result of mismanagement did not mitigate the gravity of the political state. The foreign policy of the restored monarchy had been marked by so much that was unfortunate and disgraceful that England could not afford many more disasters. The loss of New Netherland, had it not been redeemed, would have endangered the English power over the whole of



LONG ISLAND.

America; and with the loss of dominion in the New World the growing fortunes of England would have suffered an eclipse, from which it would have taken years to recover. It was thus a relief to Charles II. and his advisers when, at the peace of 1674, a clause was agreed to, by which the parties to the war were to make restitution to one another of all conquered places. In accordance with this stipulation, New Netherland returned to English dominion, and was again designated New York. It had been fifteen months in the military occupation of the Dutch; but its semi-English character was not greatly affected by this episode. The province was now placed under the direction of Major Edmund Andros, a gentleman thirty-seven years of age, belonging to a Guernsey family, of English origin. In his youth he had been a page in the Royal service, and during the Commonwealth had fought in the army of Prince Henry of Nassau. He was for a time attached to the house-

* O'Callaghan's Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York.

hold of the Princess Palatine, grandmother of George I., and after the accession of Charles II. exhibited his military qualities to some effect in the first Dutch war. In 1672 he was made Major in a regiment of dragoons; and, having married an heiress, he was, at the period of his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of New York as deputy of the King's brother, a man of personal influence, and of considerable wealth. In subsequent years he acted a very important part in American history, and his memory has hitherto been hateful to most New Englanders.* But in 1674 he was an untried man, and his experience of the world, together with the fact of his being placed by fortune above the temptation of enriching himself by arbitrary or exceptional means, appeared to give him many favourable qualifications for the fulfilment of an office which required firmness, business faculty, temper, and some power of judging the varied characteristics and humours of men.

While the Dutch were at New York during their brief second occupation, a dispute arose between them and the rulers of Connecticut, which to some extent involved the other colonies also. The towns at the west end of Long Island, nearest to New York, submitted to the Hollanders; but those at the eastern extremity refused to become the subjects of a foreign Power, and desired to be reannexed to Connecticut, to which they had formerly belonged. Connecticut soon found cause of offence against the Dutch, of which she was not slow to avail herself. Dutch cruisers sailed up and down the Sound, capturing English vessels. This was resented by Connecticut, and the General Court authorised a levy of five hundred dragoons, and appointed officers for a force which might be drafted for foreign service. Allyn, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to the Dutch commander at New York, remonstrating with him on his seizure of English ships, and setting forth that the United Colonies of New England were keepers of the liberties of King Charles's subjects in those parts, and hoped to acquit themselves of that trust, for the preservation of his Majesty's colonies in New England. To this the Dutch very reasonably replied that they had been sent out for the express purpose of doing as much injury as they could to the enemies of Holland. Thus baffled, Connecticut convoked a special meeting of the Federal Commissioners, which took place at Hartford. Their deliberations resulted in an expression of approval of the course followed by Connecticut, and in a recommendation to each of the three colonies to adopt military precautions against any invasion of the territory which might be attempted. The General Court of Massachusetts, which met in September, 1673, took a very sceptical view of the crisis, declared that they did not see sufficient occasion for being called away from their homes at so busy a period of the year, and finally determined to do nothing further in the business than to make provision for their own safety. In other words, they believed in the danger sufficiently to prepare for their separate defence, but not sufficiently to join in any general defence of the Federation. Connecticut, displeased with this selfishness, wrote to the defaulting colony on the subject in October; and Massachusetts replied in a tone of great irritation. By December, the General Court of Boston had been brought to a different state of mind. They now perceived that it was necessary to take active steps for encountering the Dutch, and accordingly, in March, 1674, gave orders that the fortifications at Boston, Charlestown, Salem, and Portsmouth, should be repaired, and that a force of five hundred and fifty foot soldiers, and a hundred and ten horse, should be placed under the command of Major-General Denison. They also commissioned two armed vessels, one carrying twelve guns, the other eight, for the vindication, as they expressly stated, of the honour and reputation of themselves and of their nation, for securing their peaceable trade in the Sound, and for repressing the insolence of the Dutch. These vessels are said to have been the first regular cruisers employed by the American colonists. The Massachusetts authorities had already directed the importation of sixty pieces of artillery from Bilbao, and five hundred firelocks from England.

Plymouth refused to take any part against her old friends, the Dutch, although every day must have shown that the danger was real and serious. English ships were seized wherever they could be found, and no distinction was made between the merchant-vessels of Old and those of New England. The Dutch, indeed, were perfectly justified, according to the law of nations, in refusing to recognise any such difference. But they were certainly not justified in a breach of good faith which a contemporary writer imputes to them. It is alleged that they promised to exchange some English vessels which they had taken against an equal number of their own, but that, after obtaining the latter, they refused to give up the former. However this may have been, a state of war between the Dutch commanders at Amsterdam and the English colonies

* A great deal of the odium heretofore attached to his character has been recently removed by the publication of a series of "Andros Tracts," in 3 vols., by the Prince Society of Boston, U.S. The editor, Mr. William H. Whitmore, has shown conclusively, in a careful memoir, that he was not so black as he had been painted.

was in full force before the end of October, 1673. On the 21st of that month, Allyn addressed another letter on behalf of the Connecticut Government to the commander at New Amsterdam, threatening that, if he went too far in provoking the English colonies, they would attack him at his head-quarters. The messenger who took this letter was forcibly detained by the Dutch for a fortnight, and then sent back with a reply from Anthony Colve, the Governor of the rival settlement, addressed to Winthrop. Colve affected to discredit the authenticity of the communication, which he said was too impertinent and absurd to have emanated from the Governor and General Court: consequently, he deemed it unworthy of an answer. It appeared from the report of the messenger that Colve was a resolute and passionate man, and that he had boasted that perhaps erelong he should be in possession of Hartford. The vapouring, therefore, was not confined to Connecticut.

The Dutch, possessing considerable power, acted with vigour, though with no great success. On the 6th of November, they had an encounter in the Sound. A ship was despatched from New Amsterdam, carrying three commissioners charged with the duty of reclaiming the English towns at the east end of Long Island. It so chanced that they fell in with a vessel from New London, in which were Fitz-John Winthrop, son of the Governor, and Mr. Wyllys, a Magistrate of Connecticut, who showed the Dutch commander a commission which they were to execute, and which directed them to go to the island in question, and treat with any Dutch forces they might find there, so as to divert them from resorting to hostilities against the people, on pain of provoking the Government of Connecticut to a due consideration of what they should next do. The Dutch do not seem to have been at all awe-struck at the prospect of Connecticut's considering what its next step should be. They allowed the English Commissioners to land at Southold, near the east end of the island, where they also landed themselves. The people were found under arms, and they resolutely rejected the demand of the Hollanders. Some villagers from Southampton, situated on the southern shore, were also present, and spoke in language of the utmost boldness. Pointing to the flag of the Prince of Orange, one of them said, "Take care that you come not with that thing within range of shot of our village." Winthrop then asked the Dutchmen where they intended to go next, for that he and his associate would go to the same place too. It was apparent to the Hollanders that they could effect nothing by visiting the other two villages, and would cause awkward collisions by so doing; accordingly, they returned to New Amsterdam on the following day.

Some months afterwards—in February, 1674—a party under the command of Fitz-John Winthrop went over to Southold, at the request of the English colonists in that vicinity. The official designation of the commander was "Sergeant Major over the military forces of his Majesty's subjects on Long Island;" and it soon became evident that his presence was not superfluous. Intelligence came to him that four Dutch vessels, bound for Southold, were lying at New York, waiting only for a favourable wind to carry them eastward along the Sound. Fitz-John Winthrop prepared for resistance, and called for reinforcements from the neighbouring English settlements. On the vessels appearing, their commander summoned the colonists to submit, and threatened, in the event of a refusal, to exterminate all with fire and sword. As the small force on shore disdained to yield, the ships opened fire on the town; the town replied, and, after a bloodless interchange of shots, the little squadron sailed off. The Dutch had met with more resistance than was probably expected, and they did not renew the attempt.

The spirits of the two commanders at New Amsterdam were much depressed at this time, though from what cause is not apparent. When intelligence of the conclusion of peace arrived at that settlement on the 7th of May, and it was found that the province was to be restored to England, the rage of the Dutch populace knew no bounds. They were distracted with grief and passion. With the unreasoning emotion of an excited mob, they conceived that they had been betrayed, and poured forth curses and execrations against the Prince of Orange, the States-General, the Dutch Admirals, and the Governor, vowing that they would not surrender even at the command of the home authorities, but would continue the struggle as long as they could stand on one leg, or fight with one hand. They assembled in tumultuous crowds, crying, "We'll fire the town, pull down the fortifications, and tear out the Governor's throat!" So serious was the disturbance that Colve found it necessary to propitiate the people by imprisoning the bearer of the news—a step which probably saved his life. He was thrown into the dungeon of the fort, and told to prepare himself for death, for in two days he should die. At the same time, the Governor confiscated the goods and effects of English colonists found within his jurisdiction, together with all outstanding debts due to them. A fortnight later, three New England vessels were brought in by Dutch cruisers, and

condemned as lawful prize, notwithstanding that peace was then known to be concluded.*

Before the end of June, the Governor had retracted his sentence of confiscation, and it does not appear that the unhappy bringer of the bad news was subjected to the death with which he had been menaced. The transfer of the city and of the whole colony to the representatives of England followed at the beginning of November, 1674. Manning, the captain who treacherously or weakly surrendered the fort to the Dutch in the previous year, was arraigned for his act, and publicly disgraced: he would indeed have been shot, but for the intercession of Major Andros.

An interchange of letters between Andros and John Winthrop, of Connecticut, occurred in the early days of the new rule. The Duke of York had taken out a new patent on the recovery of his province; and by this instrument the original boundaries were re-established. Andros was thus invested with command over a country extending from the west side of Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay; in other words, he obtained a portion of territory which, ten years before, had been declared by the Royal Commissioners themselves to be a part of Connecticut. This led to a correspondence; and in the summer of 1675 an unexpected incident brought the matter to a curious issue. Some Indians having created a disturbance at the head of Narragansett Bay, information of the fact was sent to Andros. Writing on the 4th of July, he returned for answer that he would that evening set out with a force such as might enable him to act as circumstances should require, and that he would make the best of his way to Connecticut River, his Royal Highness's bounds in that direction, though this was a long way from the scene of the outbreak. The Government of Connecticut was at once roused to action by so audacious an attempt to effect a surprise. The Magistrates lost no time in sending Captain Bull, of Hartford, to occupy the fort at Saybrook with a hundred men. On the General Court coming together, the proceedings of the Magistrates were approved, and it was resolved to protest against the designs of Major Andros, and to defend the people of Connecticut from all such endeavours. Andros, on his part, followed out his plan with promptitude. On the 8th of July, he arrived at the mouth of the Connecticut River with two small vessels, and from that spot wrote a letter to the Magistrates at Hartford, informing them that he had found no occasion for dealing with the Indians (whom he had not come near), but that he required a direct and positive answer to his former demands with reference to the frontier which he claimed towards the east —namely, the line of the Connecticut. For this answer, he added, he would wait in discharge of his duty; and a reply from the General Court was despatched to him on the 10th. Bull had reached the fort of Saybrook a few hours before the arrival of his adversaries. His instructions were to allow Andros's people to land for refreshment, but only on condition of their coming unarmed, and of their stay being short. He was to avoid striking the first blow, but, if assailed, was to do his best to repel the aggression, so as to secure his Majesty's interests and the peace of the colony.

Early on the morning of July 13th, Andros landed with a party of men, demanded the surrender of the fort, and had an interview with the officers of the garrison. He began by directing that the Duke's patent should be read, and, after that, his Royal Highness's commission. The Connecticut officers protested against this in the King's name, but, finding their protests disregarded, withdrew to a little distance during the recital, as a matter with which, they declared, they had nothing to do. Andros then intimated that he should set sail immediately, unless desired to stay. He was answered that the representatives of Connecticut had no orders to desire him to stay, but must now in their turn read something to him. They then read, in the hearing of himself and his officers, the protest to which the General Court had agreed. Andros characterised it as a slander, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. Shortly afterwards he asked for a copy of it, but was refused. Nevertheless, the parting of the antagonists was peaceable and even courteous, with abundant observance of ceremony on both sides. The Deputy-Governor of New York was escorted by the Connecticut soldiers to the water-side, and, having gone on board, fired a complimentary salute of guns, which was returned from the fort. The Connecticut Magistrates, in reviewing the whole course of the transactions, conceived that their officers had been a little too civil. While expressing a general approval of what had been done, they felt some regret that Andros had not been interrupted in doing the least thing which might favour his pretence of authority on that spot. They thought that, without violence, the reading of the Duke of York's patent and of the commission might have been drowned by shouts, or sound of drum.* Finally they drew up a narrative of recent events, and a

* Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III., chap. 3.

* Connecticut Records.

declaration of their wrongs, which they transmitted to the neighbouring plantations and to England.

The claim to jurisdiction set up by Andros had no solid foundation, and, by the feebleness of his proceedings, he himself seems to have thought so. Even the Duke of York was far from emphatic on the subject. On the 6th of April, 1675, he wrote to Andros that, in his opinion, it was best to make arrangements of this kind only temporary, though his deputy was to preserve to him the utmost limits that his patent conferred. By this vague and rather contradictory language it was possibly intended to leave the whole matter to the discretion of his representative; and James expressed himself satisfied with what had been done. His secretary informed Andros by letter on the 28th of January, 1676, that his Royal Highness was willing things should rest as they were, but that he was not sorry the Deputy-Governor had revived the claim, as some good use might be made of it in the future. The Duke was inclined to govern his dependency on easy terms, though without the smallest concession to the more liberal tendencies of the age. Andros was instructed to act with humanity and gentleness towards his subjects, and to resort to punishments rather as a means of inspiring terror than for the infliction of absolute cruelty. But mere sentiments of general benevolence are of little value when unrestrained power is lodged in the hands of one man. The lieutenant of the Duke of York would not permit any representative assembly to meet within his jurisdiction, and taxed the people without their having a voice in the matter. After a time, however, he appears to have felt some doubt as to the right, or at any rate the policy, of continuing in this course; and, urged to action by the complaints of Long Island settlers (who cried out that they were being deprived of their English birthright), and by the open discontent of the whole province, he advised the Royal proprietor, in the course of 1676, to grant legislative franchises to the people. James replied, in the following year:—"I cannot but suspect [that] assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them. Things that need redress may be sure of finding it at the quarter-sessions, or by the legal and ordinary ways, or, lastly, by appeals to myself. However, I shall be ready to consider of any proposal you shall send."

Dissatisfied with this answer, which was certainly ambiguous, and characterised both by the despotism and the irresolution of the writer's father, Andros went to England, and endeavoured personally to influence the Duke; but without success. He was ordered to continue the existing duties, which at the time of the surrender had been imposed for only three years. According to the original understanding, they expired towards the close of 1677; but Andros, on his return to New York in 1678, had no choice but to levy the same taxes in the same way. The sum thus accruing to the exchequer was but slight, and in truth insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony. It was not the amount at which the people murmured, but the fact of taxation without representation—the very grievance which, in the following century, led to the war of independence. Sir Edmund Andros was unfortunate in other respects. He made an attempt to interfere in the discipline of the Dutch Reformed church; and was obliged to retreat before the opposition he had excited. He dealt tyrannically with those who demanded popular rights, casting into prison the leaders of a convention which met in 1681; and was compelled to alter his course by the pressure of public opinion and the decision of a grand jury. In 1683, on the advice of William Penn, the Duke of York consented to grant reforms. He sent over a new Governor in the person of Colonel Thomas Dongan, a Papist, who was instructed to convoke a free legislature. The first assembly met on the 17th of October, 1683, and established a Charter of Liberties, which provided that supreme legislative power should for ever reside in the Governor, Council, and people, met in general assembly; that every freeholder and freeman should vote for representation without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers; that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that no person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in religion. This constitution was more liberal than some others in America; and James was alarmed at what he had himself created. He abolished the Charter of Liberties directly he ascended the throne, and New York passed once more under the rule of arbitrary decrees.



INDIANS BRINGING BEAVER-SKINS TO FLEET.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Exploration of Unknown Regions an important Part of the Early History of America—Course of the Potomac—Henry Fleet, English Navigator of the Early Years of the Seventeenth Century—His Examination of the Potomac—The Mohawks, and their reputed Habits of Cannibalism—Second Visit of Fleet to the Potomac—Trading with the Indians for Beaver skins—The Nacostines, or Anacostians—Indian Towns on the Potomac—The Falls of that River—Fleet and the Natives—Departure of an English Seaman with Cannibals—Appearance of a Strange Pinnace—Fleet's Apprehensions, and the Cause of them—Arrest of Fleet by Order of the Council of Virginia—His Courteous Reception by Governor Harvey—Conclusion of the Explorer's Journal—Questionable Conduct of Fleet towards his Employers—General Character of early American Explorers—The Potomac in the Seventeenth and in the Nineteenth Century.

EXPLORATIONS of unknown regions, of rivers running up into the heart of mysterious lands, of winding creeks and spreading bays, form a very important part of the early history of America. At this period of our narrative, we may turn aside for a space to relate the adventures and discoveries of a little-known navigator to whom is mainly due the laying open of the Potomac River, and of the countries bordering upon it. The Potomac is a stream of considerable length and breadth, belonging equally to Maryland and Virginia. It rises in two branches in the Alleghany Mountains. Of these branches, the northern flows from the eastern declivity of the Backbone Range, and runs for the most part in a north-eastern direction for about seventy miles, forming the boundary between the two States just mentioned; while the south branch, rising in the centre of Virginia, runs north-east for above a hundred miles, in a valley formed by the Alleghany and Kittatinny ranges of mountains, before it unites with the other division. The river then flows in an eastern direction with a rapid current through a mountainous country, until it turns towards the south-east. At this part of its course it is joined from the south by the Shenandoah, the largest of its affluents, which rises in Virginia, and runs for about a hundred and eighty miles through a valley of the Kittatinny and Blue ridges. In this way acquiring greater volume and force, the augmented river breaks



FALLS OF THE POTOMAC.

through the Blue Mountains at Harper's Ferry, streams across a level country in a south-east direction, passes Washington, and finally empties itself into Chesapeake Bay. The Potomac, which has a conspicuous name in American history, is diversified throughout its course by many falls, in connection with which canals have been constructed. Its total length exceeds five hundred miles. At its mouth it is seven miles across. Large boats ascend fifty or sixty miles above Harper's Ferry, and smaller ones still higher.*

This is the river which Henry Fleet, an English seaman of the early part of the seventeenth century, helped to render available to emigration and to commerce. The narrative of his voyages in that direction is contained in a journal written by himself, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Library of Lambeth Palace, and was never printed until brought to light in the year 1871 by Mr. Edward D. Neill, Consul of the United States at Dublin.† Fleet was in command of the bark *Warwick*, in which he set sail from the Downs on the 4th of July, 1631. He arrived at New England on the 9th of September, and ten days later sailed for Virginia, which he reached on the 21st of October. Making little stay on the coast of that plantation, he entered the Potomac, and on the 26th of October came to an Indian town near the mouth of the river. Here he found that the savages, instead of preserving some beaver which he had expected to obtain, had burnt it; and, to relieve his disappointment, felt tempted, according to the adventurous spirit of a roving sailor, to run up the river to the heads, that he might trade with "a strange populous nation" (the Mohawks), who were reputed to be man-eaters. This design, however, he gave up after due deliberation, conceiving that many inconveniences might result from it. The inconvenience of being eaten by cannibals does not appear to have been one of those dissuasive considerations which altered the resolve of Fleet. He called to mind that he had engaged to pay a quantity of Indian corn in New England at some early period, and that he might be hindered in the discharge of that undertaking. He observed also that winter was rapidly advancing, and feared that if he proceeded he might be frozen in. On these accounts he forbore, and, making all convenient haste, took into his bark a lading of Indian corn, weighed anchor on the 6th of December, and shaped his course for New England. The wind was contrary; a fearful storm came on; and the ship was driven back, and forced into the James River. Symptoms of mutiny among the seamen, who for awhile refused to proceed until the spring, alleging that the passage was not possible in winter, delayed the further progress of Fleet until the 10th of January, 1632, when he set sail from Point Comfort. After staying the rest of the winter in various parts of New England, he departed on the 9th of April on the return voyage to Virginia. Fleet and his crew had now with them a small pinnace of twenty tons burden; but it soon parted in the stormy weather they encountered on their passage.

On the 16th of May they shaped their course for the Potomac, and next day saw a sail making towards them. This proved to be the pinnace, which, having made a shorter passage, had been some way up the river. Fearing from what he heard that the Indians might be persuaded to dispose of all their beaver before he could get to them, Fleet came to an anchor at the mouth of the river, where, hastening ashore, he sent two Indians, in company with his brother Edward, to the chief of the tribe, whom, in accordance with the complimentary habit of his time, Fleet calls "the Emperor," and who was then at a place three days' journey towards the Falls. Then sailing to the other side of the river, Fleet despatched two more Indians, with express directions not to miss an Indian town, but to certify his arrival at all places they came to. Unfortunately for Fleet, it turned out that those who had been before him had cleared fourteen towns, situated on both sides of the river, of their stores of beaver; but, as there were yet three more towns at the disposal of the same chief, the enterprising navigator pushed on. Passing by several villages, he came to a place called Potomac, after the river. There he loaded the pinnace with Indian corn, and sent her away on the 1st of June, with letters for England. Three days later, he arrived off the chief town, and was met by the sachem, who was paddled towards them by a petty king in a canoe. Going aboard the English vessel, he used many complimentary speeches, and greatly comforted Fleet by a liberal present of beaver-skins. At a little town further on, called by this explorer Nacostines, almost eight hundredweight of skins was obtained. The town so designated was the seat of the Anacostians, and stood on the site of the United States Federal capital, the Navy Yard of which is on the Anacostia, or eastern branch of the Potomac. Fleet reports that there was but little friendship between "the Emperor" and the Nacostines (Anacostians), that potentate being afraid to punish them, because they were protected by the Massomacks, or "Cannyda" Indians. In a previous year, these Nacostines had

* English Cyclopædia. Art. "Maryland."

† English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century.

killed twenty English, on which occasion Fleet himself was taken prisoner. This was during the time that Sir Francis Wyatt was Governor of Virginia; and, as Fleet was detained by the savages five years, he had good reason for recollecting both the circumstance and the date.

"The 13th of June," continues Fleet in his Journal, "I had some conference with an interpreter of Massomack and of divers other Indians that had been lately with them, whose relation was very strange in regard of the abundance of people there, compared to all the other poor number of natives which are in Patomack and places adjacent, where are not above five thousand persons, and also of the infinite store of beaver they use in coats. Divers were the imaginations that I did conceive about this discovery, understanding that the river was not for shipping, where the people were, nor yet for boats to pass, but for canoes only. I found all my neighbour Indians to be against my design, the Pascattowies having had a great slaughter formerly by them to the number of one thousand persons in my time. They coming in their birchen canoes did seek to withdraw me from having any commerce with the other Indians, and the Nacostines were earnest in the matter, because they knew that our trade might hinder their benefit. Yet I endeavoured to prosecute my trade with them nevertheless, and therefore made choice of two trusty Indians to be sent along with my brother, who could travel well."

The Indians of that vicinity, who were very numerous, Fleet found to be governed by four kings, whose four several towns were reported to contain more than thirty thousand inhabitants, though this was probably an exaggeration. It was also said that the towns were palisadoed with great trees, and had scaffolds on the walls. To the four kings Fleet sent presents of beads, bells, hatchets, knives, and coats, to the value of £8 sterling. "On Monday, the 25th of June," says the writer, pursuing his narrative, "we set sail for the town of Tahoga, when we came to an anchor two leagues short of the Falls, being in the latitude of 41, on the 26th of June. This place, without all question, is the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country, and most convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter. It aboundeth with all manner of fish. The Indians in one night commonly will catch thirty sturgeons in a place where the river is not above twelve fathom broad. And as for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them, and the soil is exceedingly fertile; but above this place the country is rocky and mountainous, like Cannyda. The 27th of June I manned my shallop, and went up with the flood, the tide rising about four feet in height at this place. We had not rowed above three miles, but we might hear the Falls to roar about six miles distant, by which it appears that the river is separated with rocks, but only in that one place, for beyond is a fair river. The 3rd of July, my brother, with the two Indians, came thither, in which journey they were seven days going, and five days coming back to this place. They all did affirm that in one palisado, and that being the last of thirty, there were three hundred houses, and in every house forty skins at least, in bundles and piles. To this king was delivered the four presents, who dispersed them to the rest. The entertainment they had I omit, as tedious to relate. There came with them, one-half of the way, one hundred and ten Indians, laden with beaver, which could not be less than four thousand weight. These Indians were made choice of by the whole nation, to see what we were, what was our intent, and whether friends or foes, and what commodities we had; but they were met with by the way by the Nacostines, who told them we purposed to destroy those that came in our way, in revenge of the Pascattowies, being hired to do so for one hundred and fourteen skins, which were delivered as aforesaid, for a present, as a preparative."

This story pretty nearly cost Edward Fleet his life. On the following day, Henry Fleet went to the Nacostines to know the reason of their sudden hostility. They replied evasively, but said that if their English visitor would make a firm league with them, and give their king a present, they would undertake to hunt the other Indians down. "The refusal of this offer," says Fleet, "was the greatest folly that I have ever committed, in mine opinion." They proceeded on their way, and on the 10th of July discerned an Indian on the other side of the river, who in a shrill voice cried out "Quo! Quo! Quo!"—holding up a beaver-skin on a pole. "I went ashore to him," says Fleet, "who then gave me the beaver-skin, with his hatchet, and laid down his head, with a strange kind of behaviour, using some few words, which I learned, but to me it was a foreign language. I cheered him, told him he was a good man, and clapped him on the breast with my hands. Whereupon he started up, and used some complimental speech, leaving his things with me, and ran up the hill. Within the space of half an hour, he returned, with five more, one being a woman, and an interpreter, at which I rejoiced, and so I expressed myself to them, showing them courtesies. These were laden with beaver, and came from a town called Usserahak,

where were seven thousand Indians. I carried these Indians aboard, and traded with them for their skins. They drew a plot [plan] of their country, and told me there came with them sixty canoes, but were interrupted by the Nacostines, who always do wait for them, and were hindered by them. Yet these, it would seem, were resolute, not fearing death, and would adventure to come down. These promised, if I would show them my truck,* to get great store of canoes to come down with one thousand Indians that should trade with me. I had but little, not worth above one hundred pounds sterling, and such as was not fit for these Indians to trade with, who delight in hatchets, and knives of large size, broad-cloth, and coats, shirts, and Scottish stockings. The women desire bells, and some kind of beads."

Seven "lusty men" presented themselves on the 11th of July from another place. They were strangely attired, with red fringes to their garments. Notwithstanding that they gave Fleet some beaver, their language was haughty, and they demanded to see what commodities he had brought with him for barter. On being shown the whole stock, they expressed themselves scornfully as to its value. But, having gone aboard, they seemed to be fair-conditioned, and one of them, taking a piece of chalk, drew a map of their country, which corresponded with what had been sketched by the other Indians. "These people," it is added, "delight not in toys, but in useful commodities." One of Fleet's men was very desirous of going with them; but the captain advised him not, as they had the credit of being cannibals. Finally, however, on the sailor's urgent importunities, he consented to let him proceed, and gave him a present for their king. This man, William Elderton by name, acted as interpreter to the others; and when the Indians returned with their own interpreter, according to promise, they greatly lamented the loss of Elderton, saying that the men with whom he had gone would eat him, and that those people were not well-disposed to the rest. Fleet gave the friendly Indians some commodities, and dismissed them with a request that they would follow the other savages, and get Elderton away.

By this time provisions were running short, and Fleet was compelled to exchange his store of goods for food instead of skins, as before. In this way he obtained from the natives a quantity of fish, beans, and boiled corn. On the 18th of July, he went to the Pascattowies, and excused himself for trading with their enemies. From this tribe he hired sixteen men, and took them to the ship, making one of them his factor, and delivering to them, equally divided, the best part of his remaining merchandise to barter on his account, with injunctions to find out where Elderton was, and bring him with them when they returned. They came back on the 7th of August, with eighty skins from a tribe called by Fleet the Tahogas, who promised to come, together with three other nations, to trade with the Englishmen. Fleet was well pleased with the project, but was unwilling to lose time, because his stock of food was small, and he had now but few commodities left for exchanging with the Indians. He therefore sailed down the river to Pascattowie, and so on to a town still nearer to the mouth, where he was visited by three cannibals, who, with many ceremonious speeches and rude orations, desired the strangers to stay fifteen days, and they would bring a great number of people to trade with them. Shortly afterwards, Fleet received news of a small pinnace with eight men, who had been making inquiry in all places for him. On the morning of the 28th of August, he sighted this vessel, and, having with him a shallop which he had built among the Indians, manned her with ten men and all requisite munitions, resolving to discover who were on board, and what were their intentions. It would appear that Fleet had been trading in an irregular way, having with him only a copy of the necessary commission, instead of the document itself. He had been acting, moreover, on his own account, although sent out as the agent of a firm of London merchants. For this reason he had avoided other traders as much as possible, especially as he knew that the then Governor of Virginia, John Harvey, had expressed displeasure at his conduct. However, he asserts in his Journal that he was ready to meet the strange sail, and confront all on board, as he could have shifted away in the night, had he pleased.

Having come near the shallop, he divined who the strangers were, and, going aboard, found there Captain John Uty, one of the Council of Virginia. After a stay of two hours, he invited Captain Uty and his friends into his own vessel. On entering Fleet's cabin, Uty, after a short pause, said:—"Captain Fleet, I am sorry to bring ill news, and to trouble you in these courses, being so good; but, as I am an instrument, I pray you to excuse me, for, in the King's name, I arrest you, your ship, your goods, and likewise your company, to answer such things as the Governor and Council shall direct." To this intimation Fleet submitted, though, he adds, as most of Uty's crew were men who believed themselves to be ill-used, they were willing

* Commodities for bartering.

to follow him (Fleet), even had he resolved upon returning to England. On the 6th of September, 1632, they arrived at the mouth of the James River, and on the following day anchored at James Town. Fleet went ashore the same night, and the Governor, "bearing himself like a noble gentleman," showed him much favour, and used him with unexpected courtesy. Captain Uty acquainted the Council with the success of the voyage, and every man seemed desirous of being a partner with Fleet in his speculations. He, in his turn, flattered them in every way he could, that he might bring his adventure to a favourable termination. The Court was called on the 14th of September, when an order was made, in which the Governor exhibited the utmost civility to the adventurous seaman, and left him at liberty to dispose of himself as he would. That he resolved to sail up the river once more is not surprising, for to such a man gain and excitement are the two chief attractions of life. "And so, beloved friends that shall have the perusal of this Journal," writes Fleet in conclusion, "I hope that you will hold me excused in the method of this relation, and bear with my weakness in penning the same. And consider that time would not permit me to use any rhetoric in the form of this discourse, which, to say truly, I am but a stranger unto as yet, considering that in my infancy and prime time of youth, which might have advantaged my study that way, and enabled me with more learning, I was for many years together compelled to live amongst these people, whose prisoner I was, and by that means am a better proficient in the Indian language than mine own, and am made more able that way. The thing that I have endeavoured herein is, in plain phrase, to make such relation of my voyage as may give some satisfaction to my good friends, whose longing thoughts may hereby have a little content, by perusing this discourse, wherein it will appear how I proceeded, and what success I have had, and how I am like to speed, if God permit.—All which particulars, the whole ship's company are ready to testify on behalf of this Journal."

Mr. Neill observes that Governor Harvey appears to have colluded with Fleet in defrauding the owners of the *Warwick*. He points out that in a communication to the Admiralty, dated July 10th, 1634, the proprietors stated that, three years before, they had sent a ship to Virginia for trade and discovery, of which Henry Fleet was factor, with commission to return in a year, but that, by authority of Governor Harvey, Fleet had kept both the vessel and the profits, to their great loss. After the Maryland colony was planted, Fleet, according to the same authority, became a member of its Assembly, and a person of some influence. It is unhappily but too clear that he was a man of indifferent character; but he had the virtues of courage, self-reliance, and enterprise. The heroes of American discovery were often distinguished by their wild, irregular, and stormy lives; but it is possible that men of nicer ways could not have encountered the rough work of exploration and planting, unless, as in the case of the Puritans, under the stimulus of religious enthusiasm. Fleet may have dealt dishonestly by his employers, but he examined a scarcely-known river for many miles above its mouth, revealed the nature of the country on its banks, showed what were its capabilities for trade, and ascertained, at his own risk, the character of the fierce nations which roamed about the soil, or inhabited the little settlements of wigwams that were dignified by the name of towns. The Potomac now flows through the heart of a great Republic, adorned with the triumphs of civilisation, of intellect, and of art. The Federal city of Washington, where the highest life of that Republic is centred, whence its laws go forth over half a continent, and to which foreign nations look for the expression of its collective policy, rears its façades, its terraces, and its domes on the shores of the river which Fleet explored less than two centuries and a half ago, in the midst of savage scenery and more savage men. At the present day, he who floats down the Potomac sees mountain-peaks and solitary passes, where sun and shadow dapple with quick, aërial change the changeless substance of the land; sees dusky glens and lonely woodwalks, where the ways of men might be forgotten; sees stretches of pastoral meadows, where the herds wander undisturbed. But he also sees cities, and haunts of industry, and the fulness of a mighty life. The unprogressive red man has given place to a people which compels the earth to yield her utmost abundance, which turns the forces of Nature into its slaves, which has science for its handmaiden, and which makes its power felt in all the marts and harbours of the world. That river was opened to that race by the humble and perhaps not very scrupulous seaman, Henry Fleet; and for this reason we have paused awhile in the more general track of our History, to trace the windings of what, in a monarchical country, would be called the Imperial stream, and to show the beginning of our knowledge of its course and character.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Quakers in New Jersey—George Fox in America—Early Life and Character of William Penn—Vicissitudes in the Political State of New Jersey—The "Holy Experiment"—Penn's Grant beyond the Delaware—Scenery and Native Inhabitants of the Land—Preparations for a New Colony—The Founder's Charter and Free Constitution for Pennsylvania—Estimate of his Motives—The Emigrants and Planters—Penn's Letter to the Earlier Settlers—His Arrival in America—Dealings with the Colonists—Purchase and Disposal of Lands—Humane and Friendly Treatment of Indians—Conference with the Sachems of the Lenni Lenape at Shackamaxon—Progress of the Colony—Its Political Constitution—Territorial Dispute with Lord Baltimore—Founding of Philadelphia City—Political Arrangements in the Colony—Penn's Return to England—Macaulay's Charges against Penn—Second Visit of Penn to America—Later Aspects of Pennsylvania down to 1700.

THE Quakers, though banished from Massachusetts by the intolerance of a Puritan ministry and its followers, had survived persecution in the other English settlements along the Atlantic coast. In 1672, when George Fox, the author of their sect, visited America to inspect and encourage its widely-scattered flocks of believing people, they were found pretty numerous in Maryland, with some offshoots in Virginia; but it was in Rhode Island, in Long Island, and on the eastern shore of New Jersey, that the Quaker refugees had chiefly settled. Fox, on his return home from America in 1673, brought to the Friends in England a favourable account of their fellow-religionists in the last-named territory. A few months later, he was staying with William Penn, at Rickmansworth; and William Penn was presently engaged to act as trustee for a Quaker purchase of New Jersey.

This eminent and estimable man, despite the mistaken accusations too hastily cast against him by Macaulay, deserves high honour among the founders of the English American Republic, and the moral reformers of society in Europe. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, whose distinguished naval services and zeal for the Stuart monarchy had won him the favour of Charles II. and his brother James, with lucrative offices and Irish estates. A brilliant worldly prospect had therefore been opened to young Penn; but he rejected it without hesitation, disdained every temptation of pleasure, gaiety, or advancement at the profligate Court of the Restoration, and braved at once the anger of his parents, the King's express disapproval, and the contempt or dislike of his powerful acquaintance. William Penn had freely made these sacrifices to an earnest and impassioned love of those ideas of a Divine Humanity embodied in Jesus Christ, which for him were associated with Quaker doctrines and customs. He had first listened to Quaker preaching while yet a student of Christ Church College at Oxford; and the serious impressions thus made upon him could not be effaced by the example of coarse and reckless dissipation then in fashion. After two years of travel and study in France, Switzerland, and Italy, he attended his father and the Duke of York, in 1665, on board the flagship of the English fleet contending with the Dutch in the North Sea. He was next attached to the Viceregal Court of the Duke of Ormonde in Dublin, and joined as a volunteer, with Lord Arran, in suppressing a revolt or mutiny of troops at Carrickfergus. Taking military rank, as ensign of horse, the young man for a time seemed to have got rid of his Quaker scruples; and, while free from the vices and follies, displayed the gallant accomplishments of his age. He undertook the management of his father's lands at Shangarry Castle, in the county of Cork, and obtained from the Crown a valuable office, the Clerkship of the Cheque at the port of Kinsale. But having, as it were by accident, met again at Cork with the same Quaker preacher he had heard at Oxford, William Penn's religious sensibilities were revived to enthusiastic fervour. Harsh treatment, if not from his own family, yet from other persons claiming authority over him, with the indignation and sympathy roused by still worse persecution of his fellow-believers, soon confirmed in his mind that zeal which covets the martyr's crown as well as cross. He was arrested and imprisoned, first at Cork, and a few months afterwards in London, for taking part in forbidden religious meetings; and he began writing pamphlets of theological controversy, which dealt too rudely with the clergy, the creed, and the ritual of the Established Church.

One of these crude essays, entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," was denounced by his opponents as blasphemous, since it impugned the Athanasian definition of the Trinity. Penn, when his printer had incurred a prosecution by issuing this tract without the Bishop's licence, went to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, and almost invited the severity of the law. But Arlington, who hated the favourite Admiral and was eager to inflict disgrace upon his son, exceeded the law in committing the headstrong youth to the Tower. This error of the Minister being repaired by an irregular order which he procured from the careless King,



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

they kept Penn in the Tower seven or eight months, to his father's great vexation and distress. Clergymen, one of whom was the famous Stillingfleet, were sent to remonstrate with the prisoner, but could not shake his resolute convictions. He still wrote and published manifestoes, such as "No Cross, no Crown," against every compromise, even in non-essential matters, with the unconverted world and its allies in Church and State. No legal indictment, however, could be framed against him; and, when at length released without a trial, he was suffered to return to Ireland, more intimately associated with the Quakers than before. Called back to London by Sir William's embarrassed affairs and declining health, this devout enthusiast, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, incurred a fresh imprisonment, this time in Newgate, with a trial at the Old Bailey, for preaching at the door of the Friends' meeting-house in Gracechurch Street, which had been closed under the new Conventicle Act. Penn was acquitted by the jury, who were fined by the Court for their verdict. He was liberated just in time to be at his father's death-bed, and he was not wanting in any duty of filial affection.

Inheriting a fortune of £1,500 a year, equal to £5,000 a year in these days, Penn became more inclined to prudent and moderate behaviour. Though he remained true to his Quaker profession, and cheerfully endured another six months' imprisonment for its sake, he no longer sought to give offence to its adversaries by an ostentatious challenge of their power. He cultivated the friendship of the Duke of York, who esteemed him not only for his father's sake, but for his own merit; and James also felt, as an unpopular Roman Catholic Prince, some kind of sympathy with the unpopular sect of Quakers, and even with the more heterodox Socinians, then exposed to clerical and official persecution. This was the position and attitude of William Penn, when he first engaged in the task of American model colonisation. He was, at the same time, though not a courtier, the personal friend of a Royal Duke who stood next to the throne, and a most active leader of the zealous evangelical reformers inspired by George Fox with a solemn disdain for all temporal pomps and power. With Fox, and with Barclay the "Apologist," he travelled through Holland and Germany to disseminate their ideas among people accustomed to the Lutheran or Calvinistic formulas of Protestant faith. Another set of ideas, derived from the lofty scheme of philosophic republicanism propounded by his friend Algernon Sydney, the mirage of a perfect Commonwealth, affected the mind of Penn scarcely less than his religious persuasion. With characteristic generosity, he threw himself and all his connections, as a Sussex country gentleman, into Sydney's electioneering contests, to the increased displeasure of everybody at Court. Indeed, the whole conduct of Penn, during the reign of Charles II., was marked, so far as we can see, by a noble disregard of selfish interests, at least of worldly gain and preferment. It cannot be otherwise explained.

The project entertained in 1674 by some disciples of George Fox, upon his return from America, could not fail to engage the ardent practical imagination of young William Penn. His early occupation as steward of his father's Irish estates having formed him to the business of agricultural improvement, was no bad preparative experience for the founder of a new community in the remoter western wilds. The examples both of the New England Puritans in the preceding generation, and of the scattered Quaker settlements already existing on those shores, were constantly kept before him. In his conversations with friends of the same evangelical sentiments, and not less in other eloquent prophecies of an ideal society pre-figured in Harington's romance, "Oceana," on the secular basis of perfect institutions, Penn was still imbibing a stimulant to the destined work of his life. It was what he and his associates called "the Holy Experiment" of creating a new world of piety and virtue upon the free soil of America; like the visions of some later poetical enthusiasts, Coleridge and Southey among them, after the collapse of the French Revolution.

The Earl of Berkeley's share of the New Jersey territory was sold for the small price of one thousand pounds to John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, or Billing, contractors for a new settlement of Quakers. Billing got into pecuniary difficulties, and three trustees, one of whom was William Penn, were put in charge of his property for the creditors. Fenwick, with several Quaker families and a number of labourers, next year sailed in the *Griffith*, went up the Delaware inlet, and landed at Salem, on the west side of New Jersey. But the territory so designated yet remained subject to the title of ownership in Sir George Carteret, as joint grantee with Lord Berkeley. Negotiations conducted by Penn, a year or so later, procured a division of the entire property, leaving West New Jersey to the company of settlers under Billing's trustees, and to another company formed by Penn in London and Middlesex. A provisional government was appointed, consisting of ten commissioners, who were nominated by Penn and Fenwick, and by the emigrants

or capitalists associated with them. They wrote to those who had by this time arrived in the country, assuring them of a sufficient charter to protect their social freedom and the rights of conscience. "The concessions," it was said, "are such as Friends approve of; we lay a foundation for after-ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people."

In this spirit, on March 3rd, 1677, the fundamental laws of West New Jersey were promulgated by its enlightened founders. They had been carefully discussed and meditated at Penn's house in Worminghurst, near Shoreham, where he now resided with his young wife and new-born son. Their principles were thoroughly liberal, and even democratic. It was declared that no person should at any time, in any way, or on any pretence, be in the least punished, or hurt, or called in question, for his religion. "All and every person in the province," thus ran another proviso, "shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery." The legislative authority was to be vested in a General Assembly of representatives, elected by universal ballot suffrage; but every member of this body was to be bound, as the agent of his constituents, to vote according to their specific instructions. The General Assembly was to appoint ten Commissioners, who should form the executive government. It was likewise to appoint the judges, who were to hold office but two years at a time, and to act only as legal assistants of the jury; the sentence, as well as the verdict, being at the discretion of the sworn twelve in every trial. No professional advocate or solicitor was to be employed in judicial proceedings; minor cases were to be decided by magistrates, whom the people would elect; there was to be no imprisonment for debt. Such was Penn's first draft of a constitution, inexpedient, perhaps, with regard to the independence of the legislative and judicial authorities, but of a character truly republican. Yet he was, and continued to be, a loyal subject of the monarchy; and its next inheritor, then Duke of York, never had cause to doubt the fidelity of his Quaker friend, though also the friend of Algernon Sydney.

The first party of emigrants sent out by Penn was composed of two hundred and thirty persons, including the Commissioners of the provisional government for New Jersey. As their ship, the *Kent*, was lifting her anchor in the Thames, it was approached by the royal barge conveying his Majesty down the river; and when King Charles was told that the people on board were all Quakers going to America, he dismissed them with an easy blessing. Two other vessels followed, one from Hull, with the Yorkshire emigrants, and the third with more than a hundred from the southern counties. They all crossed the ocean in safety, and disembarked in their land of promise. Their religious worship, performed under a sail-cloth spread from tree to tree in the forest at Burlington, was attended by a congregation of four hundred men and women freshly arrived. The native tribes presently came forth to meet these peaceable strangers, and heard with satisfaction their professions of good will. "You are our brothers," replied the Indian sachems; "and we will live like brothers with you. There shall be one broad path for you and us to walk in; this path shall be plain, without a stump in it to hurt the feet; and if an Englishman fall asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, 'He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone.'" They agreed with the English on the sale of such lands as were required; the price was fairly paid, and the land was taken and cleared, to be sown or built upon. The "Holy Experiment" had so far a good beginning.

Its prosperity soon tempted those who before had proprietary rights in that region to set up claims of taxation or jurisdiction. Sir Edmund Andros, the Governor of New York, first asserted a territorial supremacy over West New Jersey, which the Quaker settlers denied; and this question was referred to the English Courts of law. The Duke of York's agent at Newcastle, on the western shore of the Delaware inlet, pretended to exact toll or customs' dues of the ships entering that river. This was disallowed by a fair arbitration in England, to which the Duke not unwillingly yielded. Again, there was a reappearance of Billing, as the original purchaser of Lord Berkeley's rights in New Jersey, assuming to himself the privilege of nominating a Deputy-Governor. To meet this demand, an amendment was made, with Penn's approval, in the constitution of the province, so that the people might themselves elect their Governor, instead of a nomination by the proprietors. By these steps, in the western division of New Jersey, the settlement for a time maintained its independence. Its government, in a few years, had passed from the nominee Commissioners, who were at first Governor Jennings, Thomas Olive, Daniel Wills, Joseph Helmsley, Stacey, Kinsey, and others, to those constitutionally appointed by the General Assembly. New Jersey, indeed, was yet subject to the territorial lordship of Sir George Carteret, represented there by his brother Philip. This did

not terminate until 1682, when the Carterets were bought out, to the relief of five thousand settlers, by an association of twelve Quakers, with William Penn at their head. The capital and the number of shareholders were doubled in the following year. Those who now joined the proprietary of New Jersey were persons in Scotland desiring to make a place of refuge for the persecuted Covenanters. Multitudes of these people, and some of the fugitives from the West of England after Monmouth's rebellion, found their way to the shores of America. In this manner, New Jersey was colonised; but it had to experience, during twenty years longer, varying vicissitudes in its legal condition. At the period of the English Revolution of 1688, it was actually under the rule of Governor Andros, together with New York and New England. After that period, New Jersey fell off from New York, and seemed to do without a regular government. The old proprietary titles of jurisdiction were not formally abolished till the reign of Queen Anne, when East and West New Jersey were united in one province.

Pennsylvania, the second field of William Penn's beneficent labours for Christian civilisation in America, was the peculiar creation of his genius, and is the perpetual monument of his fame. It was in June, 1680, six years after the first Quaker purchase of New Jersey, that Penn applied to the Crown for a grant of territory beyond the Delaware, and north of Maryland. Penn had a legal and equitable claim, as heir to his deceased uncle George, who had been a merchant in Spain, to a large sum of money due in redress of injuries done to him by the Spanish Government, for which the English Government should have long since obtained satisfaction. He now proposed to accept the grant of that unexplored country in full discharge of his private claim, which could not be estimated, by any reckoning, at less than £16,000. The land in question had but one access from the sea, which was by the Delaware gulf and mouth of the Delaware river; as it lay behind New York and New Jersey, the provinces on the Atlantic coast. Its extent was nearly three hundred miles in length, and a hundred and sixty in width. The tracts lying around the mouths of the Delaware and Schuylkill were known to be fertile; but much of the interior was mountainous, or covered with primeval forest. In several places on the shores, both east and west, of Delaware Bay, and on the banks of that river, while comprised in the former Dutch American dominion, settlements, as the reader is aware, had long existed, not only of Dutch colonists, from the Brandywine down to Cape Henlopen, but also of Swedes and Finns. The native inhabitants of this region were a branch of the Lenni Lenape, a widely-spread Indian race speaking various dialects of the Algonquin tongue. They were less fierce in disposition than the Iroquois farther north, or the tribes in New England already described; but their manners were simply those of the untutored savage, not yet provoked by cruelty and perfidy to hate the intruding white man.

William Penn's suit to King Charles II. for the grant of this extensive territory met with much opposition at the Court of Whitehall. Its chief supporters were the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, who was a personal friend of the suitor; the Hydes, brothers-in-law to the Duke of York; Chief Justice North, afterwards Lord Guildford and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and the cleverest of liberal politicians, Lord Halifax. The bigoted zealots of the Tory party, who idolised the Royal prerogative and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, wanted to inflict the mortification of a defeat on the Quaker ally of republican philosophers and reformers. But King Charles was neither zealot nor fanatic, and was persuaded, with the consent of his brother James, to bestow the new country on Penn, in order to be quit of a troublesome debt. This transaction was ratified by his Majesty's signature on February 24th, 1681. The Royal Patent, written on sheets of parchment in old English manuscript underlined with red ink, and headed by the King's portrait, may yet be seen in the State archives of Pennsylvania. That name was one of the King's invention; it was not agreeable to Penn himself that his name should have so pretentious a commemoration. But somebody had proposed to call the new province "Sylvania," because of its sylvan aspect; and Charles, in a pleasant mood, insisted on forcing the complimentary prefix upon the acceptance of the modest Quaker. The governing powers entrusted to Penn were made subject to reservations, suggested by the Lord Chief-Justice and Attorney-General to secure the prerogatives of Crown and Parliament in the sanction of colonial laws, the levying of rates and taxes, and the regulation of trade. At the request, moreover, of the Bishop of London, Penn was made to promise that he would not hurt the Church of England. The boundaries assigned to Pennsylvania were of precise definition. It was to form an oblong, which would include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude; only the eastern line of frontier would be irregular, following the Delaware river, which divides this State from New Jersey. The shores of the estuary

and bay lower down, which now form the State of Delaware, and of which the town of Newcastle was the chief place at that time, were at first to be kept under the Duke of York's paramount lordship. This arrangement was altered, six months later, by the Duke ceding to Penn all the Delaware shores; but there was still an obstruction in Penn's way, in the shape of an unfounded claim by Lord Baltimore, to some of this territory as part of Maryland. "At length," wrote William Penn, "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in Council, my country was confirmed to me under the Great Seal of England. God will bless it and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care of the government, that it be well laid at first."

A month or two after the Royal Patent was signed, the enterprising founder of the Pennsylvanian commonwealth sent out his cousin, Colonel William Markham, to take possession, and to make ready for his own coming there. He stayed in England till September of that year, to arrange terms of partnership with the company of adventurers, who would go out with him, or follow him, or invest their stock in the projected colony. Meanwhile, the following proclamation was addressed by him to the people in occupation of his newly-acquired land:—"My Friends, I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God in His Providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that, though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your change and the King's choice; for you are now fixed, at the mercy of no Governor that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, nor oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me His grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with. I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you, and your children after you. I am your true friend, William Penn.—London, 8th of the month called April, 1681."

The summer was busily occupied with the despatch of two vessels from London, the *Amity* and the *John Sarah*, and one called the *Bristol Factor* from the Avon, conveying people and stores to Delaware Bay. Penn went to Bristol, where a "Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania" was quickly organised, and a number of woollen manufacturers, from the neighbourhood of Stroud, were found willing to emigrate, with their spindles and looms. Nicholas Moore, a lawyer, who bought 20,000 acres of land, was the leader of this Bristol party; but one of its members, Philip Ford, afterwards caused Penn a great deal of trouble and loss. Liverpool also, emulating the Severn port, was ready to send forth, not yet a ship, but a party of settlers and traders. In the cities of Holland and the Rhine provinces of Germany, where Penn had taught, with Fox and Barclay, the mild and peaceful doctrines of his sect, men of character and substance were eager to join him beyond the Atlantic. One of these foreigners, Franz Pastorius, of Frankfort, at once purchased a tract of 15,000 acres on the banks of a navigable river, and 3,000 acres more of town-land. The integrity of Penn's motives was now signally tested by an incident shortly before his own departure from London. An offer was made him by the agents of a mercantile company to pay him an annual revenue of £6,000, with a share of their yearly profits, for the exclusive right of trading with the Indians for beaver-skins between the Delaware and the Susquehannah. Penn was an avowed champion of Free Trade, holding every commercial monopoly to be unjust and mischievous to the public welfare. He therefore, in spite of the hazard to which his private fortune was then exposed, felt it right to decline the splendid offer, which any other territorial lord would have gladly accepted. "I will not abuse the love of God," wrote this upright man, "nor act unworthy of His Providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by His wisdom, to honour His name and serve His truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations."

This was indeed the aspiration of the virtuous Founder of Pennsylvania, when he observed to another Friend, "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment." Assisted by Algernon Sydney once more, at his rural mansion in Sussex, he drew up a political constitution, which, excellent though it was, was nevertheless subject to amendment by the colonists in their general assembly. "For the matter of liberty," said he, "I purpose that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and my successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." He therefore provided that the sovereign power should be vested in the governor and freemen of the province. There was to be a Council, of seventy-two members, in which the territorial proprietor or his deputy would pre-

side, with three votes instead of one; and this was all the power he wanted for himself. The Council was to be elected by universal suffrage, a third part of its members retiring in each year, so as to sit for three years. They were to look to the execution of the laws, and to the peace, good order, and safety of the province; to the construction of roads, the improvement of harbours, the establishment of markets, courts of justice, and schools, and the relief of the poor; they were also to take care of the finances. The Legislative Assembly was to be elected annually by universal suffrage, but it was merely to approve or reject, with a vote by ballot, the bills prepared by the Council, and to present double lists of persons nominated for judges, or magistrates and sheriffs, of whom the Governor must select one half. This constitution was better, in several respects, than what Penn had designed for New Jersey. It further contained some provisions for judicial business, fines and punishments, and the recovery of debts; and freedom of conscience was amply secured.

Colonel Markham, having landed in the Delaware country, met the Indian sachems, and bought of them a site for Penn's future abode, called Pennsbury, far up the river towards Trenton Falls. The building of a spacious and stately manor-house was commenced there. Before the summer ended, three other commissioners of the Founder, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, came out with authority for the purchase of lands. The ship which finally brought William Penn himself was the *Welcome*, of three hundred tons. Arriving on October 27, 1681, after a nine weeks' voyage, with much suffering on board and many deaths from smallpox, this vessel, next only to the *Mayflower* in historic interest for English America, put him ashore at Newcastle, in Delaware. He was not accompanied by his wife and family; but a numerous train of servants, with horses, furniture, and



WILLIAM PENN.

provisions, attended to the comfort of his new household. Calling together the people of Delaware next day, in the old Dutch courthouse at Newcastle, he exhibited the Royal Patent, the deeds and charters, and then received from the Duke of York's agents a formal surrender and transfer of dominion.



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In a brief and straightforward speech, he told the settlers what he had before said to them in his letter, that he meant not to rule over them, but to work and plan for their good; and he explained the principles of his offered scheme of government. They all, Dutchmen and Swedes as well as English, listened with pleasure to his statement, and begged that Delaware might become part of the province of Pennsylvania; which he promised to consider. Taking leave of Newcastle for a short time, he went up the river to the Swedish town of Upland, since named Chester. Here, in company with his friend Pearson, a fellow-voyager from England, and with Nicholas Moore and his host Wade, he met the other English Pennsylvania settlers of that year, headed by his cousin Markham. Their first General Assembly, held in the Friends' Meeting-house at Chester, was joined by the Delaware settlers. The draft of a constitution prepared in England was provisionally accepted by them; and Penn, with his accustomed liberality, said, "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

He was some weeks engaged in the inspection and distribution of the lands already purchased, assisted by Markham and the other Commissioners,

and by Thomas Holme, the surveyor. Eight thousand acres round Pennsbury were reserved for the Founder, whose three infant children were each to obtain a share. For his Royal patron, the Duke of York, he set apart two estates, each of ten thousand acres. A choice lot of one thousand acres, free of every cost and charge, was designed by Penn as a tribute of reverent affection to George Fox, his religious instructor. The other lands were put up to sale at fourpence an acre, to be held subject only to a yearly quit-rent of one shilling for each hundred acres, as a source of revenue to the Governor. Having so disposed of his business as proprietor, he visited the adjacent provinces of New Jersey and Maryland, and had an interview with Lord Baltimore at West River, or at Colonel Tailler's house, in Anne Arundel county. The two colonial potentates were unable to agree about their boundary; and the question whether Delaware was or was not part of Maryland had to be decided in London.

An interview of a more romantic character, the exact date of which is not recorded, was that which is represented in the well-known painting by Benjamin West. It is commonly styled "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," but was a conference which Penn held in the autumn of 1682, with the Lenni Lenape sachems, warriors, and sages, at Sakimaxing or Shackamaxon, on the banks of the Delaware. This locality, afterwards called Kensington, was formerly a northern suburb, but is now included in the City of Philadelphia; and the gigantic elm-tree, a century and a half old, beneath which Penn met the Indians as a Friend, was to be seen, or some remnant of its trunk and branches, at the American Revolution a hundred years later. The group was doubtless as picturesque as the artist has fancied it; but the details are scarcely to be ascertained. "We meet," said this leader of English Christians in the wilderness, addressing its native people, "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will. No advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only—for brothers differ. I will not compare the friendship between me and you to a chain, for that might be rusted by the rain; or a falling tree might break it. But let us feel that we are the same as if one man's body were to live in two separate parts; for we are one in mankind; we are all one flesh and blood." This was the purport of his speech, interpreted easily enough to the Lenni Lenape chiefs, whose almost naked figures, painted red, blue, and yellow, decorated with belts of hides and fur, or with shells and the plumage of birds, must have contrasted with the European dress, the large-flappe coats and waistcoats, the broad hats, the knee-breeches and boots, of Penn and his comrades. "Taminent" is the name given to the presiding sachem, who wore a kind of chaplet, decorated with a horn. The Indians, it is certain, were most favourably impressed by Penn's manner and address, and by what they understood of his intentions, confirmed by the utter absence of military parade among his followers. The peaceful intercourse, during many years, between the two races in this part of North America, is a gratifying exception to their history, as regards mutual relations, in other provinces of the same continent, and in Puritan New England before all of them.

For the capital of Pennsylvania, the "City of Brotherly Love," which is "Philadelphia" in New Testament Greek, a site was chosen by William Penn at a place named by the Indians Wicocoa, situated at the junction of the Delaware and the Schuylkill. It was bought of three Swedish colonists, by whom it had been occupied before. The projected city was to cover twelve square miles: Penn would have liked every house to be surrounded by its large garden, so that the whole might be "a green country town." The colonial surveyor very soon laid out his plan for the making of this town, with a series of parallel roads or streets across the neck of land between the two rivers, intersected at certain angles by another series, equally straight, but in general following the lines of the rivers' course to their junction. The streets being wide, and well planted with a variety of fine trees, the effect is rather pleasing. Philadelphia, as an infant city, grew very rapidly and healthily from its birth in the summer of 1682. Two years after that time, it contained six hundred houses. It had a riverside quay, where vessels of five hundred tons burthen could be unladen at the wharf; a commodious inn, the "Blue Anchor," built in the old Cheshire style of a timber frame filled up with brickwork, which served also for the corn-exchange and the post-office; chapels and schools, and even a printing office. The population was increased by the arrival of two or three vessels monthly, bringing families who soon made themselves at home.

The political institutions, however, which had been at the outset devised for Pennsylvania, needed some modification to suit the wishes and circumstances of its actual settlers. Their first legislative assembly at Philadelphia met in March, 1683, when the city consisted of only a few huts or cottages. Instead of the full numbers proposed for the Council and Assembly, each county, of six com-

posing the province, was able to send only three deputies to the Upper House, and nine to the Lower; so that it was necessary to reduce their normal dimensions. The Assembly, however, insisted upon having a right to initiate new laws, and to discuss measures of government. A veto, indeed, upon all legislation was to belong to the Governor of the province. But he could perform no act without the advice of his Council, and he could not appoint any officer of the administration. There were magistrates and constables; but, to prevent litigation, three "peacemakers" in each county were to hear disputes between the citizens, and to act by way of arbitration before an appeal to the law. A court for the protection and relief of widows and orphans was to be held locally twice a year. "I desire," said Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." He would not allow taxes to be levied in his colony, and refused the offer of a revenue from export duties, such as Lord Baltimore obtained in Maryland. Meanwhile, the controversy with that nobleman about the Delaware territory resulted in a decision of his Majesty's Government against Lord Baltimore; yet the territory was not annexed to Pennsylvania, but was formed into a separate province.



WILLIAM PENN'S BOOK-PLATE.

William Penn, having done this great work in America within less than three years, was called home to England, in August, 1684, by the misfortunes and dangers of some of his intimate friends, one of whom, Sydney, had died on the scaffold. It does not belong to this History to examine the conduct of Penn under the reign of James II., or to discuss the probability of Macaulay's accusations, to which Mr. Hepworth Dixon has replied. There is strong reason to conclude that Macaulay fell into a mistake of identity, upon more than one occasion, with regard to this illustrious Englishman, confounding him with George Penne, the mercenary pardon-broker after the Monmouth rebellion, and with Neville Penn, the agent of a Jacobite conspiracy in the time of William III. It is undeniably true that William Penn, as a friend of James II. from his youth, as a Dissenter who could never approve of the Church Establishment, and as a Quaker advocate of non-resistance by armed force, was heartily averse to the Revolution of 1688. For this cause he was obnoxious to Lord Macaulay; but a severe scrutiny can discover no action in his whole life, public or private, that is not consistent with strict integrity. If his behaviour in some instances, as in the affair of Magdalen College, Oxford, was rather officious and ill-advised—if he now and then betrayed a slight degree of fussiness and self-complacency in the exercise of his supposed influence at Court—these were but the faults of a sanguine temper in one of the most candid, impulsive, and open-hearted of men. Such, in fact, appears to be the character of William Penn; and, despite his want of attachment to the Whig party, his services to the progress of civil and religious liberty should be remembered to his honour.

The founder of Pennsylvania, living to 1718, was enabled to revisit his colony, staying nearly two years, in 1700 and the next year, when he found the young commonwealth in a thriving condition. But his own authority there had been destroyed. In the war between England and France, our American possessions being exposed to attack, King William had found it needful to put all these detached provinces, including Pennsylvania, under a military Governor at New York. This was only for a time, from 1692 to 1694; but it entailed financial charges and political dissensions upon the community at Philadelphia. Colonel Markham, again the acting deputy-governor for Penn, did not conciliate the party who were jealous of every privilege retained by the territorial lord. Their opposition was fomented by agents of the Crown, seeking to create a pretext for converting the proprietary colony into a mere dependency of Whitehall. Conflicts were frequent, in which, during Penn's long absence, the moral power he alone relied upon was lost. He displayed, in his mansion at Pennsbury, a fair degree of lordly dignity among the colonists of 1700, for whose benefit he had

sacrificed a large share of his private fortune. But they grudged the efforts required to maintain their charter of corporate freedom, and he returned in much disappointment. Some of his latest acts in America were the emancipation of the negro slaves on his own estates, the extension and confirmation of his humane dealings with the native Indians, and the proposal of a league among the American colonies for their common defence and convenience.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

New England involved in an Indian War—Condition of the Natives as affected by Civilisation—Fairness of their Treatment by the New Englanders—Feeling of Uneasiness among the Tribes at the Continued Advance of the White Men—Alexander, Sachem of the Pokanokets—His brief Reign and early Death—Suspicious Conduct of Philip, his Successor—Negotiations between him and the Government of New Plymouth—Murder of a Christianised Indian—Execution of Three Indians for the Fact—Philip in Open Rebellion against the English—Prodigies and Portents—English Troops taken in an Ambush—Desperate Assault of Indians on a House at Brookfield, Massachusetts—Attack on the Town of Hadley—A Mysterious Stranger—Rapidity of the Indian Movements—Measures of Defence taken by the United Colonies—Disastrous Affair near Deerfield—Scattered Actions, and Spread of the Rebellion—Proceedings against the Narragansetts.

In returning to the changeful fortunes of New England, we find that part of America desolated by an Indian war of long continuance and terrible ferocity. For several years there had been peace between the English and the natives. The latter appear for a time to have been convinced that the white man was too strong for them; and it may be also that they felt the advantages resulting from his presence, as much as the grievance of having to retire before a more energetic nationality. Those advantages were certainly not few, nor slight. The Indian was actually getting rich upon the stranger. Not only did the colonists pay for the lands they occupied (though probably the price given was far from a real equivalent), but a continual trade was carried on between English speculators and native tribes. The red man sold all his surplus corn to the white-faced dwellers in the towns. He disposed of the rich furs of beavers and other animals in the same market, and received in exchange commodities which made his life far more endurable than it had been before. He was taught to cultivate English vegetables; he became acquainted with the use of English domestic and farmyard animals; he acquired by barter a number of manufactured articles, such as added greatly to his personal comfort, and the decency of his rude abode. On the whole, he was treated fairly by the Puritan settlers, though of course there were times when he was cheated by men who had more shrewdness than conscience. So much care was taken of him in this respect that any unfair engagement into which he may have been betrayed was declared by law to be null from the beginning; and special ordinances were passed to protect him from ill-usage, whether of violence or cajolery.* On one occasion, three Englishmen were hanged for the murder of an Indian; and, notwithstanding that some foolish people were found to murmur at the sentence, it received the support of the majority. Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth at the period we have now reached, wrote to the Federal Commissioners, on the 1st of May, 1676, with reference to the Indian rebellion:—"I think I can clearly say that, before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition, and the Indians are in their straits easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court. . . . And if at any time they have brought complaints before us, they have had justice impartial and speedy, so that our own people have frequently complained that we erred on the other hand in showing them overmuch favour."

Such being the condition of the native population in the year 1675, it might reasonably be supposed that they had little or no cause to break faith with their English rivals, and thus draw down upon their heads the vengeance of a race which they had learned to fear as well as to admire. But the feeling of nationality is one of the most powerful sentiments in the breasts of most communities, whether civilised or barbarian. The Poles of the present day

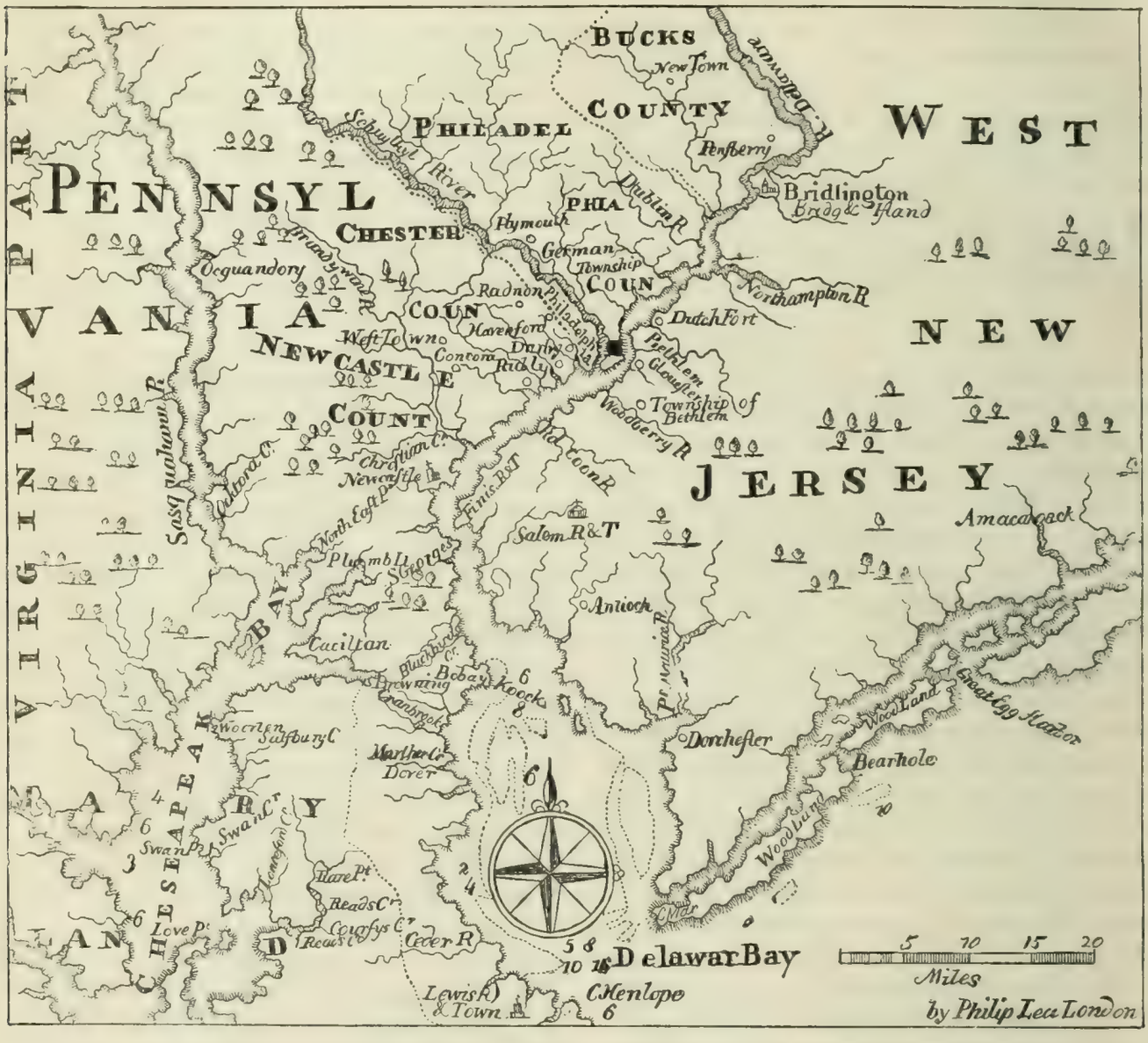
* Palfrey's New England, Vol. III., chap. 4.

are probably much better off than their ancestors of the last century, when the peasants lived in abject misery beneath the heel of feudal lords who rated them but as beasts, and probably cared for them less; yet the detestation of the foreign ruler knows no bounds. The Christians of Turkey are not now materially injured; but the government of Mohammedans is to them hateful in itself. In like manner, the Indians of America seem to have chafed under the dominion of an alien people. Their laws, their religion, their traditions, their ancient habits, their very existence on a continent which they might have supposed to be theirs by natural right, all seemed imperilled. To this general feeling were added from time to time those collisions of interest, those individual instances of wrong-doing on the one part and of suffering on the other, which the most fairly-devised code of laws, and the most careful supervision of authority, can never entirely prevent.

After the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth, Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, made a treaty with the settlers, which he maintained unbroken during the remainder of his long life. He died in 1660, and was succeeded by his sons, Wamsutta and Pometacom. The elder of these was afterwards called Alexander, having requested of the General Court of Plymouth the gift of an English name. At the same time his brother was called Philip. In the year 1662 it was reported at Plymouth that Alexander was plotting with the Narragansetts; and, on his neglecting to appear before the General Court to declare his intentions, in accordance with an order to that effect which had been sent him, an armed party under Majors Winslow and Bradford was despatched to compel his attendance. He at once consented to go to Plymouth, where he gave satisfactory explanations, but, on getting back to his own home, died of a slow fever, brought on, according to some accounts, by a sense of mortified pride. His position as chief sachem of the tribe was then assumed by his brother Philip. Doubts were felt as to the disposition of this savage, and he in his turn was summoned to Plymouth, to make answer to such questions as might be put to him, and to deliberate with the authorities there on matters tending to a further settlement of peace, and to the renewal of former amicable understandings. On going there, he solemnly denied being concerned in any plot against the English, or having any knowledge of such a plot, and proffered his younger brother as a hostage until the Court should have more certainty of the truth of what he said. This offer was declined; and the business was concluded by the renewal of previous covenants,—by Philip and five of his subordinate sachems signing an instrument binding them to peaceful and loyal conduct as subjects of the King of England and neighbours of the settlers,—and by the Court agreeing to furnish Philip and his tribe with assistance in case of need. It is probable that the Indian chief was sincere when he entered into this compact. Five years elapsed without any untoward event; and if he had had a design against the English in 1662, it is not likely that the powerful sachem of the Pokanokets would have been unable to make any attempt to carry it out during so long a period. Yet he may all that while have been nursing a feeling of enmity against the strangers, and brooding over wrongs whether real or imaginary. The position of his people was becoming worse and worse every year. They were gradually losing all their best lands; and, although this was by their own act, and they received in exchange what they consented to regard as an equivalent, it is easy to understand that they were often oppressed as if by threatenings of an advancing doom, which must be repelled at once, or not at all. The English had so managed as continually to drive the savages into those little peninsulas which are to be found scattered along the New England coast. Here, with the sea on all sides but one, and that one shut against them by the watchful Europeans, the Pokanokets must have felt as if caught in a trap, and handed over to certain if slow extinction. Without supposing that they were subjected to any ill-usage, we are bound, in common fairness to our common human nature, to admit that their position was painful, and might to themselves have seemed little short of fatal.

Whether the war now to be described originated in any widely-spread conspiracy may perhaps be doubted. More probably it was a sudden flame bursting out of a long-fermenting heap of combustible materials. The first intimation of anything wrong which came to the General Court of Plymouth was on the 5th of June, 1667, when an Indian of Philip's tribe made a charge against his sachem of having expressed a readiness to combine with either the French or the Dutch against the English, so as to recover all lands sold by the natives to the settlers, and at the same time to obtain possession of their goods and other valuables. Philip was questioned on the subject, but repudiated the statement as a calumny originating with Ninigret, the Nyantic sachem. Further investigations led to a more deliberate repetition of the charge, to a more emphatic and earnest denial of its truth, to a temporary rendering up of their arms by Philip

and his men, and to the restoration of their weapons on the General Court being satisfied that there was no sufficient proof of the alleged design. The matter slept for another four years, when suspicion was again excited. This time Philip appeared at Taunton before three Boston men, who seem to have been chosen as umpires, and the Pokanoket chieftain, with four of his subordinates, his arms forfeited, and nominated eight persons to be associated with the Magistrates as a Council of War. That the Indians should have been in possession of fire-arms at all may seem a proof of great remissness on the part of the English authorities; but in truth it had been found impossible to prevent it. Although the trade was illegal, rapacious speculators, English, French, and Dutch, had sold them



MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA AND WEST NEW JERSEY. (*From Thomas's "History of Pennsylvania."*)

signed a paper admitting that they had taken up arms against their friends the English with an evil intent, and without any just cause. On the same occasion, Philip expressed a desire to renew his covenant, and engaged to resign to the Government of New Plymouth all his English arms. But a few months later it became apparent that the sachem had secreted several guns, had neglected to give orders to his people to render up their weapons, and had traduced the colony of Plymouth to its neighbours. The General Court thereupon declared muskets in abundance, and they had by this time learned to use them with consummate skill. Having declared this forfeiture of arms, Plymouth next sought the co-operation of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Philip also went to Massachusetts, alleging many complaints against the Government of the adjoining plantation. To some extent he obtained credence and sympathy from the persons he addressed, who, however, offered their assistance in bringing about a friendly settlement of the quarrel; and this renewed mediation ended in a



INDIAN SCALP DANCE.

fresh engagement on the part of Philip, one of the stipulations of which was to the effect that he would pay a hundred pounds in three years, to defray the charges he had occasioned.

Another long period elapsed without any disturbance of the peace. In 1674, however, the old rumours came up again. The informant this time was a converted Indian named Sausaman, who had been brought up at the college at Cambridge. He could both write and speak English, and had been employed as a schoolmaster at Natick. Afterwards he resided for a time with Philip, and then, returning to Natick, was baptised, and officiated as a preacher. On giving information to the authorities at Plymouth with regard to the Pokanoket chieftain, he begged that his name might not be mentioned in connection with the matter, for that if it were known he would assuredly be killed. The event showed that his fears were not ill-founded. A few days after Philip had voluntarily presented himself at Plymouth, in March, 1675, to protest his innocence once more, Sausaman was found dead beneath the frozen surface of a pond, and the body presented marks of violence clearly indicating that he had been murdered. Three Indians were arrested on a charge of committing the crime, and the jury who tried them were assisted in their deliberations by six natives. The chief witness was an Indian, who averred that from a hill not far off he had seen the murder done, but was afraid to reveal it lest he should lose his own life too. A verdict of guilty was returned by the jury, with the full concurrence of the six native assessors. Of the three prisoners, two were hanged, and the other was shot; and one of the former confessed on the ladder that he had stood by, and seen his comrades kill Sausaman. Cotton Mather and other early writers relate a circumstance which curiously illustrates at once the superstitious feelings still rife in society, and the growing hesitation as to admitting them in judicial processes. It is stated that when Tobias, one of Philip's counsellors who was suspected of the murder, approached the body, it burst out bleeding, and that on several repetitions of the experiment it always bled afresh.* The Justice of the Peace before whom the charge was brought did not think fit, however, to commit on such evidence; and Tobias would probably have escaped but for the testimony of the Indian who saw the murder from the adjacent hill. Fifty years earlier, judges and juries would probably have convicted on no better grounds. Even as late as 1658 or 1659, a coroner's jury in London put a suspected person to this test, but without producing any fresh flow of blood, though the accused afterwards confessed the crime.†

Philip now began to throw off the mask, and to place himself in a position of open hostility to the English. He and his men appeared in arms, marching about towards the head of the peninsula where they dwelt—a narrow ridge of woody hills situated near the town of Bristol. It was resolved to keep a watch on him, but not as yet to take the offensive. The excitement, however, continued. Numerous Indians from other places flocked in to the Pokanoket chief; the native women were sent away to Narragansett; and a perpetual sound of guns and drums in the night showed that some warlike design was on foot. Savages need the stimulus of noise and showy demonstrations to quicken their resolution on great occasions; but, fortunately, what excites them gives warning to those whom they would attack. The Plymouth Magistrates wrote a friendly letter to Philip, advising him to dismiss his strange Indians, and keep the peace; but to this no answer was returned. Alarm now became general throughout the colony. The agitation and suspense of the public mind created a readiness to discover portents and prodigies in earth, air, and sky. Men brooded over vague terrors until the whole universe seemed but as a magic mirror, reflecting ghastly forms of approaching trouble, or shadowy intimations of dangers too appalling to be distinctly revealed. Cotton Mather gives a relation of these strange signs, which he says he had received on incontestable assurance. "In a clear, still, sunshiny morning," he writes, "there were divers persons in Maldon who heard in the air, on the south-east of them, a great gun go off, and presently thereupon the report of small guns like musket-shot, very thick discharging, as if there had been a battle. This was at a time when there was nothing visibly done in any part of the colony to occasion such noises; but that which most of all astonished them was the flying of bullets, which came singing over their heads, and seemed very near to them, after which the sound of drums passing along westward was very audible; and on the same day, in Plymouth colony in several places, invisible troops of horses were heard riding to and fro."‡ Still more dismal tokens were not wanting as time went on. Some people vowed that they saw, during an eclipse of the moon, the figure of an Indian scalp darkly relieved against the centre of the disc. Others declared that an Indian bow had

* Magnalia Christi Americana, Book VII., chap. 6.

† Case of Major Strangeways, related in Vol. IV. of the "Harleian Miscellany." Bacon gives some amount of credence to the belief. (Natural History, Century X., par. 958.)

‡ Magnalia Christi Americana, Book VII., chap. 6.

been visible to them in the heavens; while to many the howling of wolves at night came fraught with dire suggestions of disaster and ruin.

Whatever we may think of these fears, the danger was real and serious. On the 20th of June, a party of Indians attacked the little town of Swanzey (the nearest town to Philip's territory), burnt two houses, and withdrew. A dozen more were rifled three days later; and shortly afterwards several Englishmen were suddenly killed in the same town, and their dead bodies subjected to horrible mutilations. But help was rapidly approaching. A combined force of soldiers from Plymouth and Massachusetts, small, but effective, arrived on the evening of June 28th by a forced march of more than four-and-twenty hours. It was during this march that the eclipse of the moon took place to which allusion has just been made; and it was as the soldiers were halting by the roadside, for a hurried repast while the luminary was recovering her light, that the more melancholy and apprehensive spirits of the company transformed the central blackness into an ominous sign. Shortly after the arrival of the column at Swanzey, a reconnoitring party was fired upon from the bushes. Some fighting took place the following day, and Philip, finding his position growing serious, fled with his companions in canoes to the eastern shore of the bay, near the present town of Tiverton. Here they had a wider sphere of action before them, and, descending like a torrent on the settlements of Dartmouth, Taunton, and Middleborough, they burnt the houses and massacred the people.

The fear of other Indians joining the movement was now so considerable that commissioners were sent from Massachusetts and Connecticut, accompanied by a strong military force, to obtain from the Narragansetts a renewal of former guarantees of friendship. The negotiation was apparently successful, though it was necessary to promise these savages a money payment as a reward for delivering up to the English, either living or dead, whatever subjects of Philip should come within their country, and for resisting the Pokanokets by force of arms, if need were. By the beginning of August, the Nipmuck Indians, inhabiting the central parts of Massachusetts, had joined the insurrection. Captain Edward Hutchinson and a party of twenty troopers were proceeding to a conference with that tribe (whose disaffection was not yet known), when they fell into an ambush near Brookfield, at a spot where the path lay between a rocky hill on the right hand and a swamp on the left. The little force was driven back, with the loss of eight men killed and four wounded. The day before this untoward event, Philip, who had been sheltering in a marshy thicket, from which he was enabled occasionally to do some mischief to the English skirmishers, had effected a junction with the Nipmucks. The force that had been defeated near Brookfield, or rather the remnant of that force, got back by a circuitous route to the little town whence it had started. The men at once fortified themselves in a large house, into which most of the inhabitants soon crowded for safety. It was not long before they were surrounded by the furious Indians, who, assembling to the number of three hundred, burnt all the buildings in the outskirts, and fired into the house, mortally wounding one of the men in it. They then seized on an unfortunate person who had ventured out of doors, cut off his head, kicked it about like a ball, and finally set it up on a pole before the door of his father's dwelling. Two attempts to communicate with Boston were defeated by the messengers being driven back. Through the whole of that terrible night, the angry and excited savages surged and yelled about the little garrison, pouring in their shots so fast during the hours of darkness that the beleaguered English had enough to do to reply to them. The moon rose at three o'clock on the following morning, and showed the Nipmucks busy in heaping up a quantity of combustible matter at one corner of the building. To this they presently set fire; but a sallying party from the house, under cover of marksmen from above, issued forth, and dashed out the flames. The attempt was twice renewed and twice defeated ere dawn; then, just before the early light of an August morning crept over the smoke and tumult of the scene, a messenger got away on the road to Boston, to summon assistance.

Under the most favourable circumstances, assistance could not arrive for many hours. Brookfield was a long way from the capital, and the messenger had to go on foot. In the meanwhile, the siege continued, and the Indians displayed a pertinacity and a fertility of resource such as they were not commonly in the habit of exhibiting. They continued, throughout the whole of that day and the ensuing night, to send volleys of musketry into the house, and to endeavour to set it on fire. Arrows tipped with burning rags were shot into the roof, and the besieged English were obliged to cut holes in the thatch to extinguish the flames. A ball of wild-fire reached the garret, the floor of which was heaped with flax and tow; but the danger was prevented by a timely discovery of its existence. The walls of the house were frequently pierced by the musket-balls of the attacking party; and as about fifty women and children were in the

dwelling at the time, the confusion and terror were extreme. On the 4th of August—the third day of the siege—the Indians constructed a sort of carriage, about fourteen yards long, with a barrel for a wheel, the fore part of which was loaded with hay, flax, chips, and other inflammable substances, with which it was evident they intended to make another attempt to fire the house. But a shower of rain fell very opportunely, and prevented the materials from readily kindling.

Relief was now at hand. On the forenoon of the same day, Major Simon Willard was pursuing his way from Lancaster to Groton in command of forty-seven heavy-armed horsemen, when a messenger from Marlborough overtook him with the news, which had been brought to that town by the man who had escaped from Brookfield. Thirty miles of bad road lay between the little troop and the garrison which so urgently needed relief. But Willard, though an old man of seventy, did not hesitate for a moment. He and his comrades at once galloped to the rescue, and an hour after nightfall they came clattering into Brookfield, to the dismay of the Indians, who, having offered some show of resistance, during which they wounded two of Major Willard's men, escaped in the night. So determined had been the resistance during those three days that the savages sustained a loss of eighty in killed and injured. Philip now proceeded, with forty of his men, and some women and children, to a swamp about twelve miles from Brookfield, where he made presents to the Nipmuck chiefs, as a reward for their services in the recent encounter. About a fortnight later, the savages massacred a whole family at Lancaster, and on the 25th of August a body of Indian auxiliaries went over to the enemy, and gave battle to the pursuing English in a swamp.

The settlements on the Connecticut, in that part of the river which runs through Massachusetts, were particularly threatened, and a desperate attack was made upon Hadley on the 1st of September. The people, who were observing a fast at the time, were assembled in their meeting-house when they were startled by the war-whoop of the advancing savages. The men hastily seized their muskets, rushed out into the street, and fell into line. But the Indians had closed all round them, and symptoms of a panic were visible. At that moment, an ancient man, dressed in old-fashioned garments, appeared among the wavering townsfolk, and, assuming the command as by a natural right, and with a precision which showed that he was well accustomed to the ordering of troops in the face of the enemy, restored confidence and order. The stranger was totally unknown to the people of Hadley, and, in the surprise and excitement of his unlooked-for appearance, they regarded him as an angel sent by Heaven for their deliverance. Rallying under his vigorous leadership, they drove the Indians out of the town; then, turning to question their mysterious friend, found that he had disappeared as strangely and suddenly as he had come. It was no other than Colonel Goffe, the fugitive regicide. He had for some time been living in strict privacy in the house of a Mr. Russell. While sitting at a window in that house, he had seen the savages pouring over the hills, and, knowing the gravity of the danger, had flung himself into the combat with all that passion and daring which thirty years before had helped to win victories for Cromwell. Without waiting for acknowledgment or thanks, he quietly regained his friend's house as soon as the peril was over; and this most dramatic incident is the last we hear of him. He never again, as far as history or even legend enlightens us, emerged from the privacy of the hospitable dwelling that sheltered him.*

Many other actions occurred in the vicinity of the Connecticut, in which the English, attacked by lurking foes, or overmatched in numbers, were sometimes defeated. The town of Northfield it was found necessary to abandon. The rapidity of movement by which the savages were enabled to appear at short intervals of time at widely-separated places, and which gave them the appearance of being omnipresent, was one of the most alarming circumstances with which the colonists had to deal. The scattered townships were taken in quick succession, and the bewildered English did not know in what direction to concentrate their efforts. The nature of the country favoured the operations of the Indians, and proportionately embarrassed those of the white men. Large spaces of wood and marshland parted the settlements from one another, and hindered concerted action. But the savage, to whom the forest and the swamp were native, who found in them his home, and could track his noiseless way across the wilderness with something like an instinct, turned them to the utmost advantage as a means of effecting surprises, and, after inflicting damage on his enemy, of escaping readily and mysteriously to some fresh scene of carnage. The English were never beaten by the Indians in a fair, open fight; but they were sometimes worsted by secret and unforeseen attacks.

* Mr. Palfrey, in relating this story in his "History of New England" (Vol. III., chap. 4), throws some doubt on its authenticity. It does in fact rest only on tradition; but tradition is not always a liar.

The situation became so serious in the autumn of 1675 that when the Federal Commissioners met at Boston, on September 9th, the necessity of taking more energetic measures against the danger was at once acknowledged. The Federal Council had been remodelled in 1672, after a long course of negotiations, in which Connecticut made much of her old grievance that Massachusetts would not help her against the Indians and the Dutch in 1653, and Massachusetts and Plymouth alleged that Connecticut had broken the original pact in absorbing New Haven without the consent, and indeed against the wishes, of the other members of the league. By the new Articles of Federation, the war-making power of the Commissioners, which had been one of the chief subjects of dissension, was restricted by a provision that the determination of an offensive war, properly so called, so as to engage all the colonies, should lie with the several General Courts. The war with the revolted Indians was, however, a defensive war; and the six Commissioners (two for each colony) unanimously declared it to be both just and necessary, and such as should be jointly prosecuted by all the United Colonies. They accordingly ordered the raising of a thousand soldiers, half of whom were to be dragoons, or troopers with long arms. Days of fasting and humiliation were observed in the several colonies; and the favourite Puritan idea, that all disasters are special judgments of God for the correction of special sins, was brought prominently forward. One Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, detected these special sins in fine clothes, long hair, and the toleration of many taverns, especially in Boston. Increase Mather was of a like opinion, and, having found that, of nine Englishmen killed in a certain action, each belonged to a separate town, advanced to the conclusion that the Lord desired in this way to intimate that he had a controversy with every plantation. It is a curious instance of that solemn frivolity of mind which is the parent of such ideas, that, while the country was in the crisis of a tragedy, people could occupy their minds with supposing that God had purposely contrived the massacre of men, women, and children, because some people wore their hair too long and dressed too gaily, or because the magistrates of Boston issued too many licences to publicans.

The Federal Commissioners met repeatedly during the next ten weeks. Doleful intelligence poured in upon them fast. Deerfield, on the Connecticut, was broken up, the inhabitants withdrawing towards the lower towns after having been fired upon as they were going to worship. Their abandonment of the place was so precipitate that they left behind them a large quantity of wheat, just reaped and partly threshed. As it was highly undesirable to let this fall into the hands of the enemy, soldiers were sent from Hadley, with eighteen wagons and their teamsters, to bring it in. The threshing of the grain was finished, and the loaded waggons, escorted by the convoy of ninety men under Captain Lothrop, started on their return journey. At seven o'clock on the morning of September 18th, they reached a little stream, to which, in memory of what occurred, the name of the Bloody Brook has since been given. Thick woods hung heavily on the banks, and the soldiers, in view of this fact, ought to have been especially cautious. It would appear, however, that they forgot all rules of prudence, put their arms in the wagons, and dispersed about the banks, to gather grapes from the wild vines. Suddenly a terrific fire opened on them from the right-hand side, and a throng of savages leapt out of the woods. The volley laid several of the English low; the others, before they could form and regain their weapons, found themselves beset by a number of Indians, estimated at seven hundred. Lothrop was speedily shot dead. Many others shared his fate, after desperate endeavours to retrieve the fortunes of the day; only seven or eight escaped from the fatal snare. The disaster was terrible, but it was due less to the prowess of the Indians than to the indiscretion of the English troops. The New Englanders of that date had had little or no experience of warfare, and in this respect were inferior to the generation which preceded them. Though courageous, they were liable to sudden alarms, and had not yet acquired the virtue of constant vigilance.

Lothrop had left behind him at Deerfield a few men under Captain Mosely, who undertook to send forth scouts, and secure the rear of the returning teamsters and military. The latter were about four or five miles from Deerfield when the attack took place. Mosely heard the noise of the firing, and hurried to the relief of his countrymen. He found the Indians in possession of the ground, scalping the dead bodies of the English. The fight was at once renewed, and many of the savages were killed. From the shadowy recesses of the woods, however, they kept up an irregular fire until evening, when Mosely was reinforced by a hundred Englishmen and fifty friendly Mohegans, who had been higher up the river, and now dispersed the lingering enemy. Yet, in a general sense, the latter remained masters of that part of the country. On the 5th of October, Springfield, on the Connecticut, was attacked by the savages, who burnt thirty houses before they were driven off. The colonists in that

town had always lived on friendly terms with the natives during the whole forty years of their settlement, and since the beginning of the war had received from the neighbouring Indians every assurance of friendship; yet the storm burst upon them none the less. The situation of Springfield being very near the borders of Connecticut colony, this sudden outbreak of the adjacent tribes caused great alarm in that plantation, and Secretary Allyn wrote to the Magistrates of Massachusetts that it was high time for New England to stir up all her strength, and make war her work and trade, for the suppression of such remorseless enemies.

The Massachusetts General Court, agreeing with the views of Solomon Stoddard and Increase Mather, that the Lord had incited the Indians to commit wholesale murder because some people in Boston and other towns wore their hair too long, and spent too much money on their tailors, passed certain measures of reformation, which included a "testimony" against "proud excesses in apparel, hair, &c.;" against "false worshippers, especially idolatrous (!) Quakers;" and against swearing and excessive drinking. Mather was of opinion that the Lord was sufficiently satisfied with these concessions to allow the people of Hatfield to repulse an attack; though, judging by the same vicious mode of reasoning, which has in truth nothing of religion about it but the name, he was not sufficiently satisfied to prevent the attack altogether. After this affair at Hatfield, the insurgents dispersed towards the country occupied by the Narragansetts. Those savages had not fulfilled their agreement to surrender, for a money payment, such enemies of the English as should fall into their hands. It was not denied by them that several of Philip's followers had found refuge among them; and Canonchet, sachem of the tribe, and son of Miantonomoh, went to Boston in October, and promised the Federal Commissioners that they should be surrendered within ten days. The promise was broken, like that which had preceded it. Five days after the stipulated time had expired, the Commissioners, considering that the hostility of the Narragansetts was now certain, resolved to raise an additional force of a thousand men, for operations against the offending tribe. The troops were to be ready for the field within six weeks, were to be strong, active, and courageous men, and were to be well provided with all necessaries for active service. Connecticut hung back from these arrangements, notwithstanding the recent letter of Secretary Allyn, and the Connecticut troops generally exhibited a disposition to retire from the field, alleging that they were being used only to garrison Massachusetts towns. It was obvious, however, that a concentrated movement on a large scale—a measure of unusual force and promptitude—was necessary, if the English colonies were to be preserved from total extinction. The winter was the best season for such an attack, for the forest, being then bare of leaves, would offer less covert to the stealthy foe. The troops, therefore, being ready for their march by the second week in December, set forth on their perilous expedition; and at the season when the days are at their shortest, and the weather is at its coldest, the blow that was to crush the Narragansetts was suddenly and silently struck.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Continuation of Philip's War—A Native Fort—Attack by the English on the Narragansett Position—Burning out of its Defenders—Terrible Return March of the Conquerors through Snow and Darkness—Sufferings of the Indians—Failure of Food Resources in the English Colonies—Assault on the Town of Lancaster—Atrocities of the Insurgents—Mrs. Rowlandson and her Child—A Piteous Narrative—Famine among the Rebels—Desperate Fighting—Capture of Canonchet—Serious Defeat of the English near the Upper Falls of the Connecticut—Attack on Hatfield—Vigorous Measures against the Revolted Tribes—Decline of the Movement—Position of the Praying Indians—Their asserted Treachery—Indiscriminate Revenge—Continued Disasters among the Insurgent Ranks—Death of Philip, the Pokanoket Sachem—Insurrection in Maine—Restoration of Peace—Sufferings and Loss resulting from the War.

THE forces from Massachusetts having effected their junction with the Plymouth levy at the north-eastern corner of the Narragansett country, the united army proceeded to the little town of Wickford, which they made their head-quarters. Affairs were looking grave. The savages in the neighbourhood had for some days been in open insurrection, and had murdered several men, women, and children; so that the troops did not arrive at all too soon. The several companies of Massachusetts and Plymouth, which seemed at first destined to bear the whole burden of the war, received information, on the 13th of December, 1675, that Major Treat, of Connecticut, had reached Pettyquamscott

with five companies of English and fifty Mohegan warriors. Their allies immediately moved to that spot, and the whole force was placed under the command of Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth, a New Englander by birth. Provisions were getting short, and it was resolved to act at once, and with the utmost decision. Winslow had been told by a prisoner where the principal force of the Narragansetts was to be found. The insurgents, he said, were assembled, to the number of 3,500, at a spot about eighteen miles distant in a north-westerly direction. Their camp, which had been fortified to the greatest extent of native skill, was advantageously situated on a plot of rising ground, insulated by a swamp. Rows of palisades had been driven into the earth round the entire circuit of the stronghold, to which the only entrance was over a bridge roughly constructed of a felled tree four or five feet from the surface of the marsh, and protected by a blockhouse. Towards this position the English forces at once set out, determined to lose no time in the execution of their design. They started while it was yet dark, at five o'clock on a winter morning, after lying for some hours in the open field. The night was stormy. Snow lay thickly on the ground. The air breathed ice, and the soldiers were compelled to push forward at a rapid march, in order that they might surprise the enemy. Scarcely halting to refresh themselves, they gained the encampment at one o'clock P.M., and immediately advanced to the attack. The forces from Massachusetts led the van, followed by the Plymouth division, and then by that of Connecticut. Thus the position of the Indians was attacked by the associated strength of New England.



INDIAN CHIEF. (*After Catlin.*)

The watchful Narragansetts within were ready to receive their assailants. They poured a raking fire into the English ranks, instantaneously killing Captain Johnson, of Roxbury, as he rushed across

the bridge. Four more captains were shot down within the enclosure; other officers were seriously, and some fatally, wounded. The privates, however, dashed forward, and a desperate struggle ensued. It lasted two or three hours, and the savages fought so well that for a little while they drove out the attacking force. But the English soon rallied, and again burst into the encampment. Hand to hand, the opposing forces strove for the mastery, and the snow was crimsoned with the blood of white men and of red. The English at length resorted to the same expedient that had proved so successful at the storming of the Pequot fort. They set fire to the wigwams, and burnt out the frenzied wretches who had battled vainly, but gallantly, for their position. At this moment, Samuel Hall, of Fairfield, one of the English combatants, lay bleeding in the snow. He heard the command given to apply the match to the hovels, and, fearing that he should be burned alive by the act of his own countrymen, struggled to his feet, and cut his way out of the enclosure, though he had received two bullets in each thigh. The combined forces of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut lost seventy men killed, and a hundred and fifty wounded. One of the chiefs of the Narragansetts, who was taken prisoner, reported that on their side seven hundred fighting men were slain, and three hundred fatally wounded. This may or may not have been correct; but in any case the victory was complete. An officer of the attacking army, named Church, who many years afterwards wrote a gossiping work on the war, strongly protested in the interest of the soldiers against the burning of the wigwams. He went to the General, and told him that the wigwams had been rendered musket-proof by being lined with baskets and tubs of grain, and other provisions sufficient to supply the whole army until the spring. Besides, he added, the wounded might be warmly lodged, if the wigwams were spared, instead of running the risk of perishing in the cold. The army was now getting very near the end of its food-stores, and the Plymouth contingent, in particular, had served out its last biscuit. But Winslow refused to listen to the suggestion. He probably saw that there was no other way of completely subduing the enemy.

It was a desperate measure, however. The wigwams being destroyed, the exhausted soldiers were, as Church pointed out, left without protection against the inclemency of the advancing night. Snow was again falling thickly. The wounded had to be conveyed a distance of many miles on the return march, and it was feared that their wounds would stiffen as they went. In those days there were no such appliances for mitigating the sufferings of the wounded as there are in these. Everything was done for the unfortunate men that kindness could suggest; but the snow-drifts deepened as the army pursued its toilsome way across the desert, and several died before morning in the freezing air.

It was two hours after midnight when the forces at length got back to Wickford. On the following day, several more succumbed to the injuries they had received and to the bitter weather, and a large grave was dug for the reception of their remains. Joseph Dudley, one of the persons engaged in the action, stated in a letter to Governor Leverett that the whole army, especially the contingent from Connecticut, was much disabled, unfit to march, and afflicted with frozen and swollen limbs. But the condition of the Indians was worse than that of their conquerors. They had lost their winter dwellings, and the food they had stored up for months of inaction. Many of their old men, women, and children had perished in the burning wigwams. They themselves were driven into the dismal swamp, where they had no protection against the cold but the boughs of cedars growing out of the marshy soil. In a little while, famine reduced their numbers still further by repeated deaths. The cruel season spent its utmost fury on them, and many sank down from utter feebleness. It would be ungenerous not to sympathise with a brave people thus reduced to dire extremities in the prosecution of a war which they believed to be necessary to the salvation of their race. Yet, on the other hand, it must also be admitted that the blow which humbled their pride was imperatively required, if the prospects of civilisation in New England were not to be annihilated in one fatal and bloody convulsion. That the Narragansetts were really conspiring with the Nipmucks seems to be conclusively proved by the fact that some English muskets lost at Deerfield, when that town was attacked by the latter tribe, were found in the fort belonging to the former.

Although the power of the Narragansetts was broken, the war was not at an end, and the danger was far from over. Friendly Indians were sent out as scouts, and came back with intelligence that the enemy professed to be expecting assistance from the French, and meant soon to fall on the western line of the seaboard settlements. The allied forces accordingly remained for some weeks at Wickford, recruiting their strength, and watching the still threatening tribes. Fortunately, a vessel arrived at the spot the night after the battle,

with provision for the relief of the troops. After awhile, however, when it was found that nothing but unimportant skirmishes took place, and that the Indians were dispersed in many directions, the English army gradually withdrew from the field. This disbanding was hastened by commissariat considerations. Bread had totally failed, and food in general was so short that the men were obliged to kill their horses to live on them. The ordinary course of industry and commerce had, indeed, been so interrupted by the war, that in Boston itself there was a great scarcity of provisions. But the Federal Commissioners, perceiving that it would be necessary at no distant date to resume the offensive, called on the colonies for another levy of six hundred men, to meet at Brookfield, Massachusetts, in three weeks from the 8th of February, 1676.

It was not long before the rebellious Indians recovered their spirits. They are said to have received recruits from Canada, with the connivance of the French authorities there; and Canonchet, the Narragansett sachem, was resolved to struggle to the last, rather than see his tribe become slaves to the English. He gave directions for continuing the war with as much vigour as was possible to his shattered forces, and on the 10th of February the town of Lancaster, situated in a woody valley thirty-five miles west from Boston, was attacked with great fury. The place contained from two hundred and fifty to three hundred inhabitants, living in about fifty houses; and the people, dreading what might happen to so exposed a place, and knowing that the Indians had threatened a descent, requested assistance to be sent from Boston. It was despatched, but came too late. The troops were still on their way when the savages burst upon the town.

They appeared at sunrise, and at once set fire to the houses in the outskirts. Several of the people were murdered, with prolonged and savage cruelty; others were carried into captivity. One of the female inhabitants of the town—Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the resident minister—wrote an account of her experiences in that dreadful time, in which some of the chief incidents are related with a quiet pathos that is extremely touching. Her house was burning above her head while the men within it were fighting for their lives, or lying where they fell in pools of blood. The bullets of the Indians rattled against the walls like a shower of stones; and six stout dogs on the premises cowered with fear. Mrs. Rowlandson was at last taken prisoner by the Indians. She followed them, carrying in her arms her little girl, six years and five months old, when a bullet struck them both. Next morning, she records, "one of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse: it went moaning all along, 'I shall die, I shall die.' I went on foot after it with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms till my strength failed me, and I fell down with it. . . . After this it quickly began to snow, and when night came on they stopped. And now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick child in my lap, and calling much for water, being now, through the wound, fallen into a violent fever; my own wound, also, growing so stiff that I could scarce sit down or rise up; yet so it must be that I must sit all this cold winter night upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life, and having no Christian friend near me either to comfort or help me. Oh, I may see the wonderful power of God, that my spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction; still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and merciful spirit."

The piteous narrative goes on to state that for three days neither mother nor child received anything but a little cold water. From time to time, the Indians, provoked by the lamentations of the poor woman, threatened to knock the child on the head. They moved about from place to place, and on one occasion halted near an empty wigwam. Thither, continues Mrs. Rowlandson, "I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the night, my sweet babe like a lamb departed this life. It was nine days from the first wounding in this miserable condition. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in a room where a dead person was; but now the case is changed: I must and could lie down with my dead babe all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me in preserving me so in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. . . . I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone. There was no resisting, but go I must, and leave it."

After the death of her child, Mrs. Rowlandson was carried about by the Indians for two months, for the most part in the neighbourhood of the Connecticut river. The stores of food which the savages had brought with them from the sack of Lancaster were recklessly wasted, and they were soon visited by severe privations. Acorns and

ground-nuts (which they scratched up, like Caliban, with their hands), roots, weeds, and the bark of trees, formed a principal part of their food; unless when they could get hold of any portion of a dead horse—the flesh, the liver, the hoofs, the entrails, or even the bones, out of which they made a disgusting species of broth—or could snare the wild animals and snakes of the desert. Poor Mrs. Rowlandson was compelled by sheer necessity to feed on these revolting substances, and, having one day dined with Philip himself, thought a pancake which he gave her, and which was made of parched wheat, fried in bear's grease, as pleasant meat as she had ever tasted in her life. She remained with the savages eleven weeks and five days; and she records that not a week passed without their wreaking their fury, by fire and sword, on one place or another. At length, however, her miseries were ended, she was ransomed for twenty pounds, and joined her husband at Boston. A son and daughter, carried off at the same time, were also redeemed.*

During all the early months of that black year 1676, the Indians made attacks, which were generally successful, on the frontier settlements of New England. Whole towns were destroyed, innumerable houses burnt, several persons murdered, and others captured and borne off into the wilderness. Flushed with their successes, the Indians assumed a tone of insolent mockery, and, on burning the town of Groton to the ground, called out to the English in the garrison, "What will you do for a house to pray in, now that we have burnt your meeting-house?" On the 26th of March, fifty Englishmen belonging to Plymouth colony, accompanied by twenty native allies, were lured into an ambush near Pawtuxet, and defeated by superior numbers. The Indians, who were headed by Canonchet, did not purchase their victory without considerable loss. Of the English, it is said in some accounts, only one escaped. The same desultory but disastrous warfare was continued throughout April and May; yet, as the spring advanced, the tide of native successes began to ebb. Connecticut again sent a body of troops into the field, and reinforcements of the other divisions were provided as often as they were required. Places that had been abandoned by the whites a little before were once more occupied, and the retreating foe was hunted down with steady determination. Early in April, Canonchet was captured near the Blackstone, in the Narragansett country. He preserved his haughty spirit to the last, and, on being questioned by a young man, replied, "Child, you do not understand war: I will answer your chief." Being offered his life if he would procure a treaty of peace, he refused the favour with disdain, because of the condition. The Indians, he averred, would never yield. He expressed himself content to encounter death, and said that he would speak nothing which should be unworthy of himself. He was taken to Stonington, and there executed by the Mohegans and Pequots, who had taken him prisoner. It was thought that the act would engage those native allies more firmly against the mutinous Indians.

A few successes, however, still remained to the insurgents. On the 20th of April, they inflicted a severe defeat on Captain Wadsworth, near Sudbury, to the west of Boston, and killed a number of prisoners, with every circumstance of diabolical torture. Another reverse, of a still more serious nature, took place on the 18th of May near the upper falls of the Connecticut. Captain Turner, of Boston, having been informed by an inhabitant of Hadley, who had been taken prisoner, and had afterwards escaped, that several Indians were planting and fishing on the banks of the river, determined on an attack. At the head of a hundred and eighty troopers, he marched twenty miles during the hours of darkness, and came in sight of the Indians at dawn. The soldiers then dismounted, and crept on foot, silently and unperceived, to the edge of the camp. A sudden volley of musketry startled the Indians from their repose. They made a brief and ineffectual attempt at resistance, but perished in large numbers, either by the sword and musket, or by drowning in the river, towards which they fled in the hope of escaping by their canoes. Several were carried over the falls; others were shot down as they struggled in the water. While the English lost only one man, three hundred Indians were killed, and large quantities of food and ammunition were destroyed. The troopers also demolished two forges which the savages had used for mending their arms, took away all their tools, and threw two pigs of lead, intended for the casting of bullets, into the river. The expedition so far appeared to be a triumphant success; but an unexpected reverse was at hand. The noise of the firing had been heard by another party of Indians in the neighbourhood, who hurried to the spot in large numbers. The English, finding themselves overmatched, rushed to where their horses were tied up, and hastily began their return march. But nearly the whole way back they were galled by the fire of their concealed enemies, operating from various points. A panic set in when intelli-

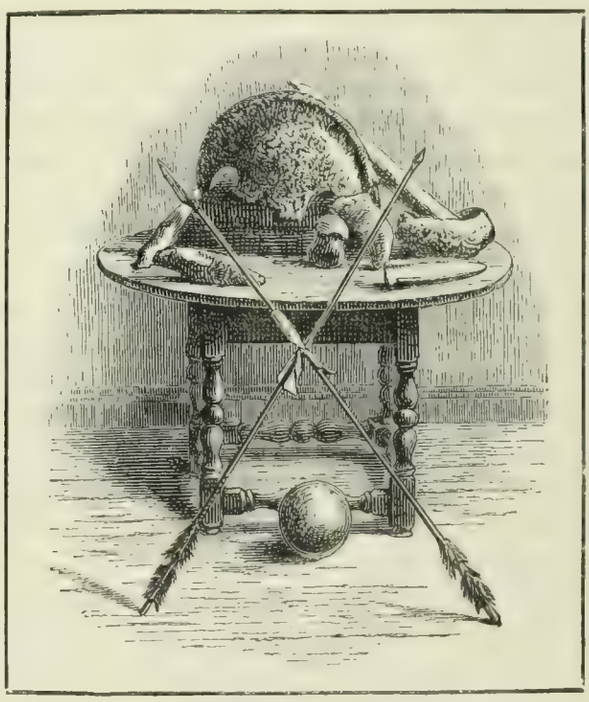
* Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III., chap. 5.

gence spread among the ranks, derived from the information of an Indian prisoner, that Philip himself was close by with a thousand warriors. The rear of the retreating column was harassed by incessant attacks, and the troops under Captain Holyoke, the second in command, whose duty it was to protect this portion of the little army, were nearly surrounded. The whooping and excited savages were close upon the captain, when, by shooting down the foremost, he kept the others at bay. The military order of the column, however, was destroyed. It broke up into fragments, and suffered severe losses; one small knot of men being cut to pieces in passing through a morass, while another was forced to surrender, and reserved for death by torture. A hundred and forty weary and dispirited men marched into Hatfield in the course of the day; the other forty were either slain or in the hands of the enemy. Captain Turner was among the dead. He had recently been ill, and is thought to have lost his presence of mind with fatigue and excitement. Holyoke was cool and self-possessed throughout; but the anxiety of the day told so severely on his strength that he died a few months later, at the early age of twenty-eight.

This disastrous action was followed by an attack on Hatfield, when six or seven hundred Indians fired several of the buildings, but were ultimately driven off. Many other scattered actions took place; but, notwithstanding their successes at Sudbury and on the Connecticut, the native tribes could not recover the position which for a brief while they had held. The General Court of Massachusetts passed laws for impressing soldiers and supplies for the camp, for preventing all traffic with the revolted Indians, and for otherwise conducting the war with firmness and resolution. The savages began once more to lose heart. As the summer approached, their attacks were confined to descents on small villages lying in exposed situations, where they might hope to spread a momentary panic by setting fire to a few houses, or where the possibility of plunder was a sufficient inducement to run the chance of defeat. Lurking in the thick woods, they issued out of them every now and then to make these assaults, and then retired with precipitation into their gloomy fastnesses. It was impossible to act against such foes by a large and concentrated army. The several colonies therefore acted separately, each guarding its own frontiers, and joining its allies whenever there was any special reason for concerted measures. To hunt the Indians out of their accustomed quarters, to prevent their planting corn in the spring, and to stop their fishing in the summer, were the chief designs of the English. The plan succeeded so well that the Indians were exterminated by famine and disease as much as by open warfare. Many, however, were surprised by flying columns of troops, and pitilessly slain. Church, who had now recovered from a wound he had received at the storming of the Narragansett Fort, captured a large number of Philip's tribe who from time to time wandered from the main body. The same enterprising officer undertook, in the course of the summer, an expedition into the country of the female sachem of Saconet (Little Compton), to endeavour to detach her and her people from Philip; and this he effected. The Massachusetts Government, animated by repeated successes, made an advance towards the conclusion of peace by issuing a proclamation intimating that such Indians as should submit themselves within fourteen days might hope for mercy. In consequence of this announcement, a great many of the insurgents came in, and laid down their arms; and by July it was evident that the worst of the war was over, though Philip and the more devoted of his followers still kept possession of the field.

One of the savages who surrendered was a converted Indian known by the name of James the Printer, because of his having been employed as an assistant at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the printing of Eliot's translation of the Bible. The defection of this man, and of several of his fellow-converts, led to considerable discussion as to how far the Praying Indians, as a body, were worthy of confidence. At the beginning of the war, they had been implicitly trusted; and a company of fifty was raised to serve against the rebels. But many proved treacherous, and joined the enemy; when suspicion was not unnaturally aroused against the whole body. Community of blood was found in numerous instances to be a firmer bond than community of faith, if, indeed, the faith of the converted Indians had, in the majority of cases, any very real existence. They behaved badly at Brookfield and at Springfield; and Mrs. Rowlandson, in the work before quoted, says that they were among the most cruel and remorseless of the wretches with whom it was her ill fate to sojourn. One of the Praying Indians, according to this authority, sold his father into the hands of the English, in order to save his own life. Another wore a necklace of fingers cut from the bodies of Christians. Daniel Gookin, the famous ruler over the Praying Indians, denied the truth of these statements, except in a few instances. In a treatise on the subject, he says that the small company

of Christianised Indians, acting as allies of the colonists, captured or slew, in the summer of 1676, as many as four hundred of the enemy. "It may be said in truth," he adds, "that God made use of these poor, despised, and hated Christians to do great service for the churches of Christ in New England in this day of their trial." The Nipmucks, into whose hands Mrs. Rowlandson fell, had amongst them, according to Gookin, only some few waverers, who, because they inclined to Christianity, were reckoned among the Praying Indians. But he denies that the marauders in that part of the country made any pretence to the Christian faith; while the Old Praying Indians of the coast rendered important aid to the English, and were disgraced by scarcely an instance of unfaithfulness.



KING PHILIP'S ARMS.

The testimony of Gookin, though that of an honest and estimable man, must be received with some abatements, because of his strong interest in the converts over whom he presided. It is certainly contradicted by the evidence of others, as well able to judge as he; and it can hardly be doubted that the very general distrust of the Praying Indians had a considerable basis of fact, though it is likely enough that apprehension and anger afterwards exaggerated the truth. As in the case of the mutiny in British India in 1857–8, public opinion, having been once excited by instances of treachery and ferocious hate, fell into a mood of indiscriminate revenge, and counselled a greater degree of retaliation than was just. John Gorham, sent into the Nipmuck country, in September, 1675, to destroy the standing corn of the natives, was blamed by Gookin for making no distinction between friends and enemies, and thus giving offence to those who were well-disposed. On one occasion, the Massachusetts Magistrates were obliged to interfere to protect the Indians at Tewksbury, on the Merrimac, from undeserved oppression. Gookin and others, who did their best to moderate popular wrath against the Praying Indians, were exposed to contempt and insult; and the walls of Boston, in January, 1676, were placarded with an announcement that some "generous spirits" had "vowed the destruction" of Gookin and Danforth for their conduct in the matter.* Still, unjust and monstrous as all this was, it could not have originated without cause. It was thought by the Magistrates especially necessary to take precautions against the Christianised Indians of the Nipmuck tribe. In August, 1675, they were ordered to concentrate themselves at five specified places, and not to move from them beyond a mile, unless accompanied by an Englishman, on pain of death, or at the least of imprisonment. Yet, notwithstanding this severe edict, two hundred converts went off to the enemy's camp in November. Others changed sides as often as they thought it to their material interests to do so. Distrust became general, and several of the native converts, who had given no occasion for uneasiness, were confined for some months to two small islands in Boston and Plymouth harbours, but were ultimately employed with good effect in the military service of the colonies.

During the whole of the war up to this point, Philip had contrived to keep himself out of sight of the English. About midsummer, 1676, his followers attacked Taunton, in Plymouth colony; but the inhabitants, having received notice beforehand from an escaped negro, were so well prepared that the savages were driven off. The revolted Indians were now flying in all directions from the pursuing forces, or humbly submitting themselves to the power they had defied. The Narragansetts and the Nipmucks were alike routed, slain, or compelled to surrender. No hope of retrieving his false step could have remained to Philip. On the 30th of July, he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner near Bridgewater, Plymouth; and his sister was actually captured in a fight which proved fatal to his uncle. His wife and son, with nearly a hundred and fifty more, were seized by Captain Church on the following day. The operations of this officer towards the frontiers of Plymouth colony were signalised by repeated engagements, in which large numbers were killed. Disasters crowded on the miserable fugitives in the day of their waning for-

* Palfrey, Vol. III., chap. 5.



MRS. ROWLANDSON AND THE INDIANS.

times, and the faint-hearted were eager to desert their cause, and make friends with the English. The female sachem of Pocasset, widow of Philip's brother Alexander, and the ally of Philip himself, was found drowned in the river Taunton; and a few days later the head of the whole movement was to perish in the field.

Despairing of success, Philip returned to his own country. Passing by Bridgewater, Middleborough, Taunton, and Tiverton, he crossed the water to the narrow peninsula, now associated with the town of Bristol, which had for some time been the seat of the Pokanokets. Church had for several days been in hot pursuit, and the actions of the 30th and 31st of July showed how near he was to the flying and disheartened chief. The English blocked up the land-approaches to the small, sea-washed territory of Philip's tribe, and rendered difficult any second escape into a larger field. In his rage and desperation, the arch-rebel one day killed a follower for advising submission to the English. The brother of the man thus slain revenged his relative's death by going over to the pursuing force, and offering to guide them to Philip's hiding-place, which was in a marshy thicket. The wearied fugitive seems by this time to have accepted his fate. "My heart breaks," he is reported to have said: "I am ready to die." He fancied that his dreams were ominous: the facts of his life were certainly so. Church marched a strong force to the spot which had been indicated by the traitor, and before dawn, on the morning of August 12th, his men were lying down in the bushes, waiting for the appearance of the sachem. At daybreak, the Indians rushed tumultuously from their covert, and were met by a heavy fire from the surrounding ambuscades. An Englishman and a friendly Indian, stationed at a point where escape might have been possible, saw Philip running towards them, half dressed. The Englishman fired, and missed. The Indian struck his countryman through the heart with a well-directed bullet. He fell on his face, with his gun under him. The greater number of his followers escaped; but the death of the chieftain was triumph enough. On hearing the news, the whole army gave three loud huzzas; then, imitating the savage's evil habit of mangling the slain, they cut off the hands of the dead sachem, and sent them to Boston. The head was displayed on a pole at Plymouth, and a day was appointed for public thanksgiving.

The war was now nearly over. Some of the adherents of Philip, who had managed to get off, prolonged the struggle for a little longer; but they were soon hunted down. Many of the rebels fled to Canada, or found an asylum among the Mohawks. The offending tribes were utterly crushed, and Plymouth, Connecticut, and Massachusetts proper, once more enjoyed peace. In Maine, however, a hostile movement among the Eastern Indians, which had been excited by the risings to the south-west, continued to give a good deal of trouble. The war in this direction was characterised by the same general features as elsewhere. The savages attacked small towns and detached residences, burning, plundering, and killing wherever they could. Many of the settlers were thus exterminated, and Massachusetts, which at that time held sway over the sometime province of Gorges, sent commissioners to the devastated districts, in October, 1675, with instructions to take measures for a pacification, and to commence arrangements for military operations, should such be found necessary. With the coming on of winter, snow fell so heavily that the Indians, being compelled by dread of famine to obtain food from the English settlers, made a treaty in which they stipulated to restore their captives without compensation, and to be peaceful in the future. They complained, however, of wrongs done to them by the colonists, and were particularly annoyed at restrictions being placed on their purchasing powder and shot, which they said were necessary to them for the chase. After the dispersal of Philip's followers, some found their way into Maine, and rekindled the flame of disaffection. Successful attacks were made on various places in the late summer of 1676, and a little fort at Arrowsick, an island in the Kennebec, was taken after a desperate fight. A romantic incident occurred in this neighbourhood. The family of Mrs. Anne Brackett were captured at the sack of Falmouth. She herself escaped, and on the banks of the Kennebec perceived the wreck of a tattered birchen bark, which she patched and darned with needle and thread from a deserted house. She, her husband, her infant, and a negro servant, put off to sea in this frail boat, which had neither sail nor mast, and, crossing Casco Bay, arrived at Black Point, where they were so fortunate as to find a vessel from Piscataqua. So great was the panic in Maine that every English settlement between Casco Bay and the Penobscot was deserted. A military force was sent into the country, and, after some trifling actions in the autumn months, another peace was agreed to in November. But in the early part of 1677 hostilities again broke out, and a large part of Maine was forsaken by the English, and left a prey to the fury of the savages. The war did not finally terminate until April, 1678, when a treaty was concluded, by which the Indians promised sub-

mission, and the authorities undertook that, for every English family established in the province, the tribes should receive annually a peck of corn.

This part of New England had, in proportion, suffered more from the Indian rising than any other. Beyond the Piscataqua, hardly a settlement escaped destruction. Nearly three hundred white men were killed or carried into captivity, and the loss of property and damage to the prospects of the colony were immense. The Indians, moreover, though quelled, were not entirely disabled. But Massachusetts and Plymouth had also been sorely injured by the treachery of Philip and its consequences. Ten or twelve towns were wholly burnt, and forty others more or less damaged by fire, making altogether nearly two-thirds of the entire number. The deaths were so numerous that scarcely a family could be found which was not in mourning. More than six hundred men are supposed to have perished, giving a proportion of one in every twenty of the able bodied male population. One family in every twenty had been burnt out. The expenditure in money of the three united colonies has been stated at more than a hundred thousand pounds; and at the termination of the struggle the debt which had been incurred by Plymouth colony alone is believed to have exceeded the value of the whole personal property of its people.* When such was the provocation, it is not surprising, however deplorable, that the victors should have taken a stern revenge; that many of the Indians should have been executed, and others, according to the bad custom of the time, sold into a slavery that was not likely to find many mitigations.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Charles II. on the Indian Troubles—Injuries inflicted by the War on the New England Colonies—Seizure by Massachusetts of Territory claimed by the Duke of York Progress of the Other Plantations from 1665 to 1676 Arrival at Boston, in the latter Year, of Edward Randolph, Charles II.'s Agent—John Leverett, Governor of Massachusetts Randolph's First Interview with the Massachusetts Magistrates—His Operations in the Colony—His Interview with Leverett—Reception of Randolph by New Hampshire and Plymouth—His Departure for England—Agitation in England against the Breach of the Navigation Laws by Massachusetts—Petition and Address of Massachusetts to the King—Agents sent to England—Randolph's Report on the New England Plantations—Prosperity of Boston—Proceedings in England with respect to the Illegal Position and Acts of Massachusetts.

Between the departure of the Royal Commissioners in 1665, and the arrival of Edward Randolph in 1676, New England had been virtually an independent Federal Republic. It had elected its own officers, passed its own laws, and conducted, from its own resources and by its own men, the bloody struggle with revolted Indian tribes. The very fact that the colonies made no appeal to the mother country was taken ill by the home authorities, as another proof of the desire for complete separation. Lord Anglesey, a friend of the Puritan plantations, wrote to them from London that they were at once poor and proud. It would have become them, he said, to make their addresses to the King, that he might be authentically informed of the proceedings of their enemies and of their own state, by what means they had been brought so low, and what were the most proper and hopeful measures for their recovery. His Majesty had sufficient power and sufficient will to help his colonies in distress. He could send ships or men to assist the New Englanders; he could furnish them with ammunition, or by a general collection open the purses of his people towards them, as there were many who mourned for their distress. But all this was conditional on their not failing in that dutiful application which, said his Lordship, subjects ought to make to their sovereigns in such cases. The letter was written while the Indian war was yet proceeding; but the colonies made no application to the Imperial Government in the dark hour of their affliction. It was their habit to be self-reliant; they had been tutored in a stern school, and knew the great secret of extorting success from the most unpromising conditions. Besides, they anticipated some further action on the part of Charles, arising out of the negotiations with the Commissioners, and they did not care to lay themselves under any obligation to a Power which they regarded as their enemy.

Nor did they, after the termination of the war, request anything of their fellow-countrymen across the ocean in mitigation of the expenses to which they had been put. The chief part of the burden

* Palfrey, Vol. III., chap. 5.

fell on Massachusetts and Plymouth; and the latter colony, being small and poor, was almost ruined. Taxation in Massachusetts was increased so enormously that in 1676 the poll-tax and property-tax, instituted in 1646, were sixteen times as heavy as in ordinary years. The Colonial Treasurer, moreover, was obliged to borrow largely from the merchants; and the law gave him power, if those capitalists proved niggardly (which, however, was far from being the case), to oblige them to take his notes at six months in payment for supplies. Plymouth had no such ready resources; but in the course of years, by a system of rigorous economy, she paid off her debt, both principal and interest, as completely as the richer plantation to the north. Connecticut was not disturbed by any Indian rising or invasion; yet towards the general defence she contributed both men and money. She also furnished the houseless in Plymouth with more than a thousand bushels of corn—a good work in which she was emulated by Boston; and she released to her more suffering neighbours her share in a donation of nearly a thousand pounds which had been contributed by some generous spirits in Ireland. Rhode Island and Providence suffered considerably from Indian ravages, but sent no troops to the war. The insular portion of that territory was guarded by a circle of patrol-boats constantly in motion; and the savages did not venture on any attempt to break through so formidable a barrier.

At the period in question, Massachusetts was even more than ever the leading colony in New England. She had obtained a further increase of her territory in 1673 by appropriating a portion of the Duke of York's province of Cornwall lying eastward of the river Kennebec. The representatives of the Duke had disregarded this part of his Royal Highness's possessions, and they do not appear to have protested against the action of Massachusetts. The authorities of that colony had caused a new survey to be made of the territory in question, to which they conceived that the terms of their charter gave them a claim. The result of this survey was to show that a line running east and west, three miles north of the river Merrimac (which was what the charter set down as their boundary in that direction), would include the southern part of the country beyond the Piscataqua, as far east as to the outlet of Penobscot Bay. The General Court of Massachusetts therefore incorporated the land so indicated with their own plantation, and appointed commissioners to organise it as the county of Devonshire. This was not merely an increase of material resources, but it gave additional importance to Massachusetts, as showing that her will was law, and that her interpretation of a doubtful question of boundaries could be made to prevail. The other New England communities pursued their way, during the eleven years alluded to, without any remarkable events, excepting the great struggle which the ambition of Philip had provoked. They had their disagreements as to boundary, and their small internal troubles. Roger Williams, in Rhode Island, got into hot dispute with the Quakers, and argued theological questions with George Fox, who visited the colony in 1672. Other settlements, including Massachusetts itself, were vexed, as in former days, by religious dissensions, resulting in the establishment of new churches and the irritation of old. But it may be stated in general terms that, but for the convulsion of Indian warfare, the colonies enjoyed considerable prosperity, and were not materially altered, in constitution or in manners, during the time that elapsed between the earlier and the later date.

Edward Randolph, the agent appointed by Charles II. for transmitting to New England the demands which he had finally determined on making, arrived at Boston in the early part of June, 1676, while the war with Philip was approaching its final stages. By that time there were necessarily fewer of the early colonists surviving, in any of the plantations affected, than in the days of Nichols, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick. The founders of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut had, for the most part, quitted the scene. Another race of men occupied the stage, and many of these were of native birth. But the old traditions were preserved with but slight variations, and in Massachusetts the desire for independence had been fostered rather than discouraged by the progress of events.

The Governor of that plantation in 1676 was John Leverett, an Englishman, but an old colonist, and one with every disposition to push colonial rights to the utmost extreme. For many years he had held positions of importance, both military and civil, in Massachusetts and in England. In 1653 he had been one of the Commissioners for conferring with Stuyvesant on his alleged attempts to stir up the Indians against the English; and in the following year he and Robert Sedgwick were in command of the fleet designed by Cromwell for an attack on New Netherland, but which, on the conclusion of peace with Holland, effected the conquest of Acadie. In the early years of Charles II.'s reign, he was agent for Massachusetts in London; and he it was who, shortly after the Restoration, warned the General Court of his colony that an unfavourable feeling towards that plantation was apparent in

high circles. In earlier days he had been a subaltern in Cromwell's army, and was deeply imbued with anti monarchical and anti prelatical views. Randolph did not long remain in ignorance of his disposition and political tendencies. The Royal envoy attended a meeting of the Council on the 10th of June, and presented to the Governor a letter from the King, which Leverett read aloud. In this communication, Charles alluded to the complaints of Gorges and Mason, and stated that he had in consequence determined on requiring the colony to send agents to England to answer those charges. While the letter was being read, Randolph took off his hat, and three of the Magistrates followed his example; but the Governor, with the rest, continued covered. As no important principle was involved, this piece of churlishness was both imprudent and in bad taste. When the reading of the letter was finished, Leverett told the Council, in the hearing of Randolph, that the matters contained in it were very inconsiderable things, easily answered, and such as it did not concern that Government to take any notice of. Randolph replied that he had the King's orders to require an answer, and to wait a month for it. The Governor then intimated that the inconsiderable things would be considered, and that notice would be taken of that which was not worth noticing.*

On withdrawing from the Council-chamber, Randolph could not have carried with him a very exalted idea as to the conciliatory nature of the Magistrates in general, or of Leverett in particular. But he must have seen that a determined front was quickly operative in changing an attitude of defiance into one of surly assent. While waiting for his answer, the busy envoy delivered to several Boston citizens of good position certain letters with which he had been furnished by Mason. These citizens, he afterwards reported to the King, received him with much kindness, and expressed great loyalty to his Majesty. They also circulated information concerning his errand to other well-wishers of the King, who showed much satisfaction at the news. Some notice of the sovereign's letter was taken a few days after the interview of the Royal agent with the Colonial Council. The Magistrates having resolved to return their thanks to the King for his "gracious letter"—that letter which Leverett had said was beneath notice—Randolph was called in, and informed that an answer to the communication in question would be sent by a vessel which was then about to sail for London. The envoy of course was not disposed to start so soon, and he hinted a doubt whether in so short a time the Council had fully considered the contents of the missive, and of the memorials of Gorges and Mason, copies of which had been transmitted by the King. He also inquired whether the Council had determined on their agents, and on the time of their leaving for England. To these questions no answer was returned, and on the following day (June 16th) Randolph visited the Governor at his house, and made formal complaint of infractions of the Navigation Laws, of which he had himself observed several instances since his arrival in Boston. Leverett's reply, according to Randolph, was singularly plain-spoken and bold. He said that the laws made in England bound the people of Massachusetts in nothing but what consisted with their interests; that the legislative power resided solely with them, by virtue of the charter granted by Charles I.; and that all matters in dispute were to be concluded by their final determination, without any appeal to the King. His Majesty, he added, ought not to retrench their liberties, though he might enlarge them if he pleased. He had confirmed their charter and their privileges by his letter of the 28th of June, 1662; and he could therefore do no less in reason than let them enjoy their liberties and trade, since, at their own expense, and without any contribution from the Crown, they had made so large a plantation in the wilderness.

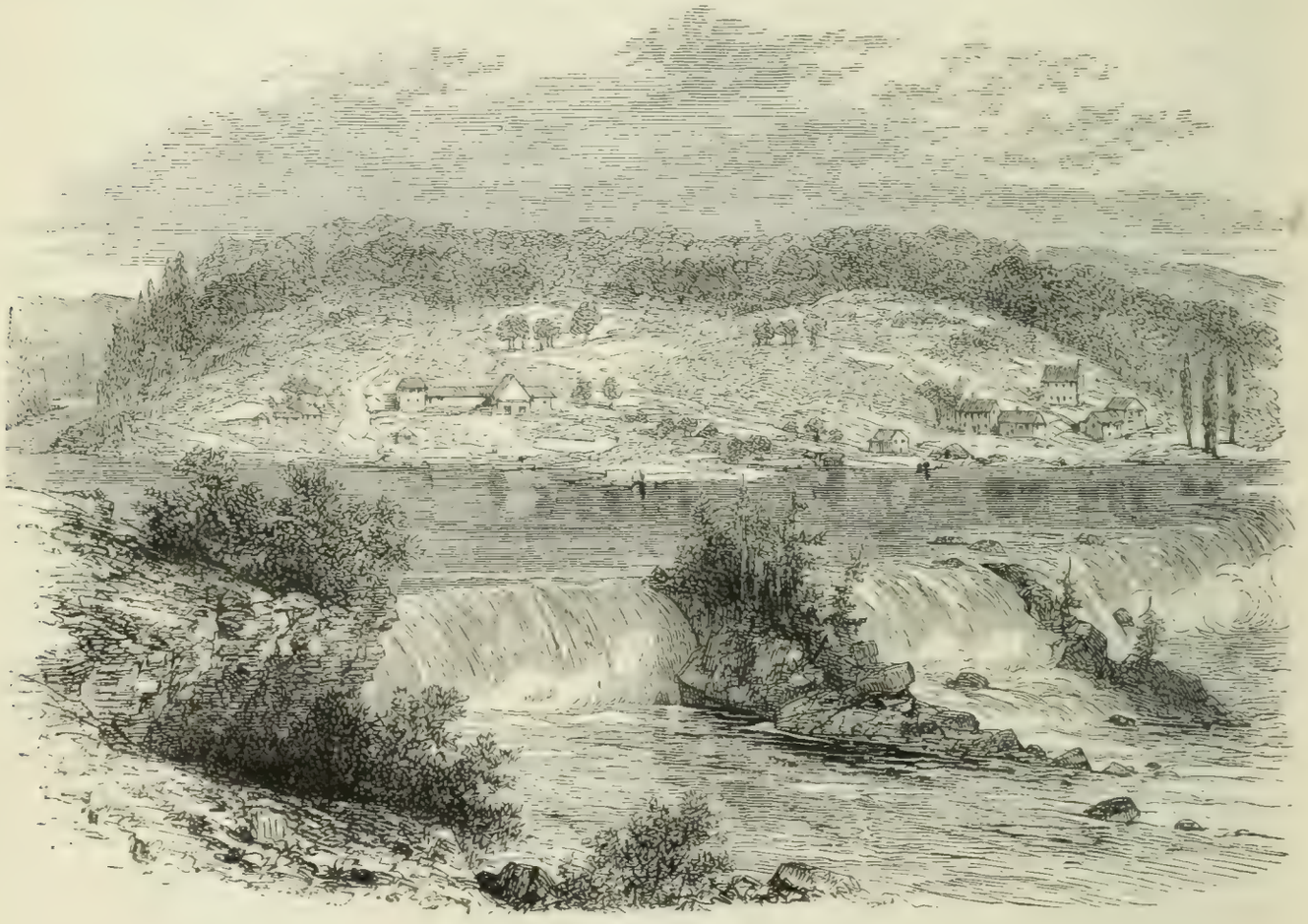
Matters did not improve as time went on. After having been a fortnight in Boston, Randolph wrote to the Governor reminding him of the King's demand for agents to be sent to England, advising him to call a General Court to settle the business, and proposing to wait a fortnight longer for the decision of that Court, when he would be the bearer of the reply to his Majesty. Leverett was highly offended at this interference, and rebuked the envoy for the disrespectful abruptness of his behaviour. The answer, it appeared, had already been despatched, and Randolph was told that he might have a duplicate whenever he was ready to leave. There was plainly nothing more to be done at Boston then, and the Royal agent accordingly turned his attention to New Hampshire, the territory to which Mason laid claim. He travelled through the most considerable towns of that province, and, as he relates, met with a cordial welcome from a population complaining loudly of the usurpation and oppression of Massachusetts. At Portsmouth he received a deputation from Maine (the country

* "The Governor told the Council that the things therein contained were very inconsiderable things, . . . and it did in no way concern that Government to take any notice thereof." "The Governor answered that they should consider of those things." (Original documents quoted by Mr. Palfrey.)

claimed by Gorges), who made complaints similar to those of the New Hampshire people. After his peregrinations in the north, and another brief visit to Boston, Randolph went to Plymouth, on the invitation of the Governor, Josiah Winslow, whom he found a gentleman of loyal principles. In the course of conversations on the state of affairs, Winslow told his guest that he greatly disliked the conduct of the Massachusetts Magistrates towards the King, and expressed his opinion that New England would never be secure, would never flourish nor be serviceable to his Majesty, until the several colonies were placed under the immediate government of the Crown. To such an arrangement, he said, the plantations of New Plymouth and Connecticut would willingly submit. This, of course, confirmed the impression that Randolph had already formed. He stated in his reports that, even in Boston itself, the generality of the people, including the chief officers of the militia, and other persons of note, complained of the arbitrary government and oppression of the Magistrates. It is very probable that this zealous agent exaggerated the degree of adherence to his views existing in the chief New England colony; yet it cannot be doubted that Massachusetts had its disaffected parties, while it is certain that both Plymouth and Connecticut were desirous of retaining a definite and positive connection with the Royal Government of the mother country.

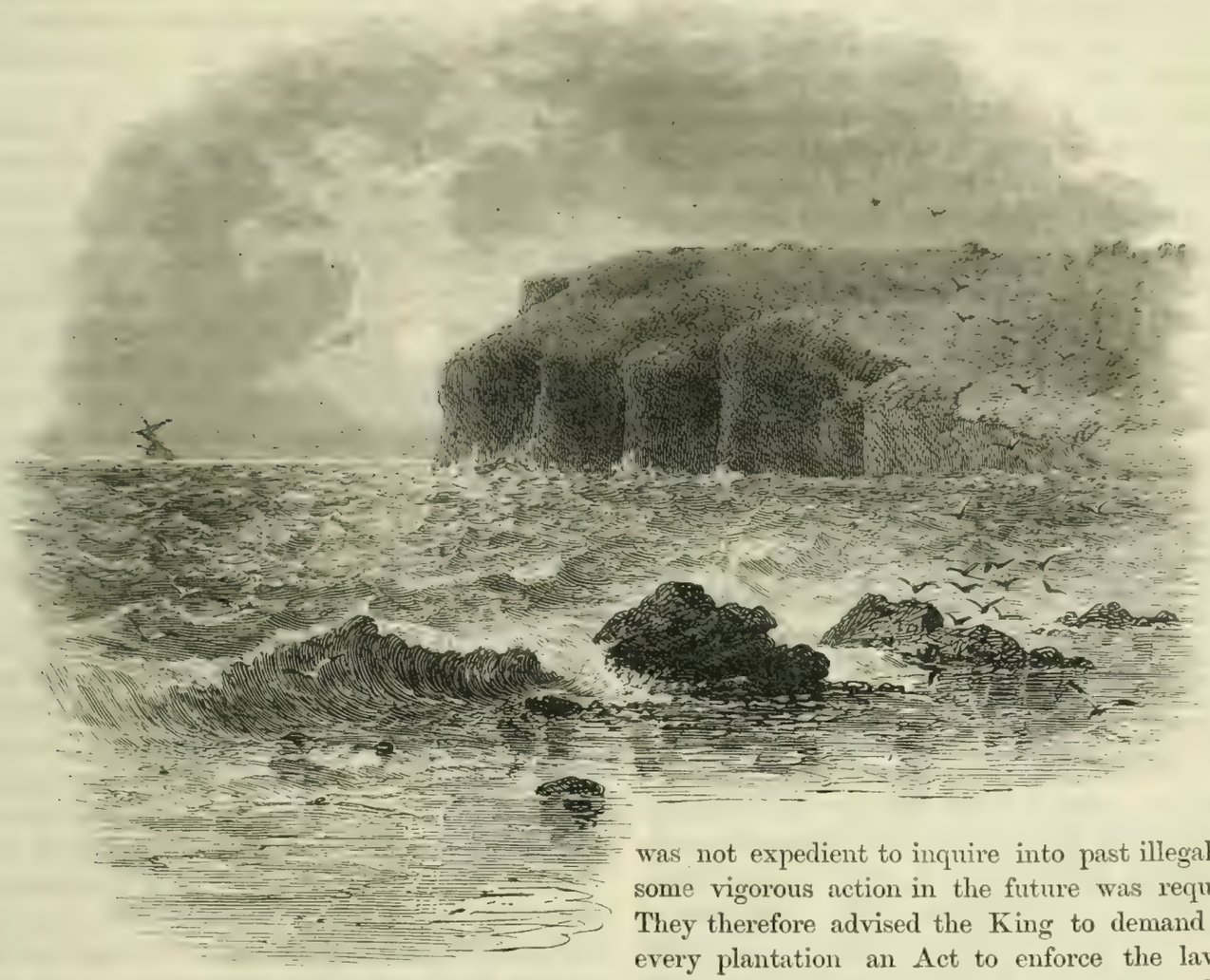
Randolph remained in New England rather more than the stipulated time. On the 20th of July he went to the Governor of Massachusetts for his despatches. The final interview was not more pleasant than those which had preceded it. Leverett sharply reproved the Royal messenger for publishing the substance of his errand to the colonies, telling him that he designed to make a mutiny and disturbance in the country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the local authorities. A duplicate of the reply addressed to Secretary Coventry was then handed to him, and he was bidden to report to the King that the English in Massachusetts were a people fearing the Lord, and very obedient to his Majesty. Whether or not he credited the first of these statements, Randolph must certainly be excused if he doubted the second, as far as the Governor and Magistrates were concerned. He answered in a tart letter, and sailed for England towards the end of the month.

During his absence, the question of the Navigation Laws had been much discussed at London.



TURNER'S FALLS.

Various traders had been making loud complaints of breaches of those laws constantly committed by the New England colonies. A petition from the mercers and silk weavers of the metropolis had been presented to the King; and the Privy Council Committee of Trade and Plantations had gone into the matter, and taken the evidence of the persons principally concerned. One of the reasons given for maintaining and enforcing the law is a singular comment on the absurd injustice of what, at a



VIEW ON THE COAST OF MAINE.

period within the memory of the existing generation, used to be called protection to native industry. The mercers and silk-weavers alleged that they had been accustomed to send to New England great quantities of their stuffs (either made in England or imported from abroad) when out of fashion; but that, since the colonies had, contrary to the law, made their own foreign importations, they (the petitioners) had been greatly injured, and many totally ruined, by their inability to get rid of these commodities. It does not appear to have occurred to these worthy manufacturers and merchants that they had no moral right to force upon the colonists, whether they would or not, goods no longer in demand, and for which it was admitted they could find no purchasers in the open market. Yet the law undoubtedly gave the home producer the right to inflict this wrong; and of the breaking of that law by New England there was abundant evidence. The colonists were forbidden to make their importations in any but English ships sailing from English ports; but they traded wherever they liked for whatever they wanted. The Committee, on hearing of these facts, determined that, although it was not expedient to inquire into past illegalities, some vigorous action in the future was requisite. They therefore advised the King to demand from every plantation an Act to enforce the laws of trade; to appoint revenue officers in those plantations; and to issue orders to the commanders of the Royal Navy to seize offending vessels. The Committee were probably as well persuaded of the justice of the Navigation Acts as the traders whose interests were prejudiced by their violation; but at any rate they could not do otherwise than recommend that the law should be enforced.

The letter which had been despatched to Secretary Coventry by the Massachusetts Council was very brief, and consisted of little more than an intimation that a detailed reply would be sent as soon as a General Court could be convened, and a repudiation of the charges made against the colony as "impertinences, mistakes, and falsehoods." A General Court was convoked in August, and the matter at

issue was debated with the assistance of the Elders. After an adjournment of a month, a committee to which the question had been referred presented the draft of a petition and address to the King. The petitioners herein alluded to the controversy thrust upon them with respect to their eastern possessions, but at the same time expressed their willingness to offer pleas and produce evidence in defence of their position. From this evidence they believed it would abundantly appear that they had a right to the territory in question, according to the plain intent and necessary sense of the words contained in their patent. They furthermore protested that "no intention of wrong to the claimers, no unlawful design of enlargement of their borders, no profit or advantage thereby accruing (the contrary whereto they had hitherto found), but a grounded apprehension of their interest, real compassion to the petitioning inhabitants in an unsettled and suffering condition, together with a sense of duty incumbent to be faithful to their patent trust, did cause them to receive those inhabitants under the wing of his Majesty's Government in this colony established." They concluded by begging, with most humble prostration, his Majesty's countenance and favour for themselves, and for the agents they had appointed.

The address having been adopted, its presentation was confided to Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. Peter Bulkley, both persons of importance in the colony: the former, a member of the Magistracy; the latter, Speaker of the House of Deputies. Stoughton, the elder of the two—though both were in the prime of life—was believed to be somewhat favourable to the views of the home Government; while Bulkley had the credit of being a supporter of popular principles and colonial pretensions. These officials were furnished with a statement of the case of Massachusetts as against Gorges and Mason; with letters to the two Secretaries of State, Henry Coventry and Sir Joseph Williamson; and with two sets of Orders and Instructions. They were to confine themselves to the dispute concerning Maine and New Hampshire, and, as regarded all other accusations, were to answer that they had no instructions as to proceeding with them. They were to report home on their doings, and were to return as soon as possible. In a private communication to the envoys, the General Court made certain suggestions which betray a conscious weakness in their cause. They were to represent to the King and Council the inconsiderableness and small worth of the two provinces, but were to purchase the alleged rights of Gorges and Mason, if those gentlemen were willing in that way to compromise the case. Mr. Palfrey says he is uncertain whether these instructions are not to be considered as a portion of the original draft, and the rest as the amended form finally adopted. But the mere fact of such an arrangement being at any time entertained shows a lurking doubt on the part of the Massachusetts authorities as to the sufficiency of their argument. If, beyond a question, the charter gave them a right to Maine and New Hampshire, there could have been no necessity for even thinking of buying off the rival claimants. If there were any doubt at all, it was obviously most improper that the decision should lie with one of the interested parties.

After his return to England, which he reached on the 10th of September, 1676, Randolph made a report of his visit to the colonies, the second part of which contains a somewhat elaborate account of the condition and laws of Massachusetts. The object of the writer, of course, was to give the King as vivid an impression of the disloyalty of that plantation as he could produce. He therefore dwelt much on the church discipline of the colonists, which was unquestionably so ordered as to confer peculiar privileges on those who conformed strictly to the Independent system, and to place under a species of ban all who followed different ideas. He spoke of the authorities disallowing any one to appeal in any matter to the laws of England. He referred to their concealment of Whalley and Goffe, the regicides; described the solemnisation of marriages by the civil magistrates; and remarked on the suppression of all observance of Christmas Day and other ecclesiastical festivals. Of the general condition of the colony he reported:—"The number of the church-members and freemen, compared with the rest of the inhabitants (who are termed the dissenting party), is very inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part; the most wealthy persons of all professions being men of good principles and well affected to his Majesty. . . . . The inhabitants within the government, including Hampshire and Maine, are computed to be upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand souls. . . . . There are rich men of all callings and professions, and all mechanical arts and professions thrive well. The farmers are numerous and wealthy, live in good houses, are given to hospitality, and make good advantage of their corn, cattle, poultry, butter, and cheese. There are about thirty merchants that are esteemed worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds. . . . . There are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few, who serve four years for the charge of being transported thither by their masters, and not above two hundred slaves in the

colony, and those were brought from Guinea and Madagascar. There are men able to bear arms between thirty and forty thousand, and in the town of Boston about four thousand. . . . . Their trained bands are twelve troops of horse, and six thousand foot; each troop, consisting of sixty horse besides officers, are all well mounted, and completely armed with back, breast, head-piece, buff-coat, sword, carbine, and pistols, each troop distinguished by their coats. The foot also are well furnished with swords, muskets, and bandoleers. There are no pikemen, they being of no use in the wars with the Indians."*

Randolph proceeded to dilate on the strong fortifications with which Boston was furnished; on the large number of guns with which these works were armed; on the accumulation in the public stores of a thousand barrels of powder, with other ammunition, and arms proportionable; and on the warlike resources of the country generally. At Dorchester, seven miles from Boston, he had found a powder-mill, well wrought and in good repair. The land furnished abundance of saltpetre, especially on islands where fowl frequented, and in swamps which were the haunts of pigeons. Of iron-ore there was plenty; and as good iron, in the opinion of Randolph, was made in Massachusetts as in Spain—a reference which sounds oddly at the present day. The colony had six forges for the production of this metal. Boston contained about two thousand houses, mostly built of timber, roofed with shingles of cedar, though some few were brick buildings, roofed with tiles. In harping so much on the military resources and power of the recalcitrant plantation, Randolph would almost seem to have been serving the cause of the colonists, and discouraging the Royal Government from any attempt at subjugation. But of course he had no such design, and in succeeding paragraphs he did his utmost to raise the King's ideas of the value of the colony, and the advantages that might be derived from it. New England, he remarked, had all things necessary for shipping and for naval equipments, so that his Majesty need not be beholden to any other nation for such kinds of stores. It had, besides, horses, beeves, sheep, hogs, and goats, with large numbers of wild beasts, the skins of which produced a great yearly profit. The land yielded wheat, rye, barley, oats, pease, and most sorts of fruit; the sea, every variety of fish. The export trade of the colonies, Randolph described as very considerable, and he spoke of "houses ready framed" among the articles that were sent to Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Christopher, and other islands. Boston he described as "the mart town of the West Indies." It had a large import trade, both for home consumption, and for transport to other parts. English laws for the regulation of trade were entirely disregarded; and, in that as well as other things, Massachusetts endeavoured to make the world believe that she was a free State. She was in possession of thirty vessels measuring between a hundred and two hundred and fifty tons, together with seven hundred of smaller size. Many vessels were built there every year, at a cost of four pounds a ton; and these were sold in England and other countries.

The people of Massachusetts, according to this authority, were for the most part well affected to the King. They were groaning under the yoke of the existing rulers, and in daily hope of a change by his Majesty reassuming authority, and settling a general government over the whole country; in default of which, it was feared that civil war would in a short time break out among the several colonies, owing to the encroachments of Massachusetts. Even among the Magistrates of that plantation, said Randolph, some were well-affected towards the sovereign; but the greater number were of a different opinion. Plymouth and Connecticut were loyally disposed; and in those colonies all civil and military officers, and all freemen, took the oath of allegiance, and commissions and writs ran in the King's name. The Act of Navigation was duly observed, and no stranger was admitted to come into their ports. The population was almost entirely engaged in agriculture, and was supplied from Boston with foreign commodities. Of ships of burden there were none; but there were a few fishing-smacks for trading along the coast.

This account of the state of New England in 1676, though doubtless coloured as regards some of its details by the official views of the writer, and perhaps even by a feeling of resentment at the treatment he had experienced in Massachusetts, gives an interesting picture of colonial ways after the first trials of a new life in the wilderness had been passed. It bears very remarkable testimony to the rapidity with which the largest of the plantations had, in less than fifty years, raised itself from a condition of poverty to one of affluence, and had attained a position in the political world which the monarchy at home was already regarding with perplexed anxiety. Randolph's statements as to the prosperity of Massachusetts are confirmed by the testimony of other observers about the same period. The merchants of Boston were rich men, and their houses, says one writer, were as handsomely fur-

* As quoted in Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III., chap. 7.

nished as those of most merchants in London. The style of living was even luxurious, though the early Puritan austerity was so far maintained that the whole colony had not one professional musician, and a dancing-school which some speculator ventured to open was at once put down. A fencing-school was allowed, as tending to the encouragement of martial exercises. Military costume and military habits had still the picturesqueness of an earlier day, and were not as yet debased by the least touch of that grotesque shabbiness which characterised the eighteenth century. At the funeral of Leverett, who died in the early part of 1679, the hearse of the doughty old Cromwellian officer was attended by twenty gentlemen, preceding, flanking, and following it, one of whom bore his helmet, one his sword, two a gauntlet each, and two a spur each. This knightly ceremony was usual at the burial of Governors of Massachusetts at that epoch. The pomp of martial display was the only relief which Massachusetts permitted to the formal gravity of public manners. The rich fed well, and drank Madeira at two shillings a bottle; but out of doors they observed a solemn simplicity. In 1675, the only person in Boston who kept a coach was the Rev. Mr. Thacher, one of the principal preachers of the city. But poverty, with its ugly and menacing contrasts to extreme wealth, was absent. There were no beggars in New England, and the humblest cottages had something of the decencies of life.

William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, the envoys of Massachusetts, arrived in England in December, 1676, and on the 10th of January, 1677, presented to the Privy Council a memorial in which they set forth that, after due search, they had been unable to find a record of the alleged grants to Mason and Gorges; and they accordingly prayed that an order should issue to those persons to furnish them with copies of the documents in question. This request does not seem to have been complied with; and, the matter being referred to the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations in June, the Lords of that Committee reported in a few days that the colony of Massachusetts had in their judgment broken the laws of Trade and Navigation. They recommended that the Government of that plantation should be informed of the King's pleasure that the said Acts should be duly executed, and that the Lord Treasurer should appoint such officers of the customs at Boston and other parts of New England as the Acts prescribed. The Chief Justices of the Court of King's Bench and of the Court of Common Pleas (Rainsford and North) gave judgment shortly afterwards on the matters submitted to them. They considered that the patent (*i.e.*, the charter) of 1629 was good, notwithstanding the grant made by James I. in 1620 to the Council of Plymouth (the English corporation so called), since it appeared to them that the said Council had parted with all their interest in the lands in question the year before the date of the later patent. It was therefore to be presumed that they had deserted the government; whereupon it was lawful and necessary for King Charles I. to establish a suitable mode of rule, which was done by the patent of 1629, "making the Adventurers a corporation upon the place." These words were important, as seeming to imply that the early colonists were justified in removing the charter and the colonial government from England to America. With respect to the eastern territories, the Justices decided that neither Maine nor New Hampshire was included within the chartered limits of Massachusetts; that the government of Maine belonged to the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and that the government of New Hampshire had never been granted to John Mason, nor was lawfully vested in his heir. This judgment was approved of by the Privy Council, and a day was appointed for hearing the parties. Ultimately, the whole matter was referred back to the Committee of Trade and Plantations.

It was already sufficiently clear that the case, in all its bearings, had been decided against Massachusetts. On the 27th of July, the Lords of the Committee told the colonial agents that the Boston authorities must thenceforward confine themselves to such bounds and limits as had been reported by the judges; that the King would cause scrutiny to be made into their pretended property in the soil of Maine; that they must solicit his Majesty's pardon for their offence of coining money; that the Navigation Laws must for the future be religiously observed; that the general laws of Massachusetts were in many respects very faulty, and in those respects must be changed and reformed; and that, with regard to what they had said as to defect of powers (that is, their having no instructions from their principals to enter on certain matters), his Majesty could not think of treating with his own subjects as if they were foreigners who required the formality of powers. The agents were exhorted to do all things fit for them to execute, and consistent with the service of his Majesty; and it was intimated that it would be well for them to remind their principals of the same from time to time. Some days later, after the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General had reported to the Committee on the legal bearings of the case, with reference to those Acts of the Massachusetts Legislature which were repugnant to the laws of England, the agents

were again called in, and were told in precise terms that the King expected a repeal of all such laws, and that Boston must receive an officer of customs, to see to the proper observance of the Act of Navigation. The colonial authorities were rebuked for the levying of money on the King's subjects who trafficked with them, over whom, it was remarked, the General Court had not the same power as over the members of their own corporation. The necessity of a pardon for the coining of money without the Royal authority was glanced at; and the envoys were directed to wait on the Attorney General for instructions as to their further proceedings. The King had spoken, and it was for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to choose between obedience and a state of war.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Partial Submission of Massachusetts—Purchase of Maine by that Colony from Gorges—Offers made to Mason in respect of New Hampshire—Andros and the Puritans—Complaints of Quakers—The King's Determination to alter the Constitution of Massachusetts—The Oath of Allegiance—Reply of Massachusetts to the English Government—Position of the Colony on the Religious Question—Return of the Agents and of Randolph to America—Death of Governor Leverett, and Position of Parties in Massachusetts—State of Morals in New England in 1679—Sins and Judgments—Massachusetts and the King—Treatment of Randolph—Renewed Demands of the Royal Government—Randolph in England—His Third Visit to America—Another Letter from the King—Despatch of Fresh Agents to England—Randolph in Fear of his Life—Position of Personal Hostility towards one another of Randolph and Danforth.

Massachusetts generally recoiled from a doubtful position when firmly dealt with. Its position with regard to the Navigation Laws was, from a legal point of view, more than doubtful, however unfair those laws may have been, and however natural the desire of the colonists to evade a selfish restriction on their freedom of commerce. Stoughton and Bulkley having informed their principals of the turn affairs had taken, an order was immediately made by the General Court, requiring all masters of vessels arriving or departing to yield obedience to the Acts in question, and instructing the Governor and all inferior magistrates to see to their strict observance. With a rather ineffectual attempt to save their own good faith, the authorities remarked that his Majesty's pleasure in the matter had not before been signified to them, either by the King himself, or any of his Ministers of State; as if it were usual, when a law has been passed, to send a circular round to all whom it may concern, that obedience to the law is desired. The Court also transmitted to their agents at London a petition from the four New Hampshire towns, asking to be permitted to remain under the government of Massachusetts; and they forwarded to the King an address of thanks for his gracious reception of their messengers, and to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy Seal, and the two Secretaries of State, letters expressed in terms of great suavity, but disputing in several points the views of those dignitaries. This was in October, 1677. In respect to the Navigation Laws, the tardy action of Massachusetts had doubtless been stimulated by the communications of their agents, representing how strongly English opinion had declared itself on the subject. At a later date—on the 1st of December—Stoughton wrote that every day it became clearer that, without a fair compliance in the matter, nothing was to be expected but a total breach, and all the storms of displeasure that might be.

While these events were going on, Massachusetts was secretly engaged in a negotiation which it was enabled to carry to a successful issue, and the accomplishment of which gave great offence to the King. In May, 1677, John Usher, a Boston merchant apparently sent to London for the purpose, bought the province of Maine from Gorges, for the sum of £1,250. This method of solving the difficulty had been contemplated by the colonial authorities for years, and approaches in that direction had before been made. That any such proposal should have been put forward, is proof conclusive that the leaders of Massachusetts never felt certain of their alleged right to the territory, and were suspicious that after all the title may really have lain in the Gorges family. The purchase could hardly have been satisfactory to any but to him who received the money. The people of Massachusetts had to pay a large sum for what their rulers had long told them was theirs already, by right, and by the fact of possession. The King was thwarted in a design which he had formed of buying the territory for his reputed son, the Duke of Monmouth; and the English people were vexed at finding their own

Government outwitted by the rulers of a distant colony. It was from Mason that the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations first learned that such a transfer had been effected. On the 25th of March, 1678, he informed them that the bargain was completed, and that he had himself been solicited to sell New Hampshire. More scrupulous than Gorges, he had resisted such offers, and now communicated to the Committee the fact of their having been made. The intimation rekindled to a fervent heat the old feeling of animosity against the chief of the New England plantations; and this at a period when other influences were working to the same end. Andros, of New York, was at that time in London, and, in answer to questions put to him by the Lords of the Committee, gave an unfavourable account of the political tendencies of Massachusetts. He had been considerably annoyed by charges brought against him of having, together with the settlers at Albany, assisted the revolted Indians in their war against the confederated colonies—charges which, after an investigation by the Privy Council, solicited by Andros while the agents of Massachusetts were still in England, were declared to be baseless.* The Quakers also were again busy in opposition to the Puritan settlers. Their sect was being once more persecuted with considerable bitterness in Massachusetts, though not with the deadly animosity of previous years. It was thought at Boston that one reason why the Lord had stirred up the Indians to do so many bad things, was because the former severity against the followers of George Fox had been too much relaxed. Stringent laws had therefore been enacted against these troublesome heretics; and the troublesome heretics had carried their grievances to England, and raised a loud outcry against their oppressors.

As if to complicate matters still further, the General Court of Massachusetts had, in October, 1677, made an order for reviving the oath of fidelity to the colonial authorities which had been required in the troubled days of Charles I. Those who were loyal to the Crown were undoubtedly disinclined to take this oath, which implied the idea of independent sovereignty; and Randolph was careful to make the most of the fact when it came to his knowledge early in 1678. The result was that the King, on the recommendation of the Committee of the Privy Council, commanded that the oath of allegiance, as it existed in England, should be taken by all his subjects in Massachusetts; and the agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, were required at once to give this pledge of good faith, which they professed to do with willingness. Shortly afterwards, the law-advisers of the Crown, having been instructed to report on questions connected with the charter, gave it as their opinion that neither the *quo warranto* of 1635, nor the judgment thereupon, was sufficient to annul that instrument; but that the misdemeanours alleged against the colonists were such as to render the patent void. Thus supported in their designs, the Lords of the Committee recommended Randolph to the Lord Treasurer as a person proper to be employed as Collector of his Majesty's Customs in New England. The King conferred the appointment on him, and matters looked more serious for Massachusetts.

But worse remained behind. The replies of the agents were so evasive and unsatisfactory that the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council came, in the summer of 1678, to the conclusion that the sending over of a General Governor to New England, and the establishment of a fit judicature there for the determining of differences, were steps altogether necessary. This last blow entirely broke the spirits of the two envoys. They prayed for leave to depart, much as Shylock sought release of the Venetian senators when their decision was pronounced against him. This, however, was denied for the present, the King not choosing to part with them until the conclusion of the whole business. All they could do, therefore, was to write home to their employers, giving dismal accounts of the turn events had taken. Again was seen the readiness with which Massachusetts always gave way before a determined front. Without waiting for the advice, or even the assembly, of the General Court, Governor Leverett, the Deputy-Governor, and the body of Magistrates then present in Council at Cambridge, together with their Secretary, took the oath of allegiance *in totidem verbis*. The Court met on the 2nd of October, at once took the oath, and ordered that it should be taken by all persons within the jurisdiction of sixteen years of age and upwards. To this end, constables were to convene the inhabitants of the several towns and villages with all speed, and any one failing to attend, except on the excuse of sickness, was to be punished with fine and imprisonment. Furthermore a profusely loyal address to the King was prepared, and the agents were

* It would seem from the statements of Andros that he had even made offers of assistance to the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut during the war, but that these were rejected. He had gained the friendship of the Mohawks and other savage tribes, and would have brought them into the field against the Pokanokets and Narragansetts, had the devastated colonies accepted his offers. As it was, he kept the friendly Indians to their allegiance, built forts and boats, and prevented any increase of Philip's army. (Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by William Henry Whitmore, A.M. Boston, U.S., 1868.)



RANDOLPH THREATENED.

furnished with a new set of instructions, and with replies to the strictures of the law-officers, and of the Lords of the Committee. In the latter document, Stoughton and Bulkley were exhorted not to concede anything which might endanger the charter, the preservation of which was regarded as of the highest importance; but otherwise the instructions were conciliatory.

The agents were informed that directions had been given to an artist to carve the Royal arms, which were to be erected in the court-house; and it was intimated that the word "commonwealth," which had formerly been used in their laws, had for some time been omitted, and would not again be employed. By this word, the General Court observed, it was not intended to convey any contempt of, or opposition to, the Royal authority. No doubt, the expression is not necessarily inconsistent with a monarchical state; yet it can hardly be doubted that it had been intentionally selected to suggest republican ideas. After replying to the accusations that had been made against them with respect to the Quakers, and the imposition of the oath of fidelity to the colonial authorities, the writers of this document touched on the Navigation Act, and remarked that, according to their humble conception of the scope of English laws, the effect of those laws was bounded by the four seas, and did not reach America. The subjects of his Majesty in the New World were not represented in Parliament, and therefore did not anticipate being impeded in their trade by laws passed in England. They regarded this view as implying no abatement of their allegiance to his Majesty; but they were willing to repeal, with all convenient speed, such laws of their own making as were accounted repugnant to the laws of England, excepting those which were necessary to the professed cause of their first settling in the wilderness. This was an implied allusion to their ecclesiastical position, and to the pretensions of the Episcopal Church in the old country.

On the ground of the Navigation Laws, the rulers of Massachusetts had a very strong case; but their frequent violations of allegiance, and the despotic character of their government in matters of religion, certainly weakened their general position in an incalculable degree. They considered themselves greatly wronged when, in February, 1679, the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council advised that the worship of the Church of England should be made lawful in Massachusetts; that churchmen there should be admitted to public offices, and to the same freedoms and privileges as others; and that ministers should from time to time be appointed by the Bishop of London, to preside over such as professed the Episcopalian faith: recommendations which were afterwards adopted by the King. It must, however, be acknowledged that the claims of the Church of England gave a peculiarity to her presence in a Puritan colony, which justified some degree of apprehension and of caution. Protestant though she was, that Church perpetuated on her own behalf the claim of the Church of Rome to the allegiance of all Englishmen. She still regarded the Dissenters as her revolted children, and might some day assert a paramount jurisdiction where for the present she only sought an equal right. She had mainly herself to blame if the reaction against extravagant demands led to immoderate and unfair opposition. But the only proper way of meeting such demands is by denying them both in word and in act; not by at once condemning and imitating them. The leaders of Massachusetts were guilty of the folly and injustice of crying out against the cruelty of oppression for conscience' sake, and at the same time oppressing all who differed from the dominant party in the plantation. They would not concede to the Church of England the rights which they denounced the Church of England for not conceding to themselves. Nor was it merely the State Church which felt the heavy pressure of their hands. The Baptists and the Quakers, the Antinomians and the Presbyterians, had equal cause to complain of their exclusiveness. Charles II. and his Ministers cared nothing for the misfortunes of those sects, which they were always ready enough themselves to injure and insult; but they were glad to use their wrongs in New England as a weapon against the principal New England colony. Their avowed object was to protect the freedom of Church of England members in Massachusetts. Their real object may have been to secure the predominance of that Church over all the American settlements. But the rulers of Boston placed themselves, by their own tyranny, in a far worse position for resisting subjection than if they had all along taken their stand on the only safe ground of opposition to any form of spiritual despotism—the ground of an impartial freedom. With an indolent monarch like Charles II., a compromise would not have been hopeless. But dogged resistance to demands not unfair in themselves provoked more extreme measures than might otherwise have been conceived.

Stoughton and Bulkley were allowed to leave England in the late autumn of 1679. The alleged Popish plot, which Titus Oates professed to have discovered, absorbed so much of the Privy Council's time and attention that the affairs of New England were set on one side, as of less immediate importance. The Lords of the Committee of Trade and

Plantations, moreover, were hopeless of any good being done, unless the King would give his subjects on the other side of the Atlantic clearly to understand that he was absolutely bent on a general reformation of abuses; failing which, as they explained in a letter to the Earl of Danby, the Lord Treasurer, written as early as the 10th of March, any officer who might be sent would meet with nothing but contradiction and disrespect in whatever he might attempt for his Majesty's service, if the Massachusetts people could only call such endeavours an infringement of their charter. In quitting England, the agents took with them a rebuke from the Lords of the Committee for the presumption of their principals in buying the province of Maine while the complaints of Gorges were under consideration. Their Lordships had agreed to report that, upon reimbursement of what had been paid, the colony of Massachusetts should be obliged to make a surrender of all deeds and writings into his Majesty's hands.

Randolph returned to America about the same time as his adversaries; and all three were back again at Boston in the early part of 1680. They found that in the interval of their absence Leverett had died. That energetic Governor had breathed his last on the 16th of March, 1679, and his post was occupied by Simon Bradstreet, the only one remaining of the body of Assistants chosen in England before the removal of the corporation to America. Bradstreet had always been a member of the Magistracy, and in 1662 had been co-agent with Norton in the mission to England which had had for its object the propitiation of the King. Thomas Danforth was now Deputy-Governor; and it thus happened that the chief authority was divided between representatives of the two opposing parties—the party of prerogative and the party of privilege. Bradstreet was inclined to yield to the demands from England: Danforth was for a policy of resistance. There was indeed a very serious division in the governing body. The singleness of aim and stern determination of purpose which had characterised the days of John Winthrop the elder, had departed. Men of various opinions in politics and religion had by this time found their way into the colony, or had arisen there in the natural development of divers interests and predilections. The consequence was seen in a degree of irresolution which greatly prejudiced the settlement during its contest with the powers at home. If there were any unsupported envoy of the Royal Government to be lectured and thwarted, the Massachusetts Magistrates were very ready to lecture and thwart. But whenever the King gave signs that he was in earnest, the Magistrates recoiled, made pretence of shifting their course, and wrote letters to the sovereign oozing at every pore with unctuous flattery. Still, no substantial satisfaction was given to the requirements of England. The abuse of Puritan power continued, on the whole, as great as before, and the Government of England had again and again to consider what they should do to bring these vexatious colonists to the requisite degree of compliance.

The people of Massachusetts were not very well satisfied even with themselves. They thought there had been a great falling off from the fervour of ancient faith and the purity of early manners. A Reforming Synod was held at Boston in 1679, and the two questions which the members set themselves to consider were—"What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England?" and "What is to be done, that so these evils may be reformed?" The Synod sat ten days, and in its report enumerated, among the evils that had provoked the Lord, "a great and visible decay of the power of godliness," "abounding pride," "neglect of church-fellowship and other divine institutions," "oaths and imprecations in ordinary discourse," Sabbath-breaking, remissness in family government and family worship, "sinful heats and hatreds," intemperance, "inordinate affection unto the world," want of public spirit, and "unfruitfulness under the means of grace."* The Quakers and Baptists were referred to in terms of reprof, but no measures of repression were recommended. Intemperance and profligacy were largely dwelt on among the sins of the time. The "heathenish and idolatrous practice of health-drinking" was denounced as a crying evil, together with immodest apparel, seminakedness of the person (such as we see represented in the pictures of Sir Peter Lely, but which one hardly identifies with the staid society of New England), "mixed dancings, light behaviour and expressions, sinful company-keeping with light and vain persons, unlawful gaming, and an abundance of idleness." If this indictment be not a gross exaggeration, the Puritan severity of the first generation had borne very poor fruit in the second. It is likely enough that, with the increase of population and the accumulation of wealth, some of the vices of high living had crept into the state; and this tendency may have been increased by a natural reaction against the gloom and repression of the early settlers. New England, as we have before had occasion to show, was often shocked by crimes

* MS. Journal of the Rev. Mr. Peter Thacher, summarised by Mr. Palfrey in his "History of New England," Vol. III., chap. 8.

of peculiar heinousness. Only eleven years before 1679, a reformation of manners had been ordered. Public preaching, private exhorting, days of fasting and prayer, had never been more frequent; yet the depravity of the people, if we may believe these records, continued to increase. Cotton Mather, it is true, observes in his "Parentator" that New England still preserved far more of serious religion, as well as blameless morality, than was to be found, proportionably, in any country on the face of the earth. But this is one of those sweeping assertions which are discredited by the fact that the writer could not possibly have known the truth of what he was saying; and Mather himself, in his "History of New England," gives a very different impression. Another writer thought that the statements of the report were to be interpreted with the utmost literality.* The judgments of Heaven were believed to have been made manifest to New England, not merely in the rebellion of the Indians and the action of the Royal Government, but in a succession of bad harvests, in the prevalence of epidemical diseases, and in the failure of trade, owing to unusual losses both by sea and land. Massachusetts vessels had been seized by Turkish pirates, who kept the crews in miserable captivity; and on the night of August 8th, 1679, a fire broke out in Boston, which raged for twelve hours, destroyed eighty dwelling houses, seventy warehouses, and a number of vessels at the wharves, and entailed a loss of £200,000.

The Massachusetts agents, in returning to their colony, carried with them a letter from the King, repeating his former demands, and requiring the despatch, within six months, of other agents duly instructed. The General Court at once assented to those demands, and even went so far as to relinquish the claim to New Hampshire. Bradstreet, on the 18th of May, 1680, replied to the King in a letter giving a detailed account of the state of the colony, from which it appeared that there were then in Massachusetts from a hundred to a hundred and twenty negro slaves, about as many Scotchmen (sold for servants during Cromwell's war with Scotland), and half as many Irish, employed in menial capacities. This letter of Bradstreet's, being unauthorised by the legislative body, can scarcely be regarded as official, and was moreover very little to the purpose. The General Court was in no hurry about replying. The members, in the first instance, sent a sort of provisional answer to the King, promising a more particular response when greater consideration had been given to the various topics. Some time after, the further reply was composed. It consisted of the same sort of half-hearted vindication of the colony and its laws, combined with effusive expressions of loyalty and of desire to satisfy the King, which had formed the substance of other communications. An apology was made for the purchase of the province of Maine, and it was intimated that Massachusetts, before effecting that purchase, had been well assured of the strong inclination and desire of the majority of the inhabitants to place themselves under the government of those of whom they had had a long and beneficial experience. With respect to the sending of fresh agents, the Court begged his Majesty's excuse and indulgence for the present, as the heavy losses and expenditure which had recently afflicted the plantation were such as to render that step too onerous at the time.

Randolph did not fare well in his attempts to enforce the Acts of Trade and Navigation. He seized several vessels with their lading; but the courts before which the cases were brought always decided against the King's representative. He wrote home that every one was saying they were not subject to the laws of England, and that those laws were of no force in Massachusetts until confirmed by the colonial legislature. Every day made him feel more strongly against the people, or rather the ruling classes, who used their utmost endeavours to irritate his temper and frustrate his designs. Any one supporting him was accounted an enemy of the country. He was denied the assistance of an attorney or solicitor to guide him in any matter in the practice of the local courts with respect to which he might be ignorant. His servants were beaten while watching a warehouse containing contraband goods, and the goods were removed to another place. Going on board a vessel to seize it, accompanied by the marshal and six men, he was threatened to be knocked on the head; and, upon leaving to inform the Governor (who ordered men to be raised to effect the seizure), the offending ship was towed away by Boston boats. In reporting these facts to his Government, Randolph said that for his Majesty to write more letters would "signify no more than a *London Gazette*." He added that he expected hourly to have his person seized, and cast into prison. Nevertheless, he hoped in time to put an end to the illicit trade of the plantation.

It is not surprising that the King was incensed when the knowledge of these matters came to him. On the 30th of September he wrote again to the authorities of Massachusetts, commanding and requiring, as they tendered their allegiance, to despatch the required agents within three months

* Dr. Wisner (History of the Old South Church), as quoted by Mr. Palfrey.

after the reception of the order. "That the due observance of all our commands above mentioned," said his Majesty, "may not be any longer protracted, we require you, upon receipt hereof, forthwith to call a General Court, and therein to read these our letters, and provide for our speedy satisfaction; in default whereof we shall take the most effectual means to procure the same." This letter was brought by John Mason, the owner of New Hampshire; and, the General Court being summoned to consider it, in January, 1681, a revision of the laws was hastened, and agents were appointed to go to England. For this service William Stoughton was again selected, in association with one Samuel Nowell, in place of the former co-agent, Peter Bulkley. Stoughton, however, was so little pleased with his recent experiences in England that he excused himself from going a second time; and John Richards, a wealthy merchant, one of the Magistracy, and a person who had filled several important offices, was substituted for him. Nowell belonged to the party which favoured colonial privilege. Richards, who was of English birth, but who had been in the colony ever since 1644, was of a more pliant disposition. The King, by his letter entrusted to Stoughton and Bulkley, had required that the number of Assistants should in future be eighteen, according to the terms of the charter, instead of the smaller number which it had been customary to elect; and this order being complied with, the effect was seen in the increased power of the loyal party in the General Court.

After a visit to New Hampshire, Randolph returned to England in March, 1681. On reaching home, he found that the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations were rapidly coming to the conclusion that New England could never be brought to a perfect settlement unless a General Governor were sent over, and maintained there at the King's charge. He lost no time in encouraging this idea, though with some qualification as to time; and, in a report which he addressed to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, he asserted that, to his knowledge, a correspondence and combination existed between what he termed the factious parties in both Englands.

Meanwhile, the appointed agents of Massachusetts remained idly at Boston; and the General Court, in a letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, affirmed that, after many selections, they were still unable to find any who were willing to go, owing to the dangers of the seas, which were infested with roving Algerines. In some other respects, however, they endeavoured to meet the King's views. Having carefully perused their book of statutes, with reference to the complaints of the English law-officers, they made some progress towards repealing the enactments to which exception had been taken. At the same time it was resolved to make no change in the law as to civil marriages, or in that which forbade persons to walk in the fields and streets on the Sabbath day. These matters occupied the summer of 1681. Towards the end of the year—on the 17th of December—Randolph once more arrived at Boston, with power over the revenues of all the colonies of New England, excepting only his Majesty's colony of New Hampshire. In this capacity he was to act as the Deputy of William Blathwayt, Clerk of the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, who had been appointed Surveyor and Auditor-General of all the King's revenues in America. Randolph brought with him another letter from Charles, for his Majesty seems never to have tired of writing. This communication contained an elaborate summary of all matters in controversy between the plantation of Massachusetts and the Royal Government, and aimed at showing, by an appeal to facts with which the reader is by this time well acquainted, that the colonists had, from the very beginning, used methods tending to the prejudice of the sovereign's right, and of their natural dependence on the Crown. The missive wound up with an intimation that the authorities at Boston were at once to send over their agents; in default of which, the King was fully resolved to direct his Attorney-General, in the ensuing Trinity Term, to bring a *quo warranto* into the Court of King's Bench, by which the charter might be legally evicted and rendered void.

In reply to this letter, the General Court, in February, 1682, sent an address to the King, entreating longer forbearance, and informing his Majesty that they had despatched as their agents Joseph Dudley and John Richards. Both these envoys were disposed to favour the Royal prerogative, and their appointment is a sign that the authorities were by this date thoroughly frightened at the probable consequences of their dilatoriness, and their evasive policy. They went on with their revision of the laws objected to as being contrary to the laws of England; but at the same time constituted two naval officers, one for Boston, the other for Salem and the adjacent ports, to be commissioned by the Governor for exercising a control over the Collector of Customs appointed in England. The latter post was still occupied by Randolph, and it was perhaps thought as well to substitute, for the absolute violence to which he had been subjected on his former visit, something

with at least a pretence to legality. The agents were provided with a set of instructions prepared by a committee of which Danforth, the Deputy-Governor, was chairman; and they were told not to enter on any discussion of the charter, but, in

to the designs of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud; and he soon became the special object of Randolph's dislike. Randolph accused him, and those who acted on the same principles, of refusing to admit his Majesty's letters patent creating the office of



NEW ENGLAND IN 1660.

From Blaeu's Théâtre du Monde. (In this curious map the north is at the bottom and the south at the top.)

the event of anything being propounded that might tend to a violation of that instrument (which the committee did not anticipate), to crave his Majesty's favour that they might not be constrained to make answer on a matter with respect to which they had received no instructions from their principals, Danforth perpetuated the traditions of an earlier day, when Massachusetts prepared for armed resistance, rather than submit

Collector, of obstructing him in the discharge of that office, of usurping judicial powers in the General Court, and of disregarding the authority of the Surveyor and Auditor-General of Revenue, of whom he was the Deputy. He even professed to be in fear for his life, as he had done before. Writing to Sir Leoline Jenkins on the 11th of April, 1682, he said that the authorities were resolved to prosecute him as a subverter of their government. If they

could, they would execute him; imprisonment was the least he expected. He therefore besought the Minister to send a *quo warranto*, as the only means of saving his life. That the General Court, notwithstanding their smooth professions of loyalty, were still acting against the King, is certain, unless Randolph sent home a set of fabrications having no basis of truth. He reported that a law had been revived by the Assembly to try him for his life for proceeding under his Majesty's commission before it was allowed by them. The said commission was not suffered to be read openly in court; and, for acting by virtue of that document, Randolph's deputies and under-officers were put in prison. The Governor and some of the Magistrates opposed these proceedings as much as they could, but in many instances were overborne. Bradstreet was old, and not at any time a man of very strong character or commanding ability, though conscientious, well-meaning, and honest. Danforth was younger and more energetic; and his influence in some degree prevailed.

The new agents left Boston on the 31st of May, 1682. Though they were known as belonging to the prerogative party, Randolph had a very poor opinion of the results of their mission. Nothing they might promise, he advised Sir Leoline Jenkins, could be depended on, if they were suffered to leave England before his Majesty had received a full account that all had been regulated at Boston as promised. He thought that Danforth, Gookin, and Nowell, Magistrates, and Cooke, Hutchinson, and Fisher, members of a late General Court, should be sent for to England, to appear before the King.



VIEW IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Danforth was the great leader of the privilege party. He administered the oath to one James Russell, as Colonial Naval Officer (for the overlooking or thwarting of Randolph in his capacity of Collector of Customs), when the Governor had refused. This and similar conduct caused him to be popular with the party of resistance, and at the election of May, 1682, a vigorous attempt was made to put him in the place of Governor. It failed, however; and to the end of the charter government, in 1686, Bradstreet and Danforth retained their relative positions in the first and second offices of the colony. From this fact alone, it is evident that the loyal party was stronger in the plantation than the disloyal. Yet a party numerically inferior will sometimes exercise a very powerful influence by the ability of its members and the concentration of its purpose. It was so with the faction headed by

Danforth. If there was really a design of putting Randolph to death, Danforth was certainly the man to conceive and carry it out. He was a person of a restless and determined character, holding very extreme ideas with regard to colonial rights, and desirous of establishing for his beloved Massachusetts a position of independence, scarcely limited, if limited at all, by the dominion of the mother country. Randolph had sent a petition to England against this energetic politician in the early part of the year, and, by means of some agent at London, Danforth had obtained a copy of it. Hence the personal animosity of the men; and on this account they watched each other like two gladiators who hold their lives at the sword's length, following every movement with a wary eye.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

An Altercation on the Boston Exchange—Divisions in the General Court—The New Agents in England—Letter from Danforth to Randolph—Issue of a Writ of *Quo Warranto* against the Corporation of Massachusetts—Proceedings in the General Court—Determination of the House of Deputies not to submit—Arguments of the Party of Resistance—Relative Position of Charles II. and the Massachusetts Colony—Opinion in Boston and the other Towns—Judgment in the Court of Chancery—New Constitution for Massachusetts devised by the King—Events in Maine and New Hampshire—Edward Cranfield Governor of the Latter Province—Disputes between him and Mason—Disturbances in New Hampshire—Despotism of Cranfield—Petition against him—His Ignominious Flight from New England.

PENDING the arrival of further instructions from England, the position of Randolph at Boston was a sufficiently disagreeable one, even though his life may not have been in danger, as he supposed. He was looked upon with the utmost dislike by the colonial party, and, being apparently a man of hasty temper, was engaged in constant broils. Whether this was in the greater degree his own fault, or the fault of those with whom he was in antagonism, the fact was no less lamentable, for it often led to scenes of a very indecorous character. It is recorded in the Massachusetts Archives that in June, 1682, the representative of the Crown got into an unseemly altercation on the Exchange with one Elisha Hutchinson. Randolph complained of having been subjected to an unjust rate. "Seven men," he said, "may cut a man's purse on the highway." Hutchinson responded, "Such a knave as you may cheat twenty men." "Who are you?" retorted Randolph. Hutchinson, with a modest sense of his own position in the universe, replied, "A man." Randolph, objecting to this description as in excess of the truth, or requiring some sort of qualification, said, "When you have your buff coat on." Hutchinson returned to the charge with the observation, "As good as you with your sword on." "You are no commissioner here," exclaimed Randolph. Hutchinson, not to be daunted, answered, "I have as good a commission as you. My staff is as good a commission as your sword." "Would I had you in a place where I could try it," said Randolph. "Try now," cried the valorous Hutchinson; and therewith Randolph departed. The Royal agent was engaged in such frequent disputes with the local authorities that the Magistrates determined on cautioning him to behave more circumspectly in future, under pain of their serious displeasure. The Deputies refused to concur in this vote, thinking the occasion called for a more vigorous rebuke proposed by themselves. Randolph, in fact, was looked on as a public enemy, and his manner was not such as to conciliate opponents.

Though determined, at any cost, to make the colonists bow to the authority of the King, Randolph does not seem to have desired a total suppression of freedom in the plantation. He advised that the sending over of a Governor should be accompanied by a declaration of liberty of conscience in matters of religion. But he found it necessary to keep before the attention of the home Government the fact that, as long as the charter remained undisturbed, all his Majesty might command would signify nothing. Governor Bradstreet, who was well enough inclined to be loyal, was over-ridden by the majority in the General Court, which, there is reason to believe, did not at that time represent a majority among the people. Political power in Massachusetts was based on a restricted suffrage. It was from the first so ordered that it should leave the direction of affairs in the hands of the church

party; and with this party it still continued. The faction, as Randolph always called the supporters of privilege, were resolved, as he affirmed, to do nothing to oblige the Governor, or answer the King's expectations. He began to think of force as a means of coercing them. The account of the wealth and large resources of the colonists which he had written after his first visit to America, in 1676, he now contradicted by a report in which he stated that the people were for the most part poor, and possessed of so little military strength that with five hundred of his Majesty's Guards he would undertake to drive them out of the country. Yet he feared that the menace of any such proceeding would lead to his own death, as it would at once be imputed to him, and any attempt to alter the constitution was by their laws a capital crime.

The agents of Massachusetts, Joseph Dudley and John Richards, arrived in England during the month of August, 1682. Richards immediately wrote to Increase Mather (father of Cotton Mather, whom we have had frequent occasion to quote) that he greatly feared the dissolution of the Massachusetts Government was intended by the powers at home. He and his colleague speedily sent in to the Privy Council an elaborate paper, asserting that the King's commands had been carried out, and denying the truth of several of Randolph's statements. On presenting their commission to Sir Leoline Jenkins, they were commanded to remain for the present in England, and were informed that, unless they obtained further powers without delay, the colony would be proceeded against by a *quo warranto* at the next term of the Court of King's Bench. An order was simultaneously despatched to Randolph, directing his return to England, that he might give his aid in the prosecution of the writ. Intimation of these facts reached Boston in January, 1683, and, a month later, the General Court, after many sittings, and the usual observance of a day of fasting and prayer, determined on sending an address to the sovereign, a commission and letters to the agents, a letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, and a petition (signed by the general subscription of the people) to the Throne. The address was of the usual loyal order; but, in the new commission to the agents, directions were given tending to resistance in the matters of religion, of appeals to England, of the qualifications required by law respecting the admission of freemen, and of the constitution and seat of government. If a surrender to the King of the deeds of the province of Maine would help to save the charter, the agents were authorised by the General Court to deliver up those deeds. The Governor, in the letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, stated that he had invited Mason to prosecute before the courts his title to the lands which he claimed, but that he had neglected to do so. The petition to the Throne, with its subscriptions, was to be presented or withheld according to the judgment of the envoys—a compromise resulting from a difference of opinion between the Magistrates and the Deputies as to whether the sending of such an address was advisable.

Randolph left Massachusetts early in April, and before his departure Danforth addressed to him the following letter, which should be quoted as a curious specimen of what was then considered mannerly by the Puritans of Boston:—"Sir,—You are now committing yourself to God's protection upon the mighty seas. I shall only commend and leave with you this one word of counsel. If God doth give you like visit as he did to Laban (Gen. xxxi. 24), be not worse than he appears to be (verse 29). God hath made you an eye and ear-witness of the sincere desire of this poor people, with whom you have sojourned some years, to serve God and honour the King. Resolve not, therefore, to be an enemy to them who have done you no wrong, lest the Lord say of you as is expressed Exod. ix. 16. I beg of you to read the nine first verses of the ninth of Acts, and muse seriously thereon in the night season, when you feel God's Holy Spirit communing with your soul.—Excuse me. I beg your pardon."* At the present day, it will perhaps be generally admitted that the two sentences in this letter which do Danforth the most credit are those with which it concludes.

Events, after lagging so many years, marched quickly after the return of Randolph to England. He arrived in London in the early days of June, and on the 27th of that month a writ of *quo warranto* was issued by the Court of King's Bench. A few weeks after, it was ordered by the Privy Council that Randolph should go to New England with the notification of the threatened legal proceedings, together with a Declaration from the King, in which his Majesty promised that, if the corporation of Massachusetts Bay made a timely submission before the commencement of the process

* Massachusetts Archives.—It would seem that, in the reference to Exodus, the verse intended must be "15," not "16." The latter does not appear to have the least applicability; the former is as follows, and might very well be applied to Randolph by a man thinking as Danforth did:—"For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth." The passages in Genesis have reference to God commanding Laban to "speak not to Jacob either good or bad," and to Laban forbearing, in consequence, to injure Jacob. The last of Danforth's three allusions is to the narrative of the conversion of Paul.

at law, he would regulate their charter in such a manner as would tend to his own service and the good of the colony, without any other alteration than such as he should find necessary for the better support of his authority there. The persons impugned by the coming suit were to defend themselves at their own personal charge, without spending any part of the public stock of the colony, or imposing any rate or levy on the people. Randolph wished to return to America in a frigate, so that the Bostoners might be overawed by some show of force; but, as a frigate could not at that time be spared, he departed during August in a merchant-vessel. He landed at Boston in October, a few days after the arrival of the Massachusetts agents. The General Court at once assembled, and sat for several days in succession, but came to no other resolution than to send out a power of attorney to Robert Humphreys, a barrister of the Inner Temple, who was instructed to save a default and outlawry for the present, and to delay proceedings as much as he could, in the hope of a better day. Though resulting in so little, the debates in the General Court were of course warm and animated. Dudley, who had all along adhered to the prerogative party, counselled absolute submission, as the only hope that was left them. Others were for resisting; but the Magistrates voted a humble address to the King, declaring that, "upon a serious consideration of his Majesty's gracious intimations in his former letters, and more particularly in his late declaration" (that just delivered by Randolph), they would "not presume to contend with his Majesty in a course of law, but humbly lay themselves at his Majesty's feet, in a submission to his pleasure so declared."

The Deputies rejected this address after a fortnight's debate, and the views of the privilege party at this momentous crisis were set forth in a paper contained in the Massachusetts Historical Collection. The argument was based chiefly on the religious ground. It was contended that what was required was a "blind obedience to the pleasure of the Court;" that nothing was said guaranteeing the religious liberties of the people; that there was reason to fear Popish counsels; that submission would be destructive to the interests of religion and of Christ's kingdom in the colony, and would consequently be a great sin and offence to the Majesty of Heaven; that, as the charter was not forfeited in the sight of God, it would be a sin to consent that the Court should alter it; and that numerous passages of Scripture (which were particularly indicated) forbade such a course as the Magistrates desired to follow. In respect of politics, it was urged that submission would be unworthy of Englishmen, who lived under a limited monarchy, not an eastern despotism; that they would suffer as much by compliance as by resistance; and that, by availing themselves of legal and constitutional forms, they might possibly in time recover all they had lost.

This is not the only presentation of the colonial case which time has spared us. In the collection of Colonial Papers preserved in the British State Paper Office is a letter from Boston dated December 14th, 1683, and evidently written by some leading politician. Here again religion is brought to the front as the chief motive for struggling against the pleasure of the King. "Our civil government," says the writer (who does not give his real name, but simply signs his letter *Phileroy Philopatris*), "is as the cabinet to keep and preserve the precious jewel of religion, which is our life: therefore we cannot consent to part with it, whatever we may suffer; it is better to suffer than to sin and suffer too." Allusion is made to the argument of some wise men and faithful subjects in that land, that the charter was the principal bond and ligament which tied the colonists to the King and his successors, and that, the patent being once dissolved by his Majesty, against the people's will, and without their fault, no other bond would remain to oblige them to him as his subjects. This view is adopted by the writer, who adds that in the case supposed they would no more retain their allegiance to the English sovereign than the descendants of Danes and Saxons in England retained theirs to the descendants of the monarchs who ruled over their ancestors. It is surely unnecessary to point out to any intelligent reader how entirely wanting in analogy are these two cases, and how purely sophistical is the whole argument; but it was probably received with great satisfaction by the party of privilege. The writer of the letter, after unfolding the question of right, proceeds to consider whether the King had power sufficient to coerce the colonists. "To send frigates or soldiers so far," he observes, "is a vast charge, and as it were to hunt a partridge upon the mountains; for to such places, where they have several towns, the people may retire, and ships cannot sail thither, nor soldiers well march into the woods without great difficulty. And is there anything here to be had to compensate such a charge? The people generally are very poor; their substance is in a few poor cattle, and a little corn, and the land which they yearly lumber upon, and make but a bare shift to bring all ends together at the year's end. And if his Majesty should put them out of his protection,

they must and will for the most part grieve for it, and flee under the wings of God, their old and faithful Protector; for little have they had from any earthly [protector] hitherto." If his Majesty were to prohibit their trade with other plantations, he would probably have the worst of it. The colonists could make a shift to live poorly without much trade; for they were in possession of wool, flax, hemp, iron, and many other useful things, together with hands enough to manufacture them. Moreover, they had many ships, which would venture abroad, and of which some would possibly return home in safety, with supplies of what was absolutely required. On the other hand, if the King would confirm them in their rights, they would prove themselves as good subjects as any he had, and would serve and obey him in all things, so far as they could with a good conscience.

The determination of the House of Deputies not to make an abject submission to the demands of the sovereign, cannot be blamed. To have done so would have been a confession of weakness certain to invite aggression. The questions in dispute were legal questions, and could only be satisfactorily settled in a court of law. To give up the whole matter into the King's hands would have been weak, ignoble, and cowardly—a peril for the time being, and a dangerous precedent in the future. If such a policy had been safe with *any* monarch, Charles II., in the latter years of his reign, was most assuredly not the one in whom to place so extreme a confidence. He had for a long while been endeavouring, and with no small measure of success, to make himself as absolute as his father in the time of his most arrogant ascendency. His motives were ignoble; his conduct was corrupt; his aims were evidently such as the better order of Protestant Englishmen could not but regard with suspicion and fear. He died a Romanist, and for some time before his death had favoured Romanising tendencies to an extent which left little room to doubt that he would gladly destroy the reformed faith if he could. All these facts justified the people of Massachusetts in not surrendering their whole case into the hands of such a King, to deal with according to his unrestricted will and pleasure. But they did not justify the previous neglect, through many years, to satisfy the fair and reasonable demands of Charles; the long equivocations, the dishonourable evasions, the pretence of acquiescence accompanied by no real satisfaction, the perpetuation of proved abuses, the tardy and grudging surrender of despotic powers. However right the colonists were in resolving to defend their charter by all legitimate means, now that matters had come (by whatever fault or series of faults) to a life-and-death struggle, we cannot fairly blame Charles for seeking its abolition. He had certainly not acted with precipitation. He had been patient beyond the usual limits of Royal patience. The negotiations with Massachusetts had extended over nearly a quarter of a century. They had begun very shortly after the Restoration, and the King was by this date approaching the termination of his life and reign. He had sent letter after letter, and envoy after envoy, but could obtain little in positive fulfilment of his requirements. He had given the colonists every opportunity of retreating from their false position with the least amount of humiliation to themselves. He had at one time let the whole matter drop for eleven years—from 1665 to 1676; and even then seven years more of almost fruitless endeavours passed away. The verbal communications of the colonial authorities were full of effusive loyalty; but their acts, or the acts of many of them, were of a contrary character. When the King sent over his representatives, they were insulted, defied, threatened, maltreated, and hindered in every possible way in the execution of their offices. Barnard Randolph, who was left in Massachusetts in 1683, as one of the deputies of his brother Edward when the latter returned to England, wrote from Boston on the 13th of June:—"I have received many affronts since my being in the office you left me, and cannot have any justice." He adds some details as to violence done to his officers on their attempting to search a sloop at Marblehead; and there can be no doubt that such acts of resistance received the countenance of the rebellious party. The conduct of Massachusetts, in short, was suicidal. Had the just demands of the King been complied with at first, it is probable that the extreme step now menaced would never have been taken; and if it had, the colony would have gone into court with far cleaner hands. The granting of religious liberty, the establishment of a broad and comprehensive suffrage, the admission of appeals where the acts of the authorities had been complained of as involving serious injury to private individuals, would have been graceful and honourable concessions to the very spirit of freedom which the leading colonists professed to be maintaining. But it is to be feared that they cared less for the spirit of freedom than for the lusts of privilege.

The indefatigable Randolph again left America on the 14th of December, 1683, after a stay of less than two months. His departure seems to have encouraged the advocates of resistance to fresh efforts. At the General Court for elections, in

May, 1684, Dudley was not again chosen as Assistant, in consequence, doubtless, of his disposition to support the Royal claims. Bradstreet and others of the same party were elected only by a narrow majority. The Governor and several Magistrates went to the castle to see what repairs were necessary to be done. A town meeting was held at Boston, at which it was proposed that all who were for surrendering the charter should hold up their hands; and not a hand was raised. On this occasion, Increase Mather addressed the people, telling them that if they should deliver it up, even as Ahab required Naboth's vineyard, their children would be bound to curse them. On the 9th of July, Dudley wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins that he and his friends had endeavoured to persuade the colonists to cast themselves humbly at his Majesty's sacred feet (such was the servile language of loyalty in those days), but that the only result was that they were regarded as enemies to the peace and liberty of the plantation, and that several had been discharged from their places of trust. It is a noticeable fact on the other side, however, that, although five extraordinary sittings of the General Court were held about this time, none of the Deputies would seem to have been present at any one of them; which apparently points to a wide discouragement of the privilege party, to which they for the most part belonged. The colony was much divided in opinion.

The General Court sent a letter to Humphreys, their attorney in London, urging him to do all he could "to spin out the case to the uttermost," and calling his attention to a judgment of Lord Coke's touching the Isles of Man, Guernsey, Jersey, &c., to the effect that those places, being *extra regnum*, could not be adjudged at the King's Bench, nor could appeals lie from them. They also sent another address to the King, in which they prayed that he would not impute it to the perverseness of their minds that they could not make the submission which he demanded. They took encouragement humbly to supplicate that there might be no further prosecution on the *quo warranto*, it being, they said, very grievous to them to think of maintaining any controversy with his Majesty. Besides, they believed that in times to come it would be no distress of mind to his Majesty to reflect that his New England subjects had been relieved by his sovereign grace. This address was written in May. Before it could have reached London, a very important crisis had taken place. On the 21st of June, 1684, the Court of Chancery, to which the suit had been transferred, made a decree vacating the charter, and directing that judgment be entered for the King as far as that term was concerned, with leave to the defendants, however, to appear the first day of the following term, with a view to ulterior proceedings. In that case, the judgment was, with the Attorney-General's consent, to be set aside; in the contrary case, to stand recorded. The original proceedings against the corporation were under a writ of *quo warranto*, returnable to the Court of King's Bench. It would seem (though the records of the transaction are rather imperfect) that some action was taken in that court, but without success, and that then a new suit was begun by a *scire facias* in the Court of Chancery. There had been an informality in the writ, and it was thought that a decision in Chancery would carry greater weight, and be more effectual, than one in the lower court. Besides, Lord Guildford, who presided in the former, was known to have formed a very positive opinion in favour of the Royal views, and to be well prepared with legal arguments and precedents in support of those views. In addition to these incentives were certain technical considerations of an important nature. A judgment for the Crown upon a *quo warranto* would have been only for the seizure of the franchises into the King's hands; whereas a judgment upon *scire facias* would result not merely in the charter being declared forfeited, but in an order being issued that it should be vacated, restored to the Court of Chancery, and there cancelled.*

The Massachusetts authorities did not hear of the provisional decree against them before the 10th of September, and then only in a private letter to Dudley. Clearly, nothing was to be done, and the General Court contented themselves with another humble address to the King, and a letter to their attorney, who subsequently told his clients that he thought they had managed their suit very unskilfully. On October 23rd, before the General Court could possibly have directed any further proceedings, final judgment against the corporation was pronounced in the Court of Chancery. Their counsel had moved for an arrest of proceedings, on the very fair ground that sufficient time had not been allowed for procuring a power of attorney between the issuing of the writ of *scire facias* and the day appointed for its return. This, however, was refused, the court observing that corporations should at all times be represented by their

* Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III., chap. 9, and the legal authorities there quoted. The nature of writs of *quo warranto* has before been explained (see p. 116). A *scire facias* is a writ of which the most usual object is to call upon a man or a corporation to show cause why the execution of a judgment passed should not be made out. It is the regular process by which the Crown repeals its grants or letters-patent.



JAMES II. PROCLAIMED AT BOSTON.

attorneys—a decision which, if good in law, was certainly harsh and peremptory.

The charter of Massachusetts being thus abrogated, and the existing form of government with it, the King turned his thoughts to the creation of some political system to stand in its place. He deputed the care of the colony, together with the whole of New England, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, to Colonel Piercy Kirke, a Tangier officer, whose name is to this day hateful in the West of England for his atrocious cruelties in suppressing the insurrection of the Duke of Monmouth, less than a year later. Kirke, the brutality of whose nature was already known, though it had not yet been exhibited in its full infamy, was to receive the title of his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General over the newly-created province. His authority was to be unrestricted by any Colonial Assembly, and he was to appoint his own Council. The King was to receive quit-rents from certain lands, which quit-rents might at any time be augmented; and one of the churches in Boston was to be seized for Church of England services. This was a most despotic and unjust arrangement; but it might have been averted by a few timely concessions. Lord Halifax was the only Privy Councillor who had the courage and honesty to oppose the King's designs. It was furthermore settled that the military power was to be wholly in the hands of the Governor, and that nothing was to be printed in New England without the allowance of that functionary. Strange to say, the news of this arbitrary revolution provoked no outburst of indignation in Massachusetts. Dudley wrote to Randolph that if a general pardon were proclaimed, together with indulgence in religion and security of property, the people would not be persuaded to resistance. This was likewise the view of Stoughton; while Bradstreet humbly asked for indulgent treatment. The spirit of an earlier generation had departed, except in a few individuals; and Massachusetts, which was equal to worrying an unsupported representative of the Crown, and to fencing with the Royal demands as long as it might have been supposed the King was not in earnest, now tamely saw not merely its privileges but its liberties suppressed, and the will of the monarch imposed on it as law. It was felt that the power of England, both by land and sea, was too great to be resisted. The only hope was in the not distant dawning of a more propitious day.

A brief glance at the two proprietary colonies in the north during this eventful period will be necessary before we enter on the new condition resulting from the decision of the Court of Chancery.

Maine, having been purchased by the Governor and Company of Massachusetts, in 1677, was for a little while, as in former years, governed by the General Court, which admitted deputies from the province, and established tribunals for the administration of justice. A separate local government was in 1680 created under the direction of the older and more important colony. Danforth was appointed President of Maine for the first year, and in the following year he was continued in this post, though several of the people objected to being disposed of by Puritan intruders, and petitioned the King to re-establish his rule among them. Others, however, were well satisfied to live under the control of Massachusetts, as the chief Lord Proprietary of the province, the successor to the rights of Gorges, and the Lieutenant of the King. Thus matters remained until the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter. New Hampshire, after it had been legally declared in England that the government of the province belonged to neither of its claimants, received a constitution from the King in 1679. Many of the features of this constitution were liberal, but it depended entirely on the pleasure of the monarch. On the members of the Government assembling, they sent a letter to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, confessing the benefits which had been derived from the rule of that plantation; but whether this expressed the views of the New Hampshire people generally, or only of a dominant faction, may perhaps be doubtful.

When he left Boston in the summer of 1680, Randolph travelled into New Hampshire, and began operations at Portsmouth as Collector of the King's Customs, but met with considerable opposition. He was sued by the master of a vessel he had seized, who obtained a verdict, with damages to the extent of £13. His Deputy, Walter Barefoote, was, after trial, fined for having exercised his office without leave from the President and Council. About the close of the year, Mason arrived in New Hampshire with a *mandamus* from the Privy Council, constituting him a member of the Government. He soon got into collision with the colonial authorities by attempting to exercise powers the validity of which they denied. In a little while he had publicly summoned the Council to answer him before the King within three months, and they had issued their warrant for his arrest. Mason, evading the order, departed for England in 1681, and induced the Privy Council to advise a different constitution for the province. The King consented, and in 1682 sent out Edward Cranfield as Governor, with very considerable powers. Cranfield, before he left, made a good money bargain with Mason,

who still considered himself the proprietor of the territory, although the legal decision of 1677 had removed the government from his hands. The Governor had not been in New Hampshire long before he was at issue with Mason, whom he accused of treating him unfairly, and of misrepresenting both the place and the people. He reported home that the settlers were neither so rich nor so mutinous as had been described; that Massachusetts had exercised no authority until requested to do so, and that the province had derived great benefits from the neighbouring colony during the Indian war. This testimony would be more valuable if it were not on record that shortly afterwards Cranfield received from the Assembly a gratuity of £250. He was evidently, however, not a man very easy to deal with, for in January, 1683, he quarrelled with the Assembly respecting several measures, and went the extreme length of dissolving it. This was more than the people were disposed to suffer, and an insurrection broke out amongst the towns of New Hampshire. The province had been almost completely ruined during the Indian war; it was still very thinly populated; and the money resources of the people were but small. Yet the colonists were not wanting in spirit, and, under the leadership of Edward Gove, a deputy from Hampton in the recent Assembly, and apparently a man of distracted intellect, they made a brief stand for their liberties. But in a little while Gove and eight of his associates were arrested, and arraigned for high treason. All were convicted; but the eight were set at liberty, and Gove was despatched to England in chains, as the Governor feared a rescue if he should keep him any longer. On arriving in London, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and kept in irons for nearly a year. In a letter addressed "to his honoured friend, Edward Randolph, Esq." (then in England), he begged for a little money assistance in his necessity, solicited his interest for a pardon, and advanced the odd plea that he would not have risen in rebellion had he known it was against the law. His ignorance on this score he attributed to the fact that the like had been done every year for fourteen years, and no notice at all taken of it. He was ultimately pardoned by King James, and returned to America in 1686.

The movement having been suppressed, Cranfield succeeded in establishing a pure despotism. He again acted in the interests of Mason, and, after appointing Barefoote as his Deputy, went to Boston, and employed his time, as an irregular agent of the King, in prying into the affairs of Massachusetts, and reporting on them in no complimentary vein. On a former visit, some months before, he had induced the Massachusetts Magistrates to offer, through their agents in London, a bribe of £2,000 to Lord Hyde for a pardon. The money was refused, but the fact of its having been offered shows the low ebb of public morality at that time in Massachusetts. During his second visit, Cranfield wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins, on the 19th of June, 1683, and again at subsequent dates, with reference to the College at Cambridge, near Boston, which he charged with being the fount whence so much sedition was drawn. Barefoote also wrote to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, condemning the ministers and church members of New Hampshire for inciting others to disloyalty. "No Pope," he said, "ever acted with greater arrogancy than those preachers who influence the people to their fantastic humours, ... intermeddling in all civil affairs, and censuring all persons and actions that agree not with their principles and peevish humours." There was certainly no want of arrogance on the side which Barefoote represented. Indeed, the tyrannical proceedings of Cranfield, of Mason (now filling the position of Chancellor), and of their colleagues, were so extreme that, in the autumn of 1683, Nathaniel Weare, of Hampton, left for England with a petition to the King from the four towns of the province. Early in 1684, want of money, and the disturbed condition of the country, which every day threatened the shedding of blood, compelled Cranfield to convoke the Provisional Legislature again. The members proved refractory, and the Governor, dissolving the Assembly, levied taxes by his own will, and exacted duties on vessels even within the borders of Maine. Still worse than this was his conduct to the ministers of religion, to whom he sent a circular, threatening them with prosecution under the Act of Uniformity if they refused to administer the Lord's Supper and the rite of baptism according to the forms of the Church of England. He addressed a particular command to the Rev. Mr. Moody, requiring him to administer the Eucharist, after the fashion prescribed by the English rubric, to himself, to Mr. Mason, and to Mr. Hinckes, a member of his Council. The minister refused, and was straightway tried for the offence, convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, while at the same time his "benefice" was declared forfeit to the Crown.

In the meanwhile, Weare, in England, made some way with his complaints. The Lords of the Committee wrote to Cranfield on April 15th, 1684, calling him to account for allowing the claims of Mason to be adjudicated in the province,

instead of referring them to England, and for presuming to fix the value of current coin. Weare presented a memorial against the Governor to the Privy Council in July, and, this being referred to the Lords of the Committee, they sent a copy to the accused, requiring his answer, and charging him to desist from placing obstacles in the way of the party which was collecting evidence against him. Previous to receiving this order, he had written home, asking to be relieved of his post, on account of ill-health. The King permitted him to appoint a Deputy, and go to Jamaica or Barbadoes; but ere he could depart, the long-suppressed animosity of the people burst out. He was severely beaten at Hampton in January, 1685, and, getting away with the loss of his sword, was escorted to Salisbury with a rope round his neck, and his legs tied under the horse's belly. The whole colony was in a ferment of petty insurrection; and Cranfield was glad to take ship privately at Boston for the West Indies, leaving the equally unpopular Barefoote in his room.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Accession of James II.—State of New England in 1685—Proclamation of the New Monarch at Boston—Determination of James to rule arbitrarily—Creation of a Provisional Government in New England—Joseph Dudley made President—Protest and Dissolution of the General Court of Massachusetts—Previous Career and Character of Dudley—His Letter to Increase Mather—First Acts of the New Government—Difficulties with regard to Religion—Quarrels of Randolph and Dudley—Church of England Services derided by the Mob—Progress of Episcopal Views—Renewed Immigration of Dissenters—Proceedings against Rhode Island and Connecticut—Arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston as Governor-General of New England—The Religious Difficulty again foremost—Arbitrary Taxation—Resistance of Massachusetts Towns, and Severe Punishment of the Offenders.

Charles II. died on the 6th of February, 1685, and, in default of legitimate heirs, the sceptre passed into the hands of his brother, the Duke of York. It was well known that this Prince was a Papist, and the utmost alarm as to the future of Protestantism not unnaturally took possession of the minds of Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. This apprehension was in some degree allayed by the new King declaring, at the first Council held after his accession, that he was no friend to arbitrary power, as many had asserted, and that he was resolved to maintain the liberties of Englishmen, the form of government already existing, and the Established Church. As to the New World, James had succeeded to a harvest of troubles. The abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts had left that colony in a state of incipient revolution; and the other settlements were suffering from a general condition of uncertainty and disturbance. Plymouth, notwithstanding its loyalty, was dissatisfied at never having been successful in obtaining a charter. Connecticut and Rhode Island had but recently been in a state of surly antagonism with regard to vexed questions of boundary; though, as the disputes had in 1683 been settled by Commissioners in favour of the former colony, the occasion of irritability lay chiefly with the latter. The united plantations of Providence and Rhode Island had lost their two most eminent citizens, the founders of those great refuges for the persecuted. Coddington had died in 1678, Roger Williams in 1683; and no one of equal eminence had yet appeared. As a climax to all, the Confederacy of the New England colonies had come to an end in 1684, after a final meeting, at which the Commissioners proclaimed a day of fasting and humiliation, that the people might pray for the withdrawal of those divine chastisements under which they were still suffering, and might implore a lengthening of the life of King Charles, and the establishing of his crown in righteousness, for the defence of the Protestant religion in all his dominions.

Such, then, was the disjointed and disorganised condition in which James II. found the colonies of New England on his accession to the throne. Their state in 1685 was certainly far inferior to that which had existed five-and-twenty years before, when Charles reached London from Breda, to restore the ancient monarchy of England. The death of that sovereign put an end to the Governorship of Colonel Kirke before it had really commenced; and for some time nothing definite took its place. On the very day that James succeeded to the crown, he issued a proclamation, directing that all persons in authority in his kingdoms and colonies should continue to exercise their functions until further orders were issued. The new monarch

was proclaimed in the chief street of Boston during the month of April, even before the receipt of any official intimation of what had happened. The ceremony was performed by the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, and the Assistants, on horseback, accompanied by a troop of cavalry and eight foot companies, with drums beating and trumpets sounding. As the mounted troops were a hundred in number, and the infantry a thousand, the military display was sufficiently imposing, and such as to convey no mean idea of the position and resources of this colonial city, not much more than half a century after its foundation in the wilderness. A large piece of ordnance was discharged after the volleys of horse and foot; the people burst into as loud acclamations as if they had been Londoners, hearing the proclamation read at Temple Bar or Charing Cross; and the soldiers, followed by numbers of the principal gentlemen and merchants of the place on horseback, finally made a procession through the town. So far as ceremony is of any value, the reign of James II. had made a good beginning at Boston.

Nevertheless, the general feeling amongst the colonists was one of gloom and anxiety. Everything was unsettled, and the arrival of Colonel Kirke as Governor was daily expected with a feeling of nervous dread. It was probably known in Massachusetts that, when in command of the African garrison of Tangier, that officer had behaved with a fantastic cruelty which augured ill for those over whom it was expected he would soon be placed. So great was the sentiment of despondency, of listless indifference to all political considerations, that at the annual elections several towns neglected to send Deputies to the General Assembly, and were rebuked by the Court for their want of spirit. The outbreak of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, in June, 1685, gave other and more congenial employment to Kirke than that of worrying refractory colonists; and we hear no more of his filling the post to which the late King had appointed him. When the rebellion was put down, and James had time to think about other matters, Randolph presented a petition praying for the creation of a temporary government over Massachusetts and its dependencies, and that he might be sent over with the necessary commissions, together with writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut. The constitution he suggested was not illiberal in its features. The Governor was to be assisted by a House of Assembly, in which Massachusetts should be represented by twenty Deputies, Plymouth and New Hampshire by nine each, and Maine by eight. But the King refused to allow of any House of Assembly, although his Attorney General and Solicitor General had themselves reported that, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the charter, the people of Massachusetts had still the right of deliberating on such laws and taxes as should be made or imposed on them. While James was busy contriving how he should introduce the Church of Rome into England, his Privy Council were making arrangements for introducing the Church of England into the Puritan colonies. It was ordered that several Common Prayer Books, together with books of the Canons and Homilies of that Church, copies of the Thirty nine Articles, and Tables of Marriage, should be sent over to New England, to be used according to the directions of the Bishop of London, in whose diocese the colonists were supposed to be.

Randolph arrived once more in Boston on the 14th of May, 1686. He brought with him commissions for the functionaries of a Provisional Government. A President, Deputy-President, and sixteen Counsellors, were to rule over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the King's Province or Narragansett Country, pending the arrival of a Governor-General to be sent out from England. But they were not charged with any legislative authority, nor could they collect taxes, except such as had already been levied by law. They could only carry on the ordinary routine of government, and, as no provision was made for an Assembly, their position must be regarded as anomalous, and not very enviable. The office of President was conferred on Dudley; that of Deputy-President on Stoughton: both supporters of the prerogative party. Randolph and Mason were members of the Council, and Randolph also held the appointment of Secretary and Registrar of the four united provinces. He had solicited the office as a reward for his exertions in causing the "liberties and privileges" of Massachusetts to be "forfeited to his Majesty." It proved a good source of profit, for he claimed for himself and his Deputy an exclusive right to register wills, deeds, and all evidences of contracts, to issue licences of marriage, and to certify such copies of legal documents as should be valid in law. Three of the Counsellors—Bradstreet, his son, and Saltonstall—refused to assume the trust; the others, together with the President and Deputy-President, laid their commission before the General Court, declining, however, to recognise the members of that Court in an official capacity, and simply addressing them as some of the principal gentlemen of the towns of Massachusetts.

It is the uneasy fate of every impartial observer of human events to be obliged to shift his sym-

pathies from side to side, according as the turn of fortune ranks men with the persecuted or the persecutors. When the English Puritans of the reigns of Elizabeth and of the first James and Charles were suffering from the oppression of the Bishops, the balance of sympathy was naturally with these humble followers of conscience. When they themselves, spoiled by the evil influences of undivided power, erected a selfish tyranny where they prated of a free commonwealth, the kindly regard that had been theirs passed away to those whom they had wronged. They regain it now in the hour of their new trial and oppression. In these changes there is no inconsistency: they but express fidelity to the highest laws of humanity and morals. Charles II. had combated, not unfairly or unreasonably, whatever his ulterior designs, the exclusiveness and petty despotism of the chief New England colony; but, on succeeding to his triumph, the poor and shallow nature of his brother could not refrain from striking at the very heart of all noble and manly life in the settlement whose errors had brought it low. The General Court of Massachusetts met this outrage with a dignified protest. On the 20th of May, 1686—the third day after the communication of the Royal commission—the Court abdicated the government provisionally, after sanctioning, by an unanimous vote, a reply to the President and Counsellors, in which they said:—"We conceive—First, that there is no certain, determinate rule for your administration of justice; and that which is, seems to be too arbitrary. Secondly, that the subjects are abridged of their liberty, as Englishmen, both in the matters of legislation and in laying of taxes; and indeed the whole unquestioned privilege of the subject transferred upon yourselves, there not being the least mention of an Assembly in the commission. And therefore we think it highly concerns you to consider whether such a commission be safe for you or us." They added that if the persons so commissioned should take upon themselves the government of the colony, they (the members of the General Court then about to be dissolved) would demean themselves as true and loyal subjects to the King, and would humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their Prince, for relief. This document was described by the Council as a libellous paper, and they summoned Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony, before them, for having signed it. In the very outset of their career, they made it plain that no criticism on their acts would be permitted.



INCREASE MATHER.

Joseph Dudley, President of the United Colonies of New England, was the son of Thomas Dudley, one of the early settlers in Massachusetts Bay, a Deputy-Governor several times, and the Chief

Governor more than once; a man of honest and unswerving principles, but harsh, intolerant, and disposed to persecute for the sake of religion. His son, now advanced to the important and influential post authorised by James II., was a person of a very different character. The father was seventy years of age when his child was born, and lived not more than five years later; so that Joseph Dudley could have received no direct influence from his progenitor. In Thomas Dudley we see a stern, inflexible Republican, of the stamp of those who fought under Cromwell, and forsook him when he showed a hankering after the flesh-pots of monarchy. Joseph Dudley was more courtly—more desirous of making a path for himself by submission to the dominant power in the old country. He was one of the prerogative party in the disputes with Charles II., and was soon selected by Randolph as a useful ally. In 1682 he was sent to England as co-agent with John Richards in representing the case of Massachusetts before the King. He had been a Deputy, a Magistrate, and a Commissioner of the United Colonies, and had filled various temporary posts in connection with the political affairs of Massachusetts. Able, versatile, well-educated, energetic, and ambitious, he was just the man to rise to the highest place in a period of revolution and disturbance. Randolph, in a letter to the Bishop of London, written in 1682, said of him that he was a great opposer of "the faction" in Massachusetts, and, if he found things resolutely managed, would cringe and bow to anything; that he had his fortune to make in the world, and that if his Majesty, upon alteration of the government, would make him captain of the castle at Boston and of the forts in the colony, he would gain a popular man, and oblige the loyal party. When Dudley was omitted from the Magistracy in 1684, Randolph declared himself well satisfied, because Dudley would then become the fitter man to serve the King in some position of his Majesty's appointing. Events and his own nature had marked him out for the elevation to which he had now attained.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

His affection for the place of his education—Harvard College, established at Cambridge, near Boston—continued to be a strong feeling with Joseph Dudley, even at this period of disruption. On the morning of the day when he and his colleagues laid their commissions before the General Court, he wrote a letter to Increase Mather at the house of that minister, in which he said:—"Reverend and dear Sir,—I rose this morning with full intention to wait on you by eight of the clock, before I had your letter to put me forward, and am sorry to find you from home. I am very solicitous, whatever be the issue of the present hurry, for my dear mother at Cambridge, and cannot be happy if it do not flourish. I never wanted your favour and advice so much as now, and would pray an opportunity with you this evening, if possible. Sir, for the things of my soul I have these many years hung upon your lips, and ever shall; and in civil things am desirous you may know with all plainness my reasons of procedure, and that they may be satisfactory to you." This looks like the utterance of an honest man; and it is possible that Dudley began by desiring the good of his native land, as well as the gratification of his own ambition. He may in the first instance have been dissatisfied with the unsettled state into which the colony had drifted, from whatever causes; and may then have hoped that in the complete establishment of the Royal power the ultimate prosperity of the English Americans would be best secured. But in acting as the tool of such a monarch as James II. (if, indeed, he had not some hidden design of his own) he placed himself in a false position, and must bear the judgment of posterity for his mistake.

The President's speech, delivered at the first meeting of the Council, which took place on the 25th of May, was temperately and judiciously conceived. Addressing the assembled functionaries and people, Dudley exhorted them to observe a loyal and dutiful demeanour towards his Majesty's Government, as the plainest path to their own happiness. He said he would keep their welfare constantly in view; professed to be a true and sincere lover of his country; and averred that he had utterly forgotten the injuries lately offered to himself by his fellow-colonists. The Council followed up this speech by a report to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in which they expressed an opinion that it would be "much for his Majesty's service, and needful for the support of the Government and prosperity of all these plantations, to allow a well-regulated Assembly to represent the people in making needful laws and levies:" a recommendation which conclusively proves that the new rulers were not well-disposed towards the despotic experiments of James, nor unregardful of the interests of colonial freedom. Arrangements were made for the administration of justice according to the ancient forms; and the change in the constitution of Massachusetts proceeded so quietly that nothing approaching to a public disturbance is related. Indeed, it is evident that there was a party among the Bostonians who rejoiced over the in-coming of the new Government; for in the Council Records is to be found an entry of £21 expended in wine, which was drunk in celebration of the change that had just been effected. But the religious difficulty made its appearance without delay. The Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been sent over by the Bishop of London to institute Episcopal worship in Boston, waited on the Council on the 26th of May, when Mason and Randolph proposed that he should have one of the three meeting-houses of the city to preach in. This was denied, and he was granted the east end of the town-hall (where the Deputies had been in the habit of meeting) until those who desired his ministry should provide a fitter place. Mr. Ratcliffe conducted his services in the place appointed, and some time after applied to the Council for maintenance, according to the letters of the Lords of the Committee; in response to which it was ordered that the contribution-money collected in the place where he performed his ministrations should be solely applied to him. The old jealousy about the red cross in the banner reappeared; and on the 11th of November Judge Sewall resigned his commission as captain of the South company of Boston, on account of an order to put the cross into the colours. Marriage by ministers (it had formerly been performed by the magistrates) was authorised by a proclamation of the Governor on the 29th of May. Prayer began to be used at funerals, contrary to the strict Puritanical habit; and it was feared that the people would be compelled to go the (to them) idolatrous length of observing Christmas Day.

The co-operation of President Dudley in these reforms was not sufficient to satisfy the requirements of Randolph. The two quarrelled a good deal about their respective authority, and on the 28th of July Randolph wrote to the Lords of the Committee to complain of Dudley and the Council thwarting him in his efforts to establish the Church of England in the colony. They acted, he said, in the interests of the Independents, and openly discountenanced Mr. Ratcliffe and all who dared profess themselves members of the Episcopal Church.

The immigration of Nonconformist ministers from England was encouraged by giving them good livings and lucrative salaries; and these men disseminated the most seditious principles. Randolph accordingly suggested that no minister should be allowed to land without the licence of the Governor-General (when that functionary should arrive), and that there should be power to restrain from preaching such as were already there. In a letter to a friend in London, Randolph declared that he was treated by Dudley (whom he designated "the false President") worse than by his old enemy, Danforth, though under the pretence of friendship. The Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe found he had undertaken a very difficult and thankless task. He preached twice every Sunday in the town-hall, and on Wednesday and Friday mornings administered baptism and read prayers in the Exchange. That he found some followers is certain; but the mob were against him. They interrupted his ministrations, much as the turbulent Anabaptists and Quakers had interrupted the services of Puritan pastors in days gone by. They insulted and mocked at him, calling him Baal's priest; and some of the ministers had the bad taste to denounce the English clergyman from their pulpits, and to describe the prayers which he offered up as "leeks, garlick, and trash." The matter was made worse by the importunity with which Randolph required a maintenance for this alien minister; on one occasion even suggesting that the three meeting-houses of Boston should each pay twenty shillings every week, out of their contributions, towards the support of Mr. Ratcliffe. It does not appear that he gave any reason why they should lay this tax upon themselves for the maintenance of a minister whom they did not desire, and whose doctrine and practices they regarded as pernicious. The townspeople very fairly replied that those who hired him should supply his necessities—an argument which, many years before, Roger Williams had advanced against the dominant Puritans, but without finding any acceptance for it.

In the midst of these bickerings, Mr. Ratcliffe pursued his course with much courage and spirit, and, if Randolph may be trusted, with no little success. The Registrar reported to Archbishop Sancroft, on the 27th of October, 1686, that there were at that time four hundred persons who were daily frequenters of the Church of England services, and that as many more would follow their example, but that, some being tradesmen and others mechanics, they were threatened by the Congregational men with arrest by their creditors, or with the loss of their work, if they showed any sign of going to church. Randolph evidently thought this, and certainly most rightly thought it, a very improper interference with mental freedom and personal independence; yet, with the inconsistency of most men in those times, he recommended a similar interference on behalf of his own party. He flatly stated to Lord Danby his belief that liberty of conscience would continue to obstruct the settlement of the place, unless "duly regulated by the authority of a prudent Governor" from England. The Nonconformists of the colony were receiving reinforcements from the Old World. Great numbers of persons, holding opinions opposed to the English Church, were arriving in Massachusetts from England, Scotland, and the Protestant parts of Ireland. Emigration to New England was being again stimulated by the dread of Popish innovations, and the Puritans of the far West found themselves strengthened by the fears inspired by James II. Among the persons who repaired to Boston under this influence was Captain John Blackwell, one of Oliver Cromwell's officers and Parliament men, a son-in-law of General Lambert, and one of the persons excepted from the general pardon at the Restoration. On arriving at Boston, Dudley and his Council made Blackwell a Justice of the Peace; which looks as if the new rulers of the colony were as little inclined to loyal submission as their predecessors. Randolph, indeed, said that Dudley intrigued with private cabals, with factious ministers, and with others who, in the time of Monmouth's rebellion, refused to pray for the King; and that he neglected to interfere when told that some of the ministers had spoken treasonable words in their pulpits. The real designs of Dudley at this period it is hard to unravel.

Rhode Island and Connecticut fared no better than Massachusetts in the refashionings of the time. They had always been loyal to the throne; but Randolph had in 1685 exhibited Articles of Misdemeanour against them to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, the general effect of which articles was to charge the two colonies with passing laws contrary to those of England, disregarding their allegiance, and acting as if they were entirely independent. The complaint resulted in the issue of writs of *quo warranto* against both plantations. Rhode Island at once submitted to the Royal pleasure; Connecticut determined to make a stand, being almost compelled to such a course by the insolence of Randolph's language. The leading men of that colony were told by their accuser that, should they dare to defend their case at law, they would lose all that part of their colony lying between the river Connecticut and New

York, which would in that case be annexed to the last-named government. "I expect not," he wrote to the Governor and Magistrates on the 27th of May, 1686, "that you trouble me to enter your colony as a herald to denounce war." Nothing could excuse such arrogance; but Randolph had a very particular reason for it. He had been so long on his voyage from England that the time for the colony to appear by its counsel and contest the writ had already expired; and he probably hoped, by pursuing a course of intimidation, to avoid the necessity of producing the document. The hope, however, was vain. Connecticut was not inclined to yield without a struggle, and on the 20th of July Randolph was obliged to go to Hartford, and serve the writ in person on the Secretary and one of the Magistrates. Dudley tried to persuade the Governor of Connecticut to seek a union with Massachusetts. But the General Court of the southern colony desired no such union, and empowered an agent to go to London, and represent their case before the King. Nothing resulted from this step, and Connecticut awaited with much anxiety the further development of events, not without some leaning towards incorporation with New York, rather than with the province ruled over by Dudley. Colonel Dongan, the then Governor of New York, was very desirous of such an arrangement, and had even made proposals to that effect. The poverty of the revenue in his own province induced him to tell the Lords of the Committee that there was an absolute necessity for the annexation of Connecticut. At the same time, Dudley and his Council were representing in the same quarter that Connecticut and Rhode Island should be united with Massachusetts, as Massachusetts depended on them for agricultural supplies, and they on Massachusetts for imported commodities.

These, however, were only the strivings and rivalries of a provisional state of things, and that state was now on the eve of closing. On the 20th of December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, the former Governor of New York, arrived at Boston with a commission for the government of the colonies in that part of America. The commission bore date June 3rd of that year, and he was officially entitled "Governor in Chief in and over the territory and dominion of New England." Andros was to have the assistance of a Council, the first members of which were appointed by the King. The Governor might displace them at pleasure, but the vacancies could be filled only by the monarch. The laws, to be made by the Governor and his Council, were to conform to those of England, and to be sent to England for the Royal sanction. By virtue of this commission, Andros was empowered to exact the oath of allegiance, if he thought fit, of any and every person within the jurisdiction; to reprieve and pardon; to regulate trade; to constitute courts of justice (the decisions of which were to be subject to an appeal to the King); and to appoint judicial, executive, military, and naval officers. He was not permitted to establish a Mint, but might by proclamation regulate the value at which Spanish dollars and other foreign coins should pass in the New England colonies. He was constituted commander of the militia and of the forts, Vice-Admiral, and Admiralty Judge. He might agree with the colonists for the payment of quit-rents. Liberty of conscience was to be protected, and the Church of England to be countenanced and encouraged. Taxes might be imposed with the advice of the Council; but the old laws and customs for raising money were to continue till set aside by further legislation. Andros was granted a salary of twelve hundred a year, to be paid out of the English Treasury until a revenue should be settled; and this was subsequently increased to fourteen hundred. He brought with him a flag, showing a red cross on a white ground, a crown wrought in gold, and the Royal initials "J. R.;" also a seal for the official acts of his Government, engraven with his Majesty's effigies, standing (robed, crowned, and sceptred) under a canopy, his right hand extended towards an Englishman and an Indian, both kneeling, over whose heads appeared the inevitable cherub of the period, with scroll and motto complete. The King's arms, crown, supporters, and other insignia, appeared on the other side of this seal, which must have seemed to the colonists like the outward and visible sign of their complete subjection to the Court at London.

Andros also had with him what was more important than a flag or a seal. He was accompanied by a guard of about sixty soldiers—a small number, it is true, but probably sufficient to overawe any resistance that was at that moment likely to be made. These troops, according to a work in vindication of New England published at the time, were a disorderly, dissipated set of profane swearers, who corrupted the morals of the Bostonians, and provoked continual riots and tumults amongst a peace-loving people. On landing at Long Wharf, Andros was met by a number of merchants and others, with all the militia, both horse and foot, who escorted him to the town-hall, where his commission was read, and the oaths of office were administered to eight councillors. Nine or ten days later, the first Council was held, at which representatives from Plymouth and Rhode Island

were present; and on January 28th, 1687, Dudley was appointed censor of the press. He was also made, with Stoughton, a Judge of the Superior Court, with a salary which, though small, was worth having in addition to other sources of emolument.

Arrangements for the collection of taxes were made early in March, and in a little while the religious difficulty again arose. On the very day of his landing, Andros had sounded the ministers about the possibility of contriving so that one meeting-house should, at different hours of the day, accommodate the Puritan clergy and those of the Church of England. The ministers replied next day, after having met to consider the subject, that they could not consent to their meeting-houses being made use of for Common Prayer worship. Nevertheless, when the Good Friday of 1687 was approaching, Andros sent Randolph to demand the keys of the Old South Meeting-house, that it might be opened for a service of the Episcopal Church on the day in question. It was replied by a committee of the congregation that the land and house were theirs, and that they could not part with them to such a use. The sexton, however, was frightened into opening the doors and ringing the bell; and Andros carried his point. Church of England services were held there on Sundays, alternately with the meetings of the body to whom the building belonged. The regular congregation was shocked and scandalised; but the misfortune was beyond remedy. Another cause of offence was found in the introduction of the custom of kissing the Bible in taking an oath (which the Puritans regarded as idolatrous), instead of the established form of lifting the right hand. Sooner than adopt the method now imposed, many persons declined to serve on juries, although the refusal entailed on them a process for contempt. The folly of irritating people on a point so utterly devoid of importance should have been evident to men of ordinary sense; but the desire to tyrannise is always pampered to unnatural growth by the opportunities of indulgence. In other respects, also, the conduct of the new rulers was injudicious. They multiplied grievances with a fatal facility. Inordinate fees were demanded for various processes which had before been free; and a number of insatiable place-hunters were fetched from New York, to enrich themselves by exactions which had no warrant in law, and no justification in necessity. The fees were farmed out by the Secretary, Randolph, to a merchant named John West, who, having to pay a considerable sum for the privilege, was obliged to extort as much as he could possibly wring from the unhappy people to make a profit out of the transaction. The laws were now not printed as they had formerly been, and the colonists were left in the dark as to what was legal, and what not. Added to these troubles were the arbitrary imposition of taxes, and a demand that new patents should be taken out for the ownership of land.

It had been determined by the Council early in the year that there should be a compulsory assessment of taxes by commissioners chosen by the several towns. When this arrangement came into effect, which was in the month of July, several places in Massachusetts, including every borough in the county of Essex but three, refused to proceed to the required election. Ipswich was particularly emphatic in resisting the demand. John Wise, minister of the place, met several of the principal inhabitants at the house of John Appleton, formerly an Assistant in the General Court, when the result of the discussion was a resolution that it was not their duty to assist in raising money without a General Assembly. A town-meeting on the following day ratified the decision, and the election of a commissioner was refused. For this offence, the persons principally concerned were taken to Boston, and there kept in gaol some weeks on a charge of contempt and high misdemeanour. They were denied the privilege of *habeas corpus*, and were ultimately brought to trial before a court constituted by special commission, and consisting of Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, John Usher, and Edward Randolph. In connection with this affair, Andros asked whether Joe and Tom were to tell the King what money he should have; forgetting that, as Joe and Tom are the persons whose business it is to pay, it is not unreasonable that they should have some share in determining the amount. Dudley, addressing the Ipswich minister, is reported to have said, "Mr. Wise, you have no more privileges left you than not to be sold for slaves." The laws of England, he told the prisoners, would not follow them to the ends of the earth; and, in summing up, he plainly directed the jury to find a verdict of guilty, which they were not slow to do. The unfortunate accused were then remanded to prison, and kept there one-and-twenty days before judgment. By the sentence, when passed, Wise was suspended from the ministerial function, fined fifty pounds, condemned to pay costs, and ordered to enter into a thousand-pound bond for his good behaviour during one year. The others were fined in various amounts, condemned in costs, required to enter into bonds, and disqualified for bearing office. The six sufferers afterwards calculated that, with fines, costs, and other charges, they were the poorer by more than four hundred pounds.



NEW ENGLAND IN 1684. (*From a Map engraved by Michault.*)

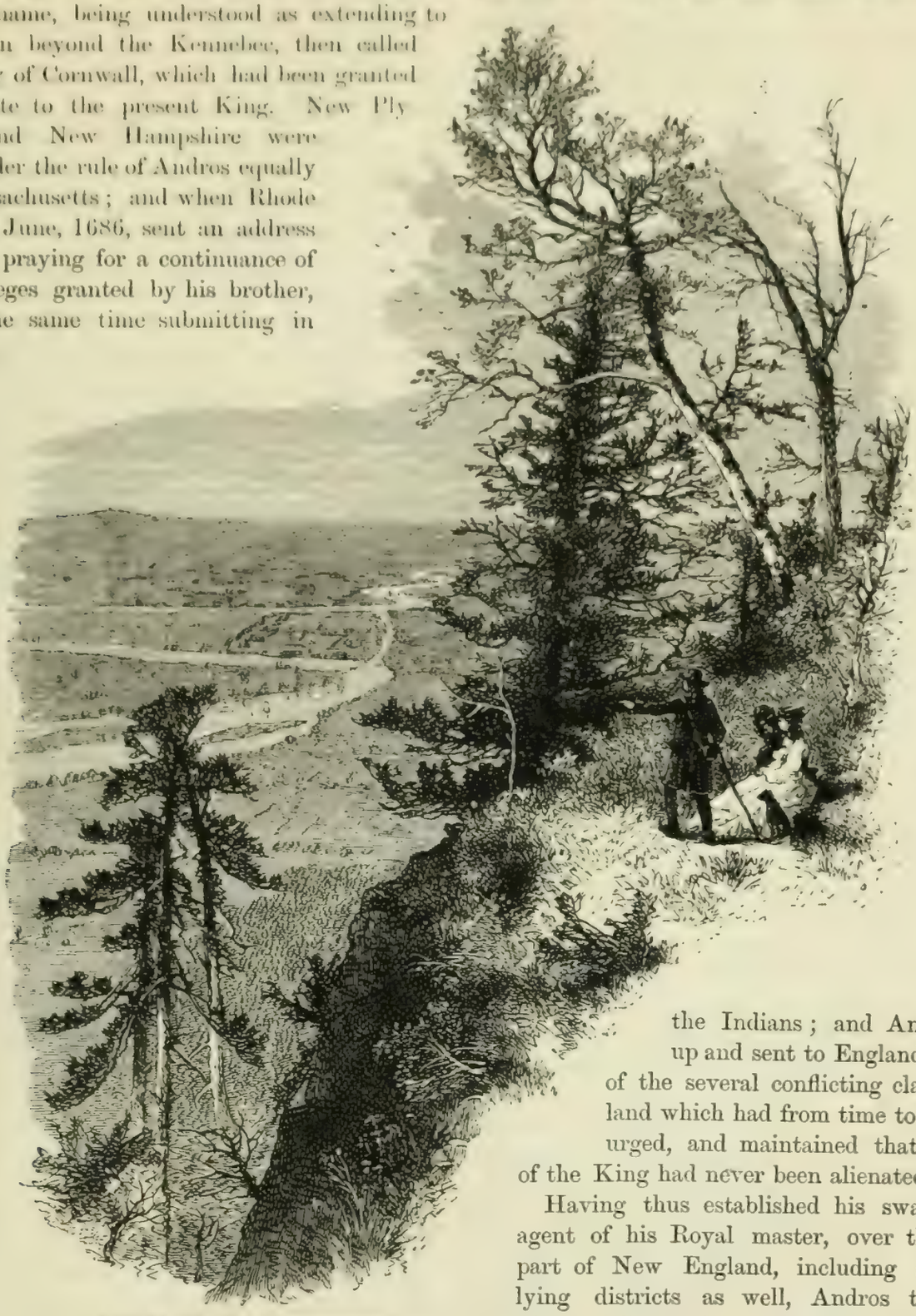
So severe a punishment intimidated the other towns. The assessments were made, the money flowed into the treasury, and the Government scored one of those triumphs which are more fatal than many defeats. At the same time, lands were taken away from their proprietors unless when sums were paid, in the form of quit-rent, for the confirmation of the original title. The theory was that the King was sole proprietor and landlord in the province; and on this assumption lands were freely disposed of to the supporters of the Government, often to the injury of those already in possession. Portions of the common lands of Lynn, Cambridge, and other towns, which had been devoted to the service of the poor, were enclosed, and granted to private individuals: a state of feudal lordship was established in the chosen home of Puritanism. The fees required for the granting of fresh titles to land were at first not serious in amount; but as soon as the principle had been established, the exactions became more heavy. James was as despotic in New England as in Old; and in both countries he prepared the way, with the unerring instincts of tyranny, for that reaction which must surely come when the first principles of freedom are defied.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Consolidation of the New England Colonies under Andros—Annexation of Rhode Island to the United Government—Divided and Disorganised State of Opinion in New England—Character of Sir Edmund Andros—Dissolution of the Separate Government of Connecticut—The Charter Oak—King James's "Declaration of Indulgence," and its Reception in New England—Oppressive and Vexatious Legislation—The Question of Land Tenure—Expedition to the North-east—Extension of the Rule of Sir Edmund Andros—Increase Mather in England—Troubles with the Indians—Expedition of the Governor against the Indians of Maine—Its unsatisfactory Results—Accusations against Andros—Arrival of News of the Landing of William of Orange in England—Outbreak of Revolution in Boston—Reinstating of the Old Magistrates—Arrest of Andros and Others—Calling of a Convention—Commencement of the Reign of William III.

THROUGH good report and evil report—for he had his partisans as well as his enemies—Sir Edmund Andros proceeded in his task of consolidating the New England colonies under his personal rule. The

terms of his commission included the province of Maine, which was now held to comprise more territory than had hitherto been associated with the name, being understood as extending to that region beyond the Kennebec, then called the county of Cornwall, which had been granted by the late to the present King. New Plymouth and New Hampshire were placed under the rule of Andros equally with Massachusetts; and when Rhode Island, in June, 1686, sent an address to James, praying for a continuance of the privileges granted by his brother, but at the same time submitting in all things to his discretion, the answer took the form of an immediate annexation of the colony to the government of Andros, who was directed to require the surrender of the charter. Whether the charter was ever really surrendered seems doubtful; but the people of Rhode Island proved very compliant, and, sending five members to the General Council, increased the number of the Governor's supporters. The Narragansett country was administered on the assumption that it had been ceded to the Crown by the Indians; and Andros drew up and sent to England a memoir of the several conflicting claims to the land which had from time to time been urged, and maintained that the title of the King had never been alienated.



VALLEY OF THE CONNECTICUT.

Having thus established his sway, as the agent of his Royal master, over the greater part of New England, including some outlying districts as well, Andros turned his attention to Connecticut. On the 22nd of December, 1686, he sent a letter to the Governor of that colony, demanding the surrender of the charter, and intimating the King's pleasure that the colonists should submit themselves to the Government of New England. Connecticut, however, hesitated. In January, 1687, the Governor summoned the General Court; the General Court left the matter in the hands of the Governor and

Council, yet gave certain instructions for an answer to the message of Andros, and for a letter to Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State. In addressing Lord Sunderland, the Connecticut authorities used language of such plenary loyalty as to amount to a complete surrender of their independence. They even said that it would be much more pleasing to them to be united with the colonies and provinces under Andros than to be joined to any other jurisdiction. Yet what they desired above everything was to retain their separate existence; and this view they expressed to Andros. Robert Treat, the Governor, was all this while conducting a private and personal correspondence with his powerful rival, whom he addressed in a conciliatory and almost apologetic style. Treat was disposed to surrender, but could not at once see his way, owing to difficulties raised by the Assembly, the members of which were to a great extent influenced by the clergy.

The divided and disorganised state of New England is strikingly shown in the proceedings of this period. The Confederation had never enjoyed a very vigorous life; it had soon fallen into jealousies and angry bickerings; and it was now extinct. To the early simplicity of the Puritan emigration had succeeded the mixed opinions, the antagonistic interests, the heterogeneous composition, of a more advanced form of society. The several colonies represented different phases of religious thought, different sets of political ideas. Even within the compass of each plantation, great diversity of sentiment had arisen in the course of half a century. There was a Royalist as well as a Republican party. The weak points in the colonial systems had had time to unfold themselves. The enthusiasm of the original emigrants had died away: a generation of pilgrims had been supplanted by a generation of merchants and agriculturists. Abuses in the government of some of the colonies undoubtedly existed. Massachusetts was too rigid; Rhode Island and Providence suffered from a feeble rule, and a freedom that verged on licence. The entire want of unity in the colonists—of any clear purpose and single aim—led to hesitation and weakness in opposing the designs of English Royalty. The King, on the other hand, knew perfectly well what he wanted, and how best to obtain it. He had at least a show of justice on his side; in some respects he had actual justice. Undoubtedly he used his power rigidly when he had got it; but he represented the supremacy of the English State over its own possessions, and that supremacy he was entitled to assert. The time had come when a combination of the whole of the New England colonies under one Governor appointed by the Crown, supposing him to have the check of a freely-elected Assembly, was probably the best development of political affairs in that part of America. From this, however, it does not follow that the acts of the Governor, when at length he appeared, were such as they should have been. He was without the curb of a popular legislative body; he was there as the representative of a despotic monarch; it is very possible that his own personal inclinations were despotic also; and he governed with little regard to the feelings, or even the substantial rights, of the people who passed under his rule.

Few men have had a worse name with modern Americans than Sir Edmund Andros. He is held by every American schoolboy to have been a villain, for whom no terms of reprobation are too strong. This view is derived, through many intermediate channels, from various contemporary accounts of his proceedings published after the cessation of his power. By the writers of those works he is accused of brow-beating the members of his Council who tried to shield the people from oppression; of bringing in men who by reason of their poverty were likely to act as his tools; of suppressing the freedom of debate; of disregarding the Council's advice whenever it went against his own wishes; of evading a fair and open method of taking the votes, so that the majority might be known; and of omitting to give due notice of the assembling of the Council, so that many were often absent through ignorance, and affairs were in effect managed by four or five persons, who were of course devoted to the Governor. It is probable that these accounts were exaggerated by partisan feeling. Andros was not a dishonourable man. He was a gentleman of high character, whose actions were consistent with an honest sense of what he believed to be right. That it was sometimes wrong none the less, is equally true. Many a man has thought it fit, on grounds of loyalty, and without any personal self-seeking, to do the bidding of a tyrant; but his individual sincerity does not annul the offence against a whole community. Besides, such men are always served by contemptible agents; and this was the case with Andros. West, to whom Randolph farmed out the fees which were exacted on every conceivable occasion, was condemned by Randolph himself for his scandalous extortions, by which he rendered the new government "grievous;" and West was not the only one who squeezed the unhappy people, and made their lives a burden to them.

It should be recollected to the credit of Andros,

or at least in mitigation of our judgment on the errors of his rule, that no person was executed for a political offence during the time of his power; that no extreme cruelties can be laid to his charge; that no one was fined or imprisoned by him for nonconformity with the Church of England; that he does not appear to have been in the slightest degree a gainer by the several fees extorted from the people; that he was not even taxed with misappropriation of the public funds; and that he took no pains to revenge himself on his many enemies.* He had an ungracious office to fulfil; and he was a gentleman of the old school, proud of his lineage, and possessed of very high ideas of the prerogatives of monarchs and their deputies. But to rank him with the worst of tyrants is a thoughtless over-statement.

The negotiations with Connecticut continued through the greater part of 1687. They were managed by a certain Captain Palmer, and by a Scotchman named Graham, the Governor's Attorney-General, and were rendered all the more difficult by the fact (probably unknown to Andros) that New York was at the same time making a bid for the colony ruled by Treat. Dongan, the Governor of the former Dutch settlement, had a great desire to augment his dominions, and the Connecticut Assembly was now more inclined to absorption in New York than to annexation to New England. Andros at length grew tired of waiting, and determined on bringing the matter to a close. Acting with the advice of his Council, and having previously despatched a letter announcing his coming, he approached Hartford on the 31st of October, attended by a company of about sixty gentlemen and grenadiers. Crossing the ferry at Wethersfield, he was met by a troop of horse, who escorted him into the chief town, where he found the train-bands waiting to pay him their respects. He had a discussion with the Governor that evening, and it is probable that all the details were then settled. The conference took place in presence of a numerous company, and, according to accepted tradition, the charter of Connecticut was on that occasion mysteriously conveyed away. It had been brought in, and laid on the table, when suddenly the lights were extinguished, and, on their being rekindled, the document had vanished. Captain Wadsworth, says the legend, had taken it out of the house, and hidden it in the hollow trunk of an oak standing in the neighbouring grounds of Samuel Wyllys, a magistrate. The tree associated with this romantic story (possibly true, though it is not to be found in any contemporary record) was blown down on the 20th of August, 1856. Whether the charter was thus saved or not, the independent existence of Connecticut came to a close on the following day (November 1st, 1687). Andros was conducted by the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and Deputies, to the Court chamber, where, being seated in the Governor's chair, and the room thronged with people, he declared that his Majesty had, according to their desire, given him a commission to assume the government of Connecticut. The commission was then read; Secretary Allyn (who, together with the late Governor, was straightway sworn in as one of the Council) delivered up the common seal, and the old charter government was at an end. A partisan of Andros says that no dissenting voice was raised in the whole large assembly; and at any rate there is nothing to contradict this.

Andros proceeded to the other principal towns of Connecticut, establishing courts of judicature, appointing sheriffs in each of the counties, commissioning justices of the peace, and instituting military and revenue officers. He is said by the same partisan writer (Gershom Bulkley, a brother of the Massachusetts messenger to England in 1676) to have been everywhere cheerfully and gratefully received. Shortly after his return to Boston, towards the close of 1687, he received the celebrated Declaration of Indulgence, by which King James suspended the exaction of all penalties for religious offences, and forbade the imposition of religious oaths or tests as qualifications for office. Superficially considered, this measure looked extremely liberal; but there can be no doubt that it was intended by the monarch to promote the re-establishment of Romanism as the predominant religion of England. At any rate, the act was glaringly unconstitutional, seeing that, by a Royal edict, several laws (which, whether good or bad, had been duly passed by Parliament) were arbitrarily swept away. What a Royal edict could do, a Royal edict could also undo; and a precedent of a very dangerous nature was thus created. Toleration itself was to be cunningly employed to help forward the reign of the most extreme intolerance. Both in England and the colonies, some Dissenters were to be found who were deceived by the King's apparent generosity. Andros ordered a general thanksgiving throughout his jurisdiction, and a good many of the Puritans felt truly, and not merely officially, grateful. Increase Mather induced several of the ministers, together with the members of his own congregation, to join him in an address of thanks-

* Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, by William Henry Whitmore, A.M. Boston, U.S. 1868.

giving to the sovereign. Danforth, however, wrote to Mather that he dreaded the consequences of the King's act, as the removal of the only wall against Popery; and events soon showed that he had formed the wiser judgment. The gift, good in itself, was discredited by the giver.

The colonies of New England being now united under one rule, Andros began to develop those internal reforms which had for their object the diminution of popular liberties. Town-meetings for the choice of officers were restricted to one a year; the previous vote by ballot was suppressed; and the officers thus appointed were in some respects placed under the control of the justices of the peace, who were created by the Governor. The military force of the country was brought into subordination to Andros. It was officially announced that all local laws had ceased to have any force, and that the people of the jurisdiction were to be guided by such orders as were made and published by his Excellency and Council, or, in default of those, by the laws of England. Education was entirely neglected, and left without means. The holding of meetings for the redress of grievances was forbidden; and a law was passed that no man should be permitted to quit the country without the Governor's leave. The people regarded this as intended to prevent the seeking of redress in England; but when we recollect how often, in previous years, they had themselves prevented others from obtaining relief in a similar way from their own tyrannies, it is difficult not to see something like a judgment in the restriction to which they were now subjected.

Much legislation of a vexatious character signalised the year 1688. The business of travelling merchants or peddlers was prohibited, and the sales of every dealer were confined to his own town. Heavy duties were levied on commerce, and the people were subjected to taxes, the amount and nature of which were no longer determined by a free representative Assembly. The concentration of legal powers at Boston was felt as a great hardship by persons in the remoter parts of the province, who were now compelled to journey many miles to the capital for the transaction of affairs which could formerly be settled in their local courts. All this while, the master-grievance of the whole—the interference of the new Government with the ancient titles to land—was going on with great vigour. The case of one Lynde is related in a writing of the time with much particularity. Andros, it is alleged, inquired of Lynde what title he had to his lands, and was shown several deeds, which were pronounced by Sir Edmund to be well expressed, and recorded in harmony with New England custom. But the derivation of his right did not give so much satisfaction. Lynde had bought his land of a man who had it of his father-in-law, who received it from the municipality of Charlestown. Charlestown had received it from the General Court of Massachusetts, and the General Court had purchased it of the natives. To Lynde the chain appeared complete; but Andros told him that his title was worth nothing if that were all. West afterwards said that Lynde must have as many patents as there were counties in which he held portions of land. Lynde delayed taking any steps, because of the charges to which he would be exposed; and he was accordingly served with a writ of intrusion. Andros said of an Indian deed that it was worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw. The holders of estates were informed that they only took possession for the King. The town of Lynn, having produced its records to show that it was legally in possession of certain lands, was told that such evidence was not worth a rush. In a dispute with reference to Deer Island, in Boston harbour, Graham, the Attorney-General, even went the length of asserting that there was no such thing as a town, in a legal sense, in the whole country. Worried by subtleties of law, the people sometimes fell back on imprudent and unwise arguments. John Higginson, minister of Salem, appealed from the law of England, of which he probably knew little, to the law of God, of which, in such matters, he possibly knew less. Quoting from the Book of Genesis, he said that the earth had been given to the sons of Adam to be subdued and replenished, and that therefore the people of New England held their lands by the grand charter from God. It does not seem to have occurred to this respectable minister that King James was as much a son of Adam as were the people of New England, and that the question simply was, whether or not he had a claim prior to theirs. Andros, not admitting the validity of the argument from Genesis, bade Higginson declare himself a subject or a rebel; and, hard as the case was, there was really no other course open.

It was sought to turn aside the popular wrath from accumulating grievances by the amusement of a distant expedition. Starting for the north-east, in April, 1688, Andros ascended the Kennebec, and proceeded to Pemaquid, where a frigate awaited him. In this he sailed to the Penobscot, where he designed to hold a conference with a Frenchman named Castine, who, having adopted savage manners, was living among the Indians, and had established a little independent dominion of his

own, in defiance of the asserted rights of the English monarch. The frigate was anchored before the rude hut of Castine, who, seeing an officer landing from the vessel, rushed with his retinue into the woods. The Governor and some other gentlemen went into the house, and found a small altar in the common room, together with pictures and ornaments. They took away all the arms, powder, and shot they could discover, a few iron kettles, and several other things, and departed, after leaving with some Indian messengers an intimation that the property should be restored as soon as Castine had presented himself at Pemaquid, and confessed his allegiance to the King of England. Randolph met the Governor at sea, and returned with him to the place indicated, where the Indian chiefs of the neighbourhood were treated with rum, shirts, and cloth, and exhorted by the Governor not to fear the French, from whom he would defend them. In the county of Cornwall, Andros found important work awaiting him. The representatives of Governor Dongan, of New York, who for some time governed that portion of North America, had oppressed the colonists with a rapacity so insatiable that Randolph himself, who was not over-scrupulous in such matters, said they were as arbitrary as the Grand Turk. These agents were at one time the same Mr. West and Captain Palmer who afterwards unpleasantly distinguished themselves by arbitrary proceedings in Massachusetts and elsewhere. They had terrified the inhabitants into taking new grants for their lands on the payment of exorbitant lease-money; and the wretched people were now told by Andros that the patents they had thus purchased of West and Palmer were of no validity, the commission from Dongan being illegal. The uncertain boundaries of the several jurisdictions proved a frequent source of misery to the settlers.

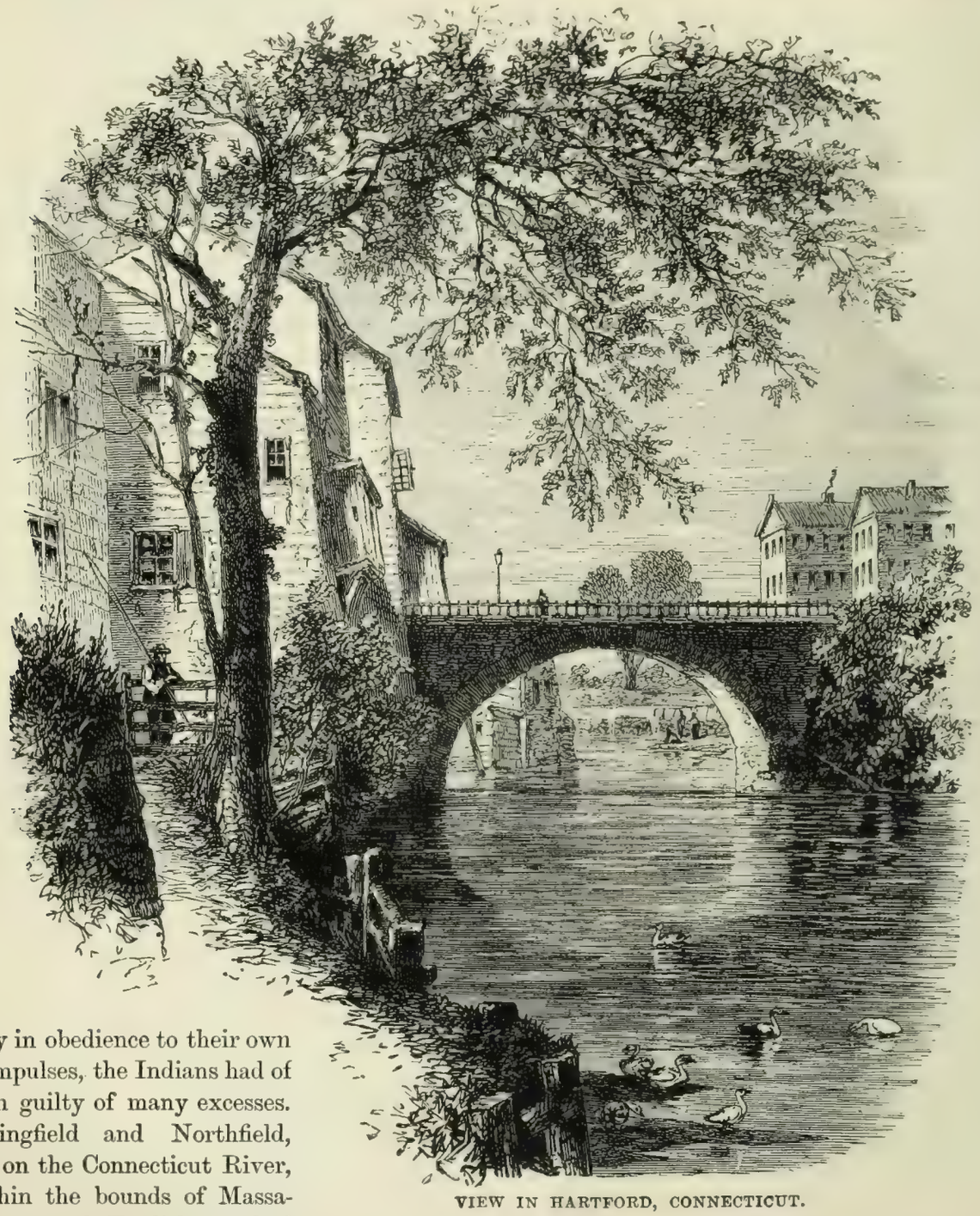
On again reaching Boston, Sir Edmund Andros found that King James had constituted him Governor of all the English possessions on the mainland of America, excepting Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. He was thus restored to his old dominion of New York, and his sway was to extend from the fortieth degree of latitude to the river St. Croix, so as to include a portion of that territory which the French had always claimed as theirs, though the Duke of York had been equally positive as to its lying within his own jurisdiction. The seat of Government of this immense province was still to be at Boston; but a Lieutenant-Governor was to reside at New York, and take charge of the settlements in that direction. The powers to be exercised by Andros in his new capacity were as despotic as before, and, although his Council was to consist nominally of forty-two members, five were sufficient to constitute a quorum. The laws passed by the Governor and Council were to be sent over to England, for approval or repeal by the Privy Council. The Governor was authorised to dispose of lands for a moderate quit-rent. Liberty of conscience was to be allowed, according to the Declaration of Indulgence; but freedom of the press was forbidden. Nothing was to be printed without the special licence of authority.

As these events were progressing in America, efforts were being made in England for a mitigation of the state of tyranny established in the colonies. Increase Mather had taken refuge in the old country, in consequence of some legal proceedings with Randolph in which he had become involved, and which were still hanging over his head. Shortly after arriving at London, Mather obtained several audiences of the King at Whitehall, and was directed to present in writing a statement of the grievances alleged against Andros. The King received him very graciously; but the upshot of the whole matter was that Mather resolved to go no more, as he perceived that he was not likely to get anything better than fair words. He and his friends presented a petition to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, praying for a restoration of the Legislative Assembly; but the King had no mind to any such arrangement. As a last resource, they begged that the Council should consist of persons who were considerable proprietors of land, so that they might be more independent of patronage; that each county might have one at least of such inhabitants in the Council; that no acts should pass for law but such as should be voted by the manifest consent of a majority of the Council; and that all laws, so made, should be published for the general instruction of the inhabitants. But they do not appear to have received any satisfaction.

The aborigines were now again giving trouble. On returning from New York, where he had paid a visit, Andros had an interview, at Albany, with the Indians of the Five Nations, who were paying too much heed to the solicitations of the French. France was beginning to erect fortresses along the English frontier and at the heads of the great rivers, and was sending out missionaries whose teachings were probably not altogether confined to religion. In some directions these foreign emigrants encroached on English lands. One motive for the consolidation of all the New England settlements under a single rule was that a strong

and united Power might thus be created for resisting the advances of the rival nationality; and the more recent annexation of New York and New Jersey to the jurisdiction of Sir Edmund Andros was partly dictated by the same motive. Whether as the effect of their communication with the French, or simply in obedience to their own savage impulses, the Indians had of late been guilty of many excesses. At Springfield and Northfield, situated on the Connecticut River, and within the bounds of Massachusetts, several Englishmen had been treacherously killed; and at Casco Bay, in Maine, the native tribes had conducted themselves in a riotous and insolent manner. They alleged, in common with the French borderers, various breaches of faith and acts of injustice against the English; the English retorted with counter-accusations; and it was not long before collisions took place, in which the Indians succeeded in killing some and capturing others.

Andros had a friendly consultation with several of the native chiefs at Hartford, as well as with the representatives of the Five Nations at Albany. He appears to have thought the Indians generally could be conciliated, and he was vexed when, on reaching Boston, he found that the Provisional Government had during his absence sent a force to Maine to repress the malcontents in that quarter. He said it was not a war, but a succession of murderous acts; and he released some Indians from prison, suspended the military movement, and issued a proclamation calling on the savages to set at liberty their English captives, and give up to justice every one of their number who had killed a settler. It was not long before Andros discovered



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that his pacific policy was a mistake. The Indians, thinking they perceived signs of weakness in the action of the Governor, and being excited by the exhortations of Castine, who could not forget his recent treatment, became still more turbulent. The demands of the proclamation were disregarded, and it was evident that the natives contemplated some serious movement. Sir Edmund lost no time in taking the necessary measures. At the head of nearly a thousand men, including some regular infantry from England, he advanced into the

His unpopularity was increased by the ill-success of his military exploit, for men will forgive anything rather than failure. Since his arrival in New England, Andros had never been so loudly condemned as now. When imposing arbitrary taxes, and requiring landowners to pay heavy fees for the peaceable possession of their estates, he was at least successful, and the sufferers themselves scarcely dared, after the experience of the Ipswich citizens, to open their lips against him. But now he had revealed a weak point, and the muffled hatred of the



INDIAN BURIAL-GROUND.

threatened districts. The month was November, and the weather severe. The country through which the troops had to march was savage and unsettled. The enemy fled into the woods, and evaded the pursuing force. Shelter was not to be obtained in so solitary a desert; hospital stores had been insufficiently provided, and the soldiers suffered much from sickness. All that Andros could do was to establish eleven forts, at convenient distances from one another, for over-aweing the savages, and to garrison them through the winter with nearly six hundred men. Then he returned to Boston, wearied, disappointed, and little inclined to bear the criticisms on his expedition which began to be freely uttered.

New Englanders found vent in audible murmurs. It was said that the Governor had a treacherous design in his expedition; that he had brought about a peace between the Five Nations and the French, in order to act with greater vigour against the New England colonies; that he had led Massachusetts troops into a wilderness in the depth of winter on purpose to effect their ruin; that arrangements had been made for the French seizing on Boston in the spring; and that the Mohawks had been hired to attack the English.* Reports got abroad that some French men-of-war were hovering about the coast; and this confirmed the

* Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III., chap. 14.

popular fears that Puritan New England was about to be handed over to the Papistical subjects of Louis XIV. But it need hardly be said that these apprehensions were only the result of an epidemic of distrust and dislike; though it should be added that the Governor himself gave some colour to the story about treacherous dealings with the Indians, by treating with great severity some inhabitants of Sudbury who carried before him a native who had made the accusation. Andros, on his part, feared a descent on the coast by adherents of the Prince of Orange, to whom it was by this time known that the people of England were looking, as a protector from existing tyrannies. A circular from the Government of King James had been received by Sir Edmund, informing him that a Dutch invasion of England was contemplated. He therefore issued a proclamation on the 10th of January, 1689, commanding his Majesty's subjects in New England to be on the alert against the approach of foreign fleets, so as to resist any landing that might be attempted.

The Governor returned to Boston in the month of March. On the 4th of April, news first reached that town of the landing of William of Orange in England on the 5th of November, 1688, and of the Declaration which he had issued to the people. This startling intelligence was brought by a young man named John Winslow, who had just come from the island of Nevis, in the West Indies, where a ship had arrived from England, conveying copies of the Declaration. Young Winslow bought one of these for four shillings and sixpence, and, refusing to give it up to the Governor, was arrested, and committed to prison on a charge of circulating traitorous and treasonable libels. But the news had got abroad, was buzzed up and down from tongue to tongue, and at once kindled the most intense interest, and the most lively hopes for the future. People began to think that the old charters were about to be restored, and they became every day less inclined to brook the dictation of their rulers. The situation was already sufficiently serious to induce Andros to retire within the walls of a palisado fort of four bastions which, some time previously, he had erected on Fort Hill. This work stood at the south end of Boston, and commanded the harbour. Barracks for a garrison had also been built at the same spot; and the Governor had now under his command two companies of regular troops.

He needed whatever help he could obtain, for a revolutionary movement was on the eve of breaking out. The colonists hoped everything from the action of the Prince of Orange, and were resolved to anticipate the result. The insurrection began in that undefinable way which generally characterises popular uprisings. On the morning of Thursday, April 18th, 1689, a large concourse of men from the neighbouring towns had gathered in Boston, to hear the usual weekly lecture on religious topics. Wild rumours of impending change floated about. Something was being done, though nobody knew where. At the south end of Boston, the rising was believed to be at the north; at the north end, it was said to be at the south. Captain George, of the *Rose* frigate, being found on shore, was seized by a party of ship-carpenters, and given over to a guard. The people demanded colours and drums of the military authorities; this was at first refused, and the mob uttered threats. At nine o'clock the drums beat through the town; an ensign was run up at the beacon; boys ran to and fro with clubs; several companies formed under their old commanders; and Captain Hill marched his men through King (now State) Street, escorting Bradstreet, Danforth, Richards, Cooke, Addington, and other of the old Magistrates, to the Council-chamber. By a simultaneous movement, Secretary Randolph, Justices Bullivant and Foxcroft, Sheriff Sherlock, and many more of the Governor's party, were arrested and thrown into gaol. The deliberations of the Magistrates in the town-hall, at the head of King Street, lasted some three hours; and about noon the revolutionary leaders appeared in the eastern gallery of the building, and read to the assembled people a political Declaration, setting forth the oppressions to which the colony had been subjected, and alluding to "the noble undertaking of the Prince of Orange" to rescue the three kingdoms from Popery and slavery, and to bring to condign punishment those men by whom English liberties had been destroyed. It was carefully pointed out that all of Governor Andros's Council were not concerned in the ill actions of their chief; that many were true lovers of their country, but were seldom admitted to, and less often consulted at, the debates. The arrest of the evil-doers, however, had, in the view of the Magistrates, become a duty both to God and to their country; and they would be detained until orders had been received from England as to their ultimate fate. It is thought that the author of this document was Cotton Mather. Whether it was composed on the spur of the moment, or had in the main been written some time before, is a point which cannot now be settled; though its length, consisting of twelve rather elaborate articles, is against the first supposition. There is reason to suppose that an insurrectionary movement had been in contemplation for

several months, before any account of the Dutch landing at Torbay could possibly have been received in America. In that case, the Declaration may have been deliberately prepared, to be used when the right opportunity should occur; and the allusion to William of Orange may have been added on the memorable 18th of April.

Two days before this rising, Andros, having reason to fear that something was contemplated, gave orders that the authorities should be vigilant, and that extra rations should be served out to the troops, who were to be kept in readiness. He could scarcely, however, have anticipated that the revolution would be so rapid and complete. The Magistrates at the town-hall felt themselves in a position of command, and accordingly sent to Sir Edmund Andros a summons to surrender, after refusing an invitation from the Governor to hold a conference with him in his stronghold. They professed to have been surprised at the people's sudden resort to arms, and alleged that they were wholly ignorant of any such intention. Similar disclaimers have been made by the leaders of other revolutions; but the statement is always doubtful, or is capable of explanation only in some Jesuitical sense.* Andros and his officers were promised security from violence, if they made no opposition; otherwise, the people would probably attempt the taking of the fortification by storm. The Governor not unreasonably refused to obey this summons, but sent to the *Rose* frigate for firearms, hand-grenades, and matches. The boat that was bringing them was seized by the popular party, and, long before the day was over, the military strength on the side of the revolution was so great that all opposition was rendered vain. The signal at the beacon had roused the surrounding country, and citizen soldiers came pouring into Boston. There were twenty companies under arms in the town by two o'clock in the afternoon, and many more were seen on the Charlestown side of the bay, waiting for an opportunity to cross over the ferry. Captain Nelson, who was in command of the party sent with the summons to surrender, resolved to attack the fort as soon as the Governor's determination to resist was made known. He planted his men on two sides of the work, and, seizing some heavy guns, brought them to bear against the walls. Finding that he could not rely on his soldiers, Andros, after parleying with the new authorities, consented to accompany a few of his followers to the town-hall, for the purpose of consulting with the Magistrates on the new posture of affairs. He was there seized, and sent under guard to a private house. Some of the others were confined in the common gaol, and the fort shortly afterwards surrendered. By nightfall, the government of Boston had changed hands.

The castle was given up on the following day. It has been said that Andros was induced to order its surrender by a threat that if he did not he would be exposed to the rage of the people; but a narrative written in his interest, and presented in the following July to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, gives a very different version of the facts. From this it would appear that the insurgents took Randolph down to the castle, and, putting a pistol to his breast, forced him to deliver a false message from the Governor, ordering the surrender; that the soldiers, suspecting the message to be fraudulent, refused; that the insurgents then threatened to expose Andros to the first shot which came from the castle, and put all his adherents to the sword, if he did not order the work to be delivered up; that he still refused; but that some gentlemen, seeing the futility of resistance, persuaded the commander of the castle to yield. The same writer (who calls himself a servant of Sir Edmund) relates that possession of the fort had been previously obtained by a false order from the Governor, delivered by Randolph under terror of immediate death.* According to some accounts, Captain George, of the frigate *Rose*, consented that his vessel should be dismantled; but in a communication to Pepys, as Secretary of the Admiralty, that officer denies that he ever authorised any such act, and says that the first lieutenant, while he himself was a prisoner on shore, was persuaded to declare for the Prince of Orange.

The revolution was now assuming proportions and developing tendencies which alarmed even those who were at its head. The country people who had come armed into Boston were in so fierce a mood of excitement that it was not known where the movement would stop. The windows of an Episcopalian church were broken, and the walls defiled with filth; threats of personal violence were uttered, and it was found necessary to guard the prisoners, lest they should be torn in pieces. Andros made an attempt to escape from the fort (where he was now confined) disguised as a woman, but was recognised, and taken back to durance. Dudley was captured in the Narragansett country. The insurrection was completely successful, and the only difficulty was to

* The course of this Boston revolution is very like that of Paris, on the 4th of September, 1870.

* Narrative in the State Paper Office, London.

prevent its passing into murderous excesses and blind revenge.*

A Provisional Government for Massachusetts was formed on the 20th of April, under the title of the Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace. Bradstreet, now eighty-seven years of age, one of the original emigrants, and a former Governor, in favour rather of the Royal prerogative than of colonial privileges, was elected President. The next step was to summon a convention, to consist of two delegates from each town in the jurisdiction, excepting Boston, which was to send four. The first sitting of this assembly took place on the 9th of May, and, after some discussion, it was resolved that, of right, the old charter was still in force. This, as Neal justly observes, was a very questionable conclusion to arrive at; for the charter had been taken from the colonists by due course of law (not by an arbitrary act, as in the case of Rhode Island and Connecticut), and such a decision could only be reversed by the English Parliament. The Massachusetts men, however, were in no mood to consider niceties. They issued a declaration, the effect of which was to restore the old state of things; but the Magistrates elected shortly before the government of Dudley declined to exercise the power entrusted to them in combination with the delegates recently chosen. The convention was therefore dissolved, and another elected, that more precise instructions from the people might be received. The result was that the resumption of the charter was once more affirmed, against the wishes of the governing Council. A General Court was formed after the old model, and the venerable Bradstreet was made Governor.

Nothing now seemed wanting to the popular satisfaction but favourable news from England; and that came in a day or two. On the 26th of May, 1689, a ship arrived from the old country, with an order to the Massachusetts authorities to proclaim King William and Queen Mary. This was done on the 29th; and grave, Puritanical Boston went wild with joy. The town was bright and loud with military pageant; throngs filled the streets; wine was served out to the humbler folk; the great people dined together at the town-hall; and all thanked God that a Protestant sovereign once more ruled in England, and that the nightmare of Papacy had fled.

CHAPTER XL.

Virginia and Maryland at the Restoration Period—Aristocratic Character of the ruling Class in Virginia—Provincial Government, Institutions, Manners, and Social Life—Conflicting Powers of the Governor and the Assembly—Dissatisfaction with Sir William Berkeley—The Court Intrigues at Whitehall—Lords Colepeper and Arlington—An Indian Incursion—The Colonial Militia—Nathaniel Bacon, the popular Commander—His Quarrel with Berkeley—Revolt in his Favour—The Dictator and the Democratic Convention—Outbreak of Civil War—Burning of James Town—Death of Bacon—Suppression of the Revolt—Berkeley's Severities—Change of Government—Lord Colepeper's Rapacity—The Proprietary Grant revoked—Lord Howard of Effingham—State of Maryland under Lord Baltimore—Gradual Deterioration of its Government—Unpopularity of Roman Catholic Patrons of Toleration—Enmity of the Protestant Clergy in England—Agitation in the Colony—Charles, third Lord Baltimore, revisits America—His Title attacked at Westminster—His Rule opposed by the Colonists—The English Revolution of 1688—The Revolution in Maryland.

THE condition of Virginia and Maryland, the tobacco-planters' colonies on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, has been viewed, in Chapters VIII. and IX. of this History, as they existed at the period of the Stuart Restoration in 1660. Their social progress during the English Commonwealth had been favoured by the enjoyment of practical self-government—in Virginia by virtue of a democratic constitution, and in Maryland by the comparative degree of religious toleration, which the pliant policy of the Catholic Lord Baltimore consented to allow, while neighbouring communities still wanted an equal measure of freedom. It was probably from the depression and weakness, at that time, of the aristocratic and High Church party in the old country, and from the consequent intimidation of its offspring or political allies in America, that this easy concession of wholesome liberties proceeded so long as the monarchy was held in abeyance. Yet the character of Virginian society, from its earliest foundation, was such as

* Several accounts of this movement, written at the time, are extant. Some are on the side of the revolution; others on that of Andros and Randolph. One is by Andros himself. In many respects their statements are so contradictory that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile them. But the above description is probably faithful to the main course of events.

contained within its own bosom the most perilous elements of discord, which might remain latent or passive when Cromwell ruled England at home, but would break out the more furiously at a signal from the new Court of Whitehall.

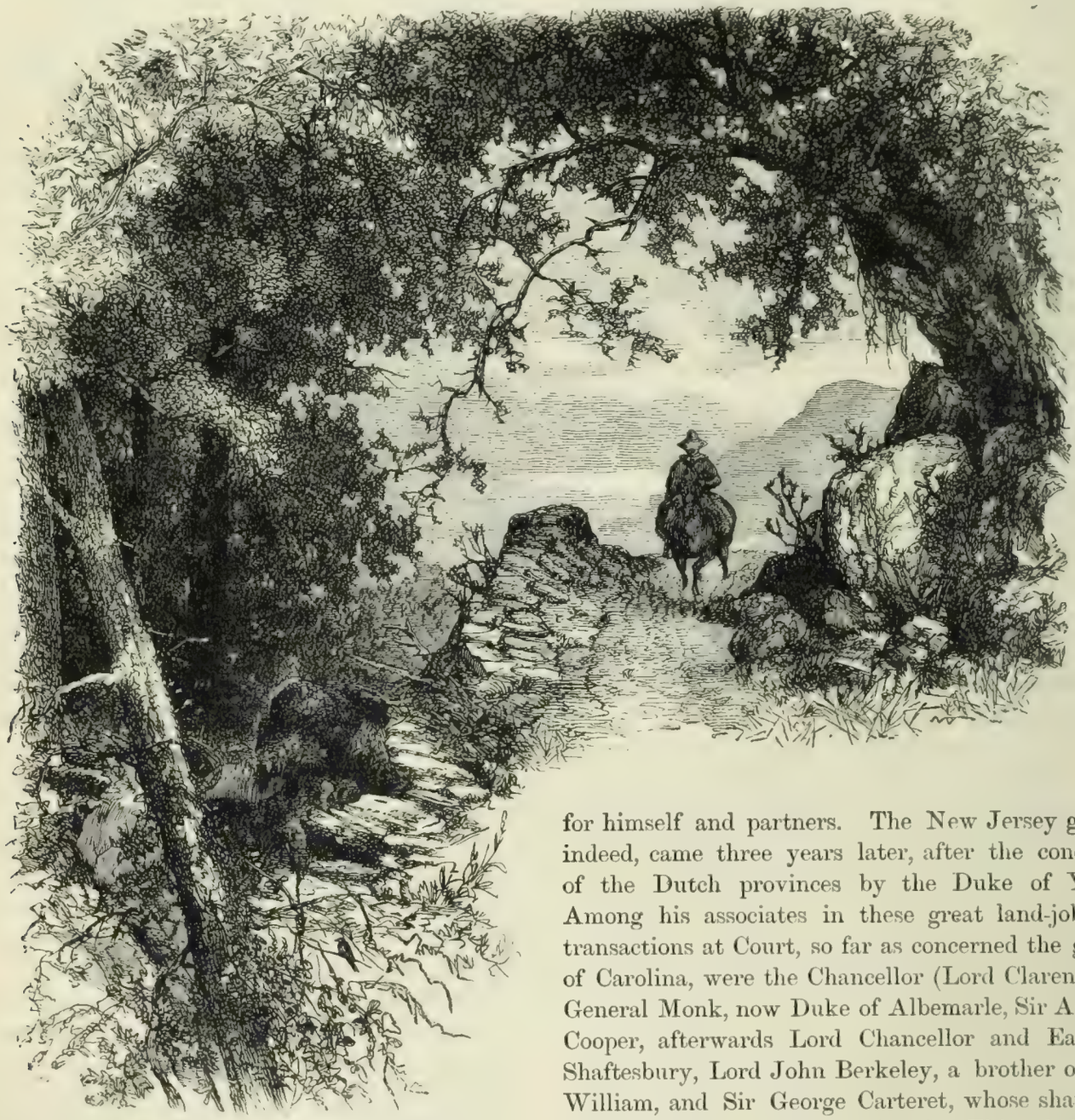
Most of the noblemen and gentlemen introduced to the colony by grants of land from Charles I., after the suppression of the London Company in 1624, had brought with them, and transmitted to their sons, an exaggerated opinion of their class authority, and a detestation of popular ideas. These landowning planters on the banks of the James River and the Potomac exercised a patriarchal sway, like that of their ancestors for ages in the backward agricultural shires of England, over a peasantry whom they kept in dependence. In many instances, they had, upon their arrival in the colony, imported a considerable following of labourers connected with their paternal estates, or those of their respective families, availing themselves of the offered grant of fifty acres to the patron or employer of each immigrant working man. A powerful squirearchy was thus formed in Virginia, and was continually increased by the numbers of defeated and disgusted Royalists who left this kingdom after the Civil War. The whole tract of country, for example, called the Northern Neck, between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, was occupied by a company of those Cavalier partisans who were fain to yield submission, and to sue for leave to emigrate, upon the execution of King Charles.

There was not in this Southern province, as in New England, an active and intelligent middle class engaged in trading or seafaring business. Commerce was in the hands of some factors residing there on behalf of merchants in Europe. James Town, the seat of government, was a place of twenty houses, including the State-house and the church; and throughout all Virginia, at that time, not another village or hamlet could be found. Each planter in the forest, like the Australian squatter of our days, lived far apart from others of his class, in a big wooden house rudely built on the bank of some river, using his boat, or riding on horseback, perhaps once a month, to visit his neighbour on the adjoining estate. There were neither roads nor bridges, but mere bridle-paths and fords, by which the colonial gentry travelled to their meeting at the county court, a long day's journey, or more rarely to James Town. The train of their English household and farm servants consisted of poor men and women, bound to the master by strict indentures for a term of years. Some of these were paupers, who had sold their personal freedom, to that extent, for the cost of their emigration and a promise of maintenance. Some were convicts or vagrants, transported from England and assigned to private service, as in the penal settlements of Australia within the memory of the present generation. Hence the contempt for manual industry which was long entertained, and which was fostered by the institution of negro slavery, in the Southern States of the American Union. It was expressed, until very recently, by the appellation of "mean whites" commonly bestowed on the labouring class of English race, or rather those who should have laboured, but who were lazy and beggarly, while the bondsmen of African race performed all the hard work in those States. Negro slavery, indeed, was early developed in the plantations of Virginia, as it suited the convenience of the ruling class. It was guarded by laws of extreme rigour; the emancipation of slaves was discouraged by a fiscal impost, while the killing of them, by excessive punishment or otherwise, was not accounted felony in their master, since no such malice prepense could be imputed as would induce him to destroy his own property. Virginia had no common schools for its people, no printing-press, and a very imperfect establishment for religious worship, so late as 1671, with a population of 40,000 whites, and probably as many negroes and Indians. In that year, however, the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, thanked God that they had "no free schools nor printing; and I hope," added he, "we shall not have any, these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, with libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" As for the church, there were barely ministers for a fifth of the parishes, and they were difficult of access; yet, after the Restoration, all Nonconformist worship, teaching, or preaching, was forbidden, and everybody was compelled to pay church-rates.

Notwithstanding the democratic element which had lately prevailed, some of the institutions of Virginia were adverse to the interests of the people. The vestrymen for each parish, who formed a close corporation, filling up any vacancy by their own appointment, had the administration of local affairs, with the justices of the peace, at their county sessions, levying and expending the county rate. The same class held all commissions in the militia. Landowners only, from and after the reactionary movement of 1660, sat in the Legislative Assembly at James Town, and were nominated to the Provincial Council of Government, to the exclusion of those popular representatives who had been admitted during the Commonwealth. This Assembly was summoned, in the name of the King, by Sir

William Berkeley, acting under a Royal Commission, and no longer with reference to his election as Governor by the previous Assembly which had just been dissolved. The claim of Virginia to self-government was thereby dropped, as it were by a tacit compact of the provincial aristocracy with the agents of the Crown.

Sir William Berkeley to return home as agent for the colony at the Court of Charles II., for the purpose of explaining those grievances, and soliciting redress. He made use of the opportunity, as we have seen in another Chapter, to request and obtain vast portions of territory, both to the north and to the south, in New Jersey and in Carolina,



A ROAD IN MARYLAND.

It seemed, in the first three or four years of the Stuart Restoration, that no great opposition would be made to this retrograde policy. The colonists were more bent on resistance to the Navigation Act, and to the imposition by the home Government of fiscal burthens on their exports and imports of merchandise. The Assembly, in its session of March, 1661, after deposing a magistrate "for factious and schismatical demeanour," appointed

for himself and partners. The New Jersey grant, indeed, came three years later, after the conquest of the Dutch provinces by the Duke of York. Among his associates in these great land-jobbing transactions at Court, so far as concerned the grant of Carolina, were the Chancellor (Lord Clarendon), General Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, Sir Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord John Berkeley, a brother of Sir William, and Sir George Carteret, whose share of New Jersey has been mentioned. This wholesale exhibition of personal covetousness, while the Governor neglected or failed to obtain any security for the public rights of Virginia, soon turned the feelings of the planters against him. They contrived, indeed, to evade the intolerable operation of the English Navigation Act, by putting their tobacco on board vessels which merely touched at New England ports, and then unloaded at New Amsterdam for the Dutch purchasers. Since tobacco had become, in England as well as in



ATTACK ON THE CAPTAIN OF THE "ROSE."

Holland, almost a necessary of life to many consumers, it was proposed in the colonies to punish and correct the unfair commercial policy of England by stopping the culture of that favourite herb for a whole year. This menace was never carried into effect, and colonial trading interests began to decline; while the import and export duty of five per cent. on the value of all merchandise passing in or out of the province was a burthen severely felt.

But the legislators at James Town, oppressed as they were by harsh measures at Westminster, had nevertheless not the wisdom to foster a unity of social welfare by dealing justly with every class of their own people. In 1663, after Berkeley's return to the colony, they enacted yet more stringent laws against the Baptists, Quakers, and other religious separatists, whom the statutes describe as "filled with the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions." The meetings of these Nonconformists were now punished with heavy fines, and they were not even allowed to give religious instruction in private. Absence from the established church worship on Sundays, during one month, was an offence nominally incurring the penalty of £20. Every shipowner who brought to Virginia any Baptist, Independent, or Quaker passengers was liable to a pecuniary mulct, while they were to be deported in perpetual banishment. The bond-servants, too, of English race, toiling side by side with the negro slaves, were kept by aristocratic legislation in a painfully depressed condition. Some of them, who had been Roundhead soldiers of Cromwell, exiled and doomed to servitude for their political insubordination after the fall of the Commonwealth rule in England, could ill brook the galling yoke of their new colonial masters. They plotted, and attempted in 1663, an insurrection which was easily suppressed, but which gave example to other classes of discontented colonists rising a few years later in opposition to persistent misrule.

It is manifest from the above instances, however, that the bad government of Virginia at the Restoration was due not wholly to the corrupt and profligate Court of Whitehall, nor yet wholly to the self-seeking conduct of Governor Berkeley, who has, indeed, been falsely praised by some writers because he is not to be blamed for every wrongful act. He took excellent care, with the other Royal officers, to provide for his own emolument; and the Virginia Legislature in 1662 endowed him with a perpetual revenue of £1,000 a year, exceeding the whole yearly expenditure of Connecticut. Each of the Councillors got £350 a year. Both in their appointment and tenure of office, and in the enjoyment of their salaries, the Governor and Council were beyond the control of the representative Assembly, and independent of popular confidence or approval. They exercised, through justices and sheriffs of their own choice in each county, a predominant authority over the local administration. But at the same time, on the part of the landowners and planters who formed the Assembly, we find an equal disposition to consult their particular class interests,, rather than the public good. They soon repealed the rule of biennial election; and, having expelled the very few old partisans of the Commonwealth who had been re-elected in 1661, this Assembly proceeded to sit in permanence, as the Restoration Parliament in England was then doing, and continued to do for eighteen years. One personal motive for this resolution was probably supplied by the extravagantly high allowance paid to members of the Assembly, its rate being the value of 250 lbs. of tobacco daily, which has been reckoned as equivalent to nine dollars a day. The elective suffrage was often nullified by the connivance of the sheriffs in false returns of elections. When tumults and disturbances had been provoked by such irregularities, it was declared that the common voters were unfit to possess the franchise. In 1670, it was consequently enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall have a voice in the election of any burgesses." The reaction now appeared to be complete.

A fresh incident, however, which showed again to the indignant colonists what use the King and his courtiers still meant to make of their country, took place in 1673. The district between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, oddly styled the Northern Neck, had been sold by its associated proprietors, who were loyal gentlemen impoverished by the English Civil War, and who lacked capital for its profitable cultivation. Its purchaser in 1669 was Lord Colepeper, a very grasping and intriguing person, who held the office of a Lord Commissioner for Trade and Plantations at Whitehall. This Lord Colepeper, after four years' possession of his Virginian domain, bethought himself of a scheme for converting the entire Crown Dominion of that province into a seignorial property, like that of New Jersey or that of Carolina, to the profit of himself and of a most powerful friend at Court. His friend at Court was the Secretary of State, the too famous Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, the second name in the Cabal Ministry, the prime favourite and flatterer of King Charles, to whose illegitimate son, by Lady Castlemaine, Lord Arlington had given his daughter in

marriage. Nothing that belonged to his own Crown, estate, and dignity, or that belonged to the realm and nation, would Charles ever deny to his male or female parasites, if the giving cost him no personal trouble. Arlington had only to ask, for himself and Colepeper jointly, a grant of "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia," to be enjoyed by their lordships during a term of thirty one years. This boon was granted by the easy and careless monarch without any deliberation. But it astounded the Virginia Provincial Assembly, when they heard of the concession reducing their entire country to a feudal dependence on two courtiers in London. They drew up, in 1674, a protest or memorial, which they sent to England by three envoys, Francis Morison, Thomas Ludwell, and Robert Smith. In this memorial they said, "We are unwilling, and conceive we ought not, to submit to those to whom his Majesty hath, upon misinformation, granted the dominion over us. We humbly request not to be subjected to our fellow subjects, but for the future to be secured from the fears of being enslaved." They solicited, to this end, the grant of a charter of incorporation, which should bestow on the colonial community privileges and rights that might be defended in the English Courts of law against further encroachment. In token of deserving this recognition, it was stated that the people of Virginia, at that time, were accustomed "most contentedly to pay to his Majesty more than they had themselves for their labour." They wished to be yet more advantageous to the King and the nation; but it was their birthright as Englishmen to be free, and they demanded to be allowed self-government, and to be exempt from arbitrary taxation. They expressed, however, a willingness to purchase of Colepeper and Arlington, if the Crown would bestow a charter of corporate rights on Virginia, the renunciation of those proprietary claims which his Majesty had been so ill-advised as to give. It would appear that this memorial from the protesting colony was supported by communications to the Crown from Sir William Berkeley, as the Assembly voted him an increase of salary, and proposed that he should be appointed Governor during his life. His tenure of office, nevertheless, remained but for ten years.

The envoys of Virginia were in England, still busied with their mission, and finding powerful secret opposition, as might be expected, to the prayer for a corporate charter, when new dangers and causes of excitement suddenly arose. The Indian tribes in Maryland had been at war with each other; those of the Seneca tribe, one of the Five Nations, had driven the Susquehannahs from the head of the Chesapeake down its western bore to the Potomac, where they pressed on the frontier tribe of the Piscataways, and some were killed in Virginian territory. It was therefore needful to place a Virginian militia force on the banks of that frontier river. The commander, it is interesting to note, was an English land surveyor or farmer, named John Washington, who had emigrated to America some years before: he was the great-grandfather of George Washington, a hundred years later the hero of the American Revolution. But it is with the more regret that one has to confess an act of inexcusable cruelty perpetrated by this detachment of colonial militia, in putting to death six Indians who had crossed the river to offer terms of peace. The act was said to have been done in retaliation for the murder by Indians of several English settlers: but it was loudly disapproved by Governor Sir William Berkeley. On the other hand, as too often happens in these rude conflicts between colonists and natives of a different race, the general opinion of Virginia rather approved of such an example. Sir William Berkeley was accused of undue clemency, and even of favouring the savages for the sake of his monopoly in the beaver-trade. The militia having been recalled, there was a terrible incursion of exasperated Indians along the frontier. Many settlers' farms and houses were destroyed, and fifty or sixty of the English were slain. Other Indian tribes, hitherto subject to Virginia, were soon incited by the Susquehannahs to join in the attack on the colony. It was an emergency of real peril and extreme distress which in 1676 thrust forward a popular dictator and champion of the Virginian community upon this critical occasion.

Nathaniel Bacon, a lawyer and planter who had come out from the old country in his youth, filled with enthusiasm for the principles of the Commonwealth, had already gained social influence and distinction in the land of his adoption. He was prompt in speech and in action, somewhat choleric and rash in the suddenness of his purposes, and had the spirit, if not the skill, of a political and military leader. A member of the governing Council, and commander of a militia regiment, he was yet distrusted for his democratic inclinations by Sir William Berkeley. The dislike was mutual, and Bacon spared not to denounce the Governor's mischievous apathy or negligence when the northern districts were ravaged by a horde of savage invaders. He vowed that, if another English settler were murdered, he would summon the forces of the province, by authority of their natural right

of self-defence, to act independently of the Governor's Royal commission. Soon after this declaration he received news that his own plantation up the James river, not far from the site of Richmond, the present capital of the State, had been attacked by the Indians, and some of his own servants killed. Bacon quickly began the task he had promised, collecting five or six hundred of the backwoodsmen, armed with their firelocks, and practised as keen marksmen in their sylvan sports. He met the Indians, and defeated them in more than one sanguinary skirmish, disregarding the Governor's prohibition of these unauthorised hostilities. Sir William thereupon proclaimed Bacon and his followers a band of outlawed rebels, and presently set forth to pursue them with a regular militia force. But he was compelled, by an insurrection of the lower counties in Bacon's favour, to return almost immediately to James Town. The insurgents clamoured for the dissolution of the Provincial Assembly, which had been sitting, as was remarked, since 1661, continually devising more vexatious infringements of popular freedom. Berkeley was in no position, just then, to resist this constitutional demand, and writs for a new general election were presently issued. The lately disfranchised freemen now insisted on again exercising their former suffrage : Bacon, returning triumphant from his campaign against the Indians, was chosen for Henrico county, with a majority in the Assembly of his political party.

The ensuing session at James Town, like the first of the English Long Parliament, commenced with a summons of manifold abuses and usurpations to the reckoning so long due and so long deferred. Bacon indeed first made a formal acknowledgment of his error in taking up arms without a regular commission ; he then received the appointment of commander-in-chief, and was hailed by the acclamations of the people. The Governor, however, refused to sign this new commission for Bacon, who thereupon withdrew to muster his armed volunteers, while his friends in the Assembly pursued their debates and resolutions. They demanded of the Governor and Council a strict account of the public expenditure ; they voted the abolition of some oppressive taxes, and of the monopoly in the Indian trade of beaver-skins ; they reduced the scale of official fees, deprived the councillors of their invidious exemption from burthensome levies, deposed two magistrates proved guilty of corrupt practices, transferred the management of county rates from the nominee justices to elective boards, made the parish vestries likewise elective for a term of three years, and lastly forbade the sale of wine and spirits at inns or taverns, allowing no strong drink but ale and cider. The franchise was restored to every freeman in the country, and the sheriffs were made liable to severe penalties for any tampering with fair elections. Such were the acts of the Virginia House of Assembly, ratified at James Town, by a singular coincidence, on the 4th of July, 1676, exactly one hundred years before the memorable Declaration of American Independence at Philadelphia, by the first Congress of the United States.

The Indian war, checked but for a moment, was still raging up the country, and Bacon sought the ratification of his military command over the eight thousand colonial militia. As this commission was yet refused him by Governor Berkeley, he again presented himself at James Town, with his troop of fighting men, insisting, as they said, for leave to save their lives from the Indians. Sir William, in passion of pride or anger, bared his own breast to Bacon's musketeers, and bade them shoot him if they would ; but their leader answered that they would on no account hurt a hair of the old Governor's head, or harm any other Englishman. This did not appease the wrath of Berkeley, who presently got across the Chesapeake, away from James Town, and collected in the district of Accomack a numerous band of adherents. He seduced many bond-servants of planters in Bacon's party to quit their masters and repair to the Governor's camp, promising them both emancipation and the chance of plunder. The measures of severity which he threatened to enforce against Bacon were strongly disapproved by a popular convention, to which the Governor himself had appealed, in the loyal county of Gloucester ; but Berkeley did not suffer this to alter his purpose. Meanwhile, as the partisans of the opposing leader were not less active, preparations began for a civil war. At a place then called Middle Plantations, where is now the town of Williamsburg, the convention of Bacon's party held its deliberations, in the open air, from noon to midnight of a long summer day. With Bacon stood Richard Lawrence, an Oxford scholar and thriving colonist of Virginia ; William Drummond, the devout Scottish Presbyterian, whom Sir William Berkeley had once made his deputy in North Carolina ; Thomas Hansford, a gallant young Cavalier, but ardent for the liberties of Virginia, where he was born ; Thomas Wilford, the son of a Royalist Knight who had fallen in battle for King Charles ; John Washington, of Westmoreland county, the progenitor of a far nobler champion of freedom ; and other men determined to vindicate the right of self-government for

the Old Dominion. They made oath in common to protect Bacon from arrest, to join his forces in the Indian Campaign, to prevent a civil war if they could, but in any case to resist Berkeley's arbitrary power, even though it were supported by troops and ships from England, till an appeal against his proceedings should have reached the King. It was also recommended by Drummond that they should formally depose Sir William, and nominate Sir Henry Chicheley as Governor in his stead. The term of ten years, during which Sir William's last appointment held good, had in fact nearly expired. The convention decided, however, to regard Berkeley's flight from James Town as a virtual abdication of his rule. Bacon, with four other members of the Provincial Council, thereupon took it upon themselves to issue writs for the election of a constituent Assembly, to provide for a new government. Some apprehensions were felt of the King yet sending from England a fleet and army, either to aid Governor Berkeley, or else to put in execution the Colepeper and Arlington grant, in spite of the colonists, whose defeat would then be their utter ruin. Their wives, if not the men, were fain to keep up their courage with boasting:* and some predicted a speedy relief, by means of a political revolution, from the Navigation Acts and other English laws of unjust effect. "Now we can build ships," said they, "and trade, like New England, to any part of the world."

The forces meanwhile gathered by Sir William Berkeley, on the opposite side of the Bay, were augmented by those of five English ships and ten sloops arriving in the harbours there. With his mixed army of Royalist partisans, escaped bond-servants, hireling adventurers, sailors, and Indians, he embarked and sailed over to James Town. Bacon, with the colonial volunteers or militia, had then just returned from a victorious expedition against their savage enemy. He led his troops, or those remaining after a partial disbandment, to besiege the ex-Governor in the provincial capital. This took place in September, 1676. Sir William had no military talent, and was unable to command discipline or obedience in his motley host. Some of them, having failed disgracefully in an attempted sally, deserted in search of easy plunder. Only the seamen showed a little valour: the garrison proved wholly inefficient, and Sir William was compelled to take to his ships, leaving James Town to the besiegers. A stern and hard duty, as he probably deemed it, was now laid upon Bacon, who found himself unable to occupy James Town, but who was unwilling to let it remain a shelter for his antagonist in the civil war. We have seen that it was the only town existing at that time in Virginia; and it was associated with memories of the first English settlers, of Gosnold and John Smith, as well as of the friendly natives, Powhatan and the fair Pocahontas. But anticipating a conflict of some length with such military forces as might be given to aid Berkeley, it seemed to Bacon most expedient that this little town, really a village or hamlet, should be destroyed. Lawrence and Drummond, owners of the two best houses, set them on fire by way of example; the church and the State-house were next committed to the flames, and soon only some heaps of ruins were left at James Town. Having executed this painful and ungrateful task, Bacon marched towards the Rappahannock, to encounter a renewed advance of Berkeley's forces, under a leader named Brent, from the head of the Bay. They did not await his meeting them, however, with a hostile intent, but, deserting Berkeley's cause, joined the colonial revolt, with all the inhabitants of Gloucester county. The triumph of Bacon now appeared to be almost certain, when he was stricken by a fever, ascribed to the damp ground of his autumnal encampment, though some rumours were current of his being poisoned. He died at the beginning of October, and no man arose equal to the command left vacant at this crisis of the perilous struggle. The colonial forces, after a few days of vague expectancy, broke into loose detachments, and were scattered about the country. Meantime, those of Sir William Berkeley obtained sundry reinforcements, and were now placed under the command of Robert Berkeley, a more able and energetic leader. With the aid of the naval squadron entering York River, Robert Berkeley succeeded before long in subduing the insurrection, and cutting off its divided parties in detail. After a conflict of seven months, the final victory remained with Sir William Berkeley; the assertors of colonial freedom were crushed once more.

This result was followed by some acts of vengeance or excessive chastisement, which disgraced the previous reputation of the Governor for mildness, if not for integrity and wisdom. Hansford, Wilford, and Edmund Cheeseman, among the earliest victims, were not only hanged with a short

* Bancroft here cites, from Berkeley's narrative, an anecdote of Mrs. Sarah Drummond. She lifted from the ground a small stick and broke it in two, comparing it to the hostile factions of the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth, then supposed to be near breaking England asunder. "I fear the power of England," said this woman, "no more than a broken straw. The child unborn here shall have cause to rejoice for the good that shall come by the rising of this country." (History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 14.)

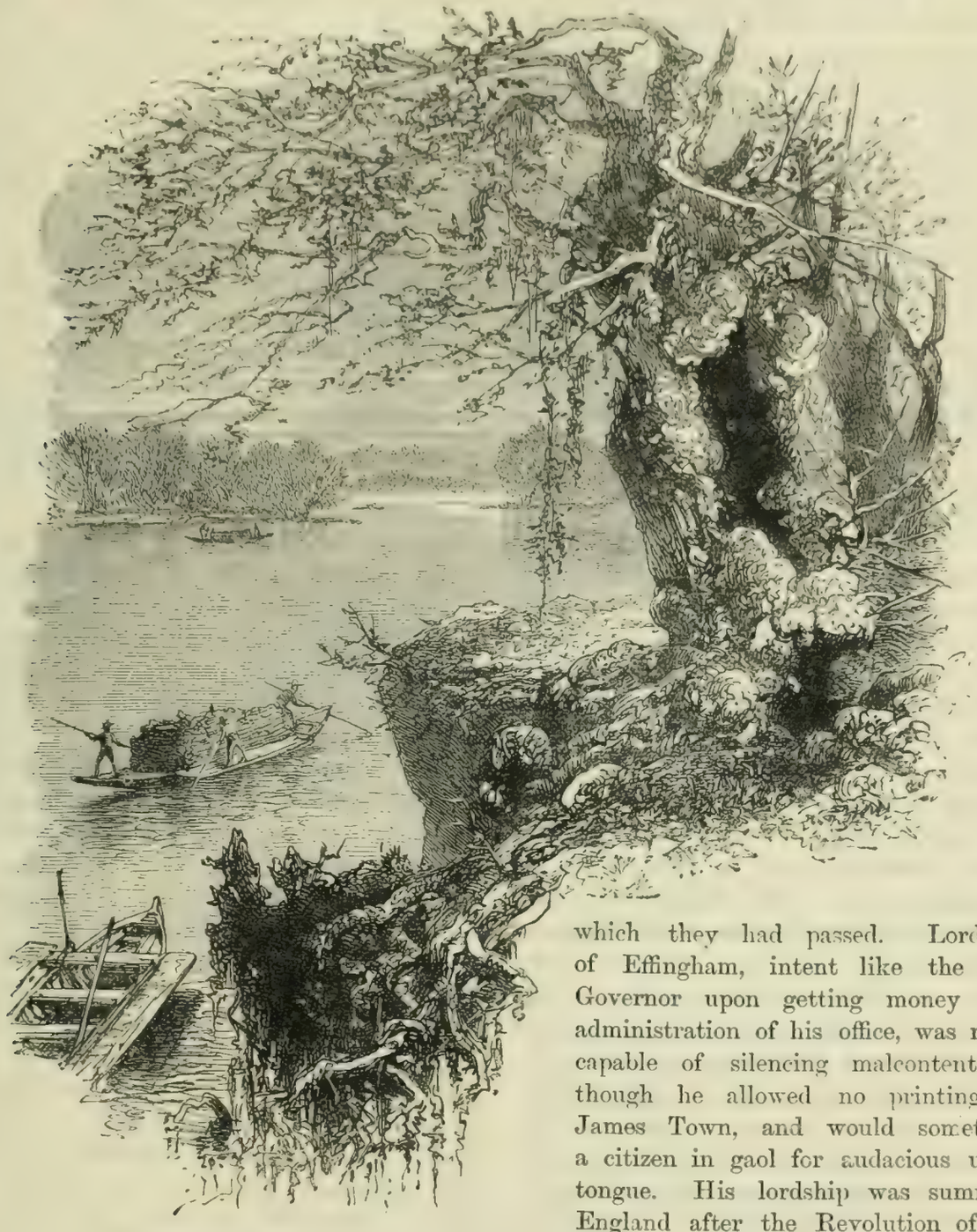
shrift, but were needlessly insulted at their trial, which was conducted by court-martial. Drummond, when arrested and brought into Sir William's presence, in 1677, was received by him with more emphatic derision. "You are very welcome," said the Governor, bowing to his prisoner; "I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour."* But three hours were allowed before he died on the gibbet; his wife and children, deprived of all their property, were reduced to beg their bread. Twenty-two of the insurgents were hanged, while three died in prison; five, whose lives would not have been spared, escaped by flight. When these severities were known in England, it is said they were highly disapproved by King Charles. "That old fool Berkeley," his Majesty complained, "has taken away more lives in that naked country than I have done here for the murder of my father." The representations of Arlington and Colepeper, we may suppose, would set the conduct of Berkeley in no favourable light before the King. A Royal proclamation was therefore sent out, by which the colonists were assured that Charles did not like them to be treated with so much harshness. Commissioners of inquiry at the same time arrived, to learn the causes of their discontent; but with them came some regiments of English soldiery, to prevent another rebellion. The Assembly of the province, readily adapting its legislation to the changed state of affairs, had soon repealed all the liberal acts it passed in the hour of Bacon's ascendency. None of the old grievances were ultimately redressed; but losses and burthens, entailed by the Indian war and the civil commotions, weighed upon Virginia worse than before.

There was no longer any question of granting a charter and constitutional franchises to the unhappy province. Sir William Berkeley returned to England, and his departure was greeted as a joyful event by the firing of guns and kindling of bonfires, despite the new laws which ordained a fine or a whipping for every person who spoke ill of the Governor or his friends. He was coldly welcomed in London; and when the commissioners of inquiry sent home a report which censured his proceedings, he died of shame and vexation, having had no opportunity of defending himself before the King. The governorship was now bestowed on Lord Colepeper, who seems to have been in no hurry to undertake its labours. He lingered three years at home, while Sir Henry Chicheley ruled as his lieutenant in Virginia; but in 1680, compelled by an express order from his Majesty, the indolent peer crossed the ocean to look upon his American province. He remained only during the summer of that year, which he employed in various devices for extorting the largest possible revenue, not merely from his own purchased estates beyond the Rappahannock, and from his share with Arlington of the general lordship under the grant of 1673, but also from legislative and administrative acts of government. The Assembly was induced, as a condition of the Royal pardon, to settle upon the Crown in perpetuity an export duty of two shillings on each hogshead of tobacco, and to double the Governor's salary, raising it to £2,000, besides an allowance for house-rent. The prerogative of granting naturalisation or citizenship to alien settlers in Virginia was secured to the Governor, with the receipt of fees in cases of that kind. The coinage was also tampered with, so as to enable him to gain some profit at the cost of the soldiers whose wages he had to pay. Having achieved these feats of statesmanship, Lord Colepeper went home to England in the month of August; but an outbreak of dissatisfaction in the colony followed his hasty visitation. Riots took place next year in several districts, and petitions for relief were addressed to the King. In 1682, his appointment being for life, the noble absentee Governor was again ordered to repair to Virginia, where the symptoms of a fresh rebellion seemed to be alarming. He arrived there, and had sufficient force to put down all opposition, after which he made a few examples on the gallows, and summoned the Assembly to give up the small remnant of political rights. Appeals from the Governor and Council, in judicial procedure, had lain hitherto either to the Assembly of the province, or to the King in London. They were now abolished, so far as concerned the Assembly, and were preserved, with regard to the Crown, only for cases involving a certain amount of property. It appears, however, that Lord Colepeper, in his greediness for money and power, at length went beyond even the toleration of Charles II. for his courtiers' public and private vices. Having again returned to England, after a visit as brief as the first to this lucrative post of misrule, he found the King no longer inclined to leave Virginia, now almost ruined, a mere prey to individual rapacity and licence. At the earnest prayer of the colonists, but agreeably to the policy of his Majesty's advisers in 1684, the grant of 1673 to Arlington and Colepeper was revoked. Virginia thus became once more a Crown province; and, what was more, the office of Governor was taken from Colepeper, by whom it had been so grossly abused.

His appointed successor—namely, Lord Howard of

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 14, quoting the local and contemporary writers.

Effingham—retained this office during the reign of James II., and three or four years after the Revolution of 1688. But the colonists had still to endure a grievous system of oppression and extortion, which would have broken the spirit of any other people than Englishmen. It is not unlikely that the popular party in Virginia was reinforced by the transportation thither, under penal servitude for a prescribed term, of several hundred partisans of Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, when Judge Jeffreys made his famous circuit of cruelty through the West of England. These were mostly persons of intelligence, of character, and of previous social position, who could scarcely be treated in the colony as convict slaves. From the time of their importation, whatever the cause, an influence seemed to be working in the Virginian community which tended towards the renewal of that protest against despotism personified in Nathaniel Bacon. The provincial Legislature even ventured to dispute the King's power to negative a law which they had passed. Lord Howard of Effingham, intent like the preceding Governor upon getting money from the administration of his office, was not always capable of silencing malcontent voices—though he allowed no printing-press at James Town, and would sometimes put a citizen in gaol for audacious use of the tongue. His lordship was summoned to England after the Revolution of 1688, to account for his manner of government. But he retained office, nominally at least, until Virginia and the other Middle Provinces of North America were placed for a time under one general administration.



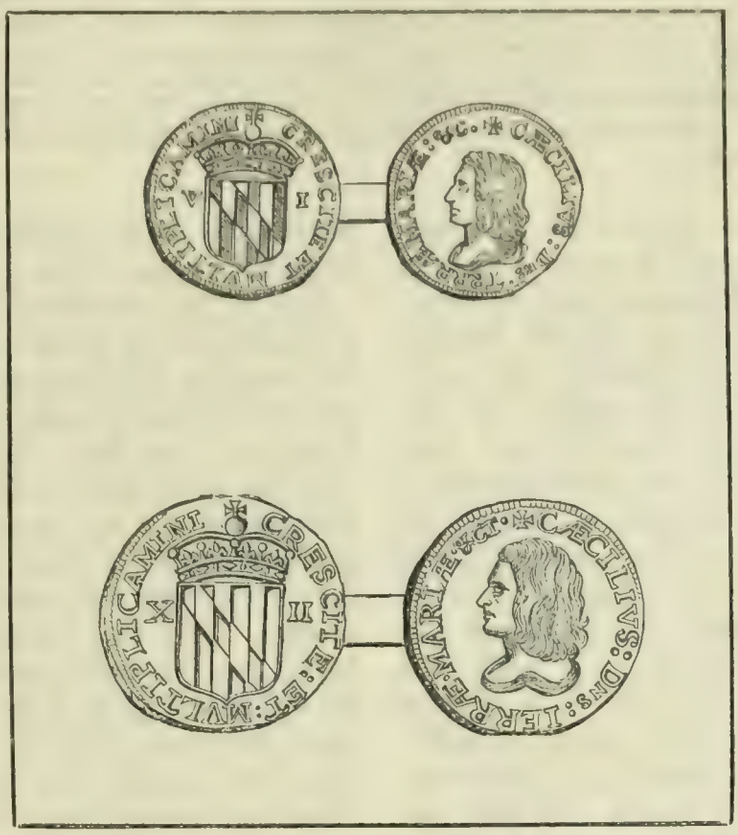
ON THE SAVANNAH RIVER.

It is a relief to turn from this dismal review of affairs in Virginia during the Restoration period, and contemplate the comparatively tranquil progress of Maryland under the management of

Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, and of his son Charles, who took its charge from Philip Calvert in 1662, till the death of his father in 1675. The toleration, rare in that age, of different forms of religious doctrine and worship, though not nearly so complete as some writers have supposed, was a boon to many fugitives from ecclesiastical persecution. It is with regret one has to observe that the zealous and orthodox Protestants of the time were most reluctant to admit the concession by any Roman Catholic Government of such general liberty of conscience. Clergymen of the Church of England in the reign of Charles II. denounced Maryland as "a pesthouse of iniquity," because Papists were not disfranchised, in that province, under a territorial lord and Governor of their own religious persuasion. The Quakers likewise, who had, even in Maryland, suffered a season of trouble during the austere Puritan rule in the mother country, were unmolested at the date of George Fox's visit to America. His journal of 1673 describes their public meetings as held in full safety and convenience, attended sometimes by members of the governing Council and the Assembly, by magistrates, and once by Charles Calvert himself. They were, indeed, liable upon certain occasions to personal loss and hardship, owing to scruples which debarred them from taking an oath in legal and civil procedure, and from military service. But this condition, though inconsistent with perfect freedom, is not exactly that of persecution. The principles of the Society of Friends have never stood in the way of their obtaining support from any quarter which was likely, from whatever cause, to yield them the assistance they needed. That stiffness of dogma which characterised the Puritans, and forbade the slightest co-operation with men of antagonistic faith, was to the followers of George Fox at once uncharitable and impolitic; and this tendency to an accommodating line of conduct bore its fruit in the quiet progress of the sect. The singular alliance of interests, so far as concerned liberty of conscience for the individual, which prevailed in those times between Romanists and Quakers in England, was exemplified by William Penn's attachment to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II. It was likewise exhibited in Maryland to a certain degree, which further scandalised the supporters of a Protestant hierarchy. On these grounds, they constantly sought, with very questionable justice, to raise an opposition, by whatever pretext could be invented, to the government of Lord Baltimore.

It is true that the feudal jurisdiction of a seignorial proprietor was not to be reconciled with the growing demand for social freedom and equality of civil rights; but the Calverts had prudence enough to make a reasonable use of their hereditary power. While levying tolls upon commerce and navigation, coining money at his private mint, and exercising other claims of sovereignty, Lord Baltimore agreed to a definite limitation of his taxing prerogative. He consented also to an arrangement for the easier discharge of quit-rents due from the settlers under his rule. These concessions were received with gratitude by the inhabitants of Maryland, and were rewarded, if they had not been purchased, by establishing, as in Virginia, a customs' duty of two shillings the hogshead on exported tobacco; but with the stipulation that half should be applied to the expenses of government. In 1676, when Charles Calvert, on his becoming the third Lord Baltimore, left the colony for England, attempts were made to introduce yet larger measures of reform. The influence of Bacon's Virginian party, inspired with democratic ideas, was already felt in the adjacent province. It was now said, in an expression cited by Bancroft from a contemporary letter, "The maxims of the old Lord Baltimore will not do in the present age." Protestant intolerance of the Calverts' faith, and the intrigues of a clerical clique in England to procure the establishment of their privileged Church beyond the Atlantic, also lent aid to provincial disaffection. The fair aspects of the Maryland Government and society were clouded, like those of Pennsylvania, by grudges and dissensions arising from private interests or from class pretensions. Baltimore was from 1676 an absentee proprietor, and one in that position is apt to be unfairly judged by the men who dwell upon his estates. We may also conjecture that here in Maryland, as in the case of Berkeley's rule in Virginia, difficulties were aggravated by the covert practices of some Crown agents or courtiers, who designed to subvert the proprietary, and to substitute an official system for their own profit. The democratic movement in the colonies was apparently turned to this account by the sinister statecraft of the King's advisers at Whitehall, towards the end of the Stuart dynasty; and the process was continued after the accession of William III. Hence the decline and fall of Baltimore's authority in Maryland. The Provincial Assembly, in 1678, enacted that every man should possess the electoral suffrage. This was negatived by the governing proprietor, who thought it needful, after much angry correspondence, to revisit his colony in 1681, and to reverse that legislative act

by an arbitrary decree of his own, limiting the suffrage to fifty acre freeholders, and persons having £40 a year from other sources of income. The malcontents provoked by such an ordinance were further stirred up by the reappearance of Fendall, the old agitator of the Commonwealth period, but now a conspirator against Lord Baltimore. Severe penalties, imprisonment, whipping, mutilation, banishment, and death on the gallows, were threatened in vain by a Government which lacked the force to put down insubordinate subjects. A dispute between the Custom-house authorities of Maryland and those of Virginia, who claimed some power to control the administration of the first-named officers, had been attended with fighting and bloodshed. This drew upon Maryland and her Governor the attention of King James's Ministry in London; when James, having no particular goodwill to Lord Baltimore, although a Romanist like himself, resolved to imitate what Charles had done with Virginia, and reduce Maryland to a province of the Crown. For this purpose, in 1687, a writ of *quo warranto* against Lord Baltimore was issued by the Court of King's Bench. His lordship, hastening back to England, prepared as best he could to defend his privileged territorial supremacy before the Westminster legal tribunals. At James Town, in the following year, his Deputy President of the governing Council, William Joseph, convened an extraordinary meeting of the Provincial Assembly. The people of Maryland were invited to rally as faithful and loyal subjects around their lord proprietor, as representative of the King and of God.



SIXPENCE AND SHILLING OF THE EARLIEST MARYLAND COINAGE.

The language of the Deputy President on this subject was sufficiently clear and precise. "Divine Providence," he remarked, "hath ordered us to meet. The power by which we are assembled here is undoubtedly derived from God to the King, and from the King to his Excellency the lord proprietary, and from his said lord hip to us. The power, therefore, whereof I speak, being, as said, firstly in God, and from God,—secondly in the King, and from the King,—thirdly in his lordship, fourthly in us,—the end and duty of, and for which this assembly is now called and met, is that from these four heads, to wit: from God, the King, our lord, and selves."*

This gentleman seems to have prided himself on a severely logical frame of mind; but however cogent an argument may be to those who admit the first principle from which it starts, it is a mere rope of sand to others who deny the postulate. Joseph held by the ancient idea that political power is a sort of sacrament, mysteriously derived and imparted. The popular representatives of Maryland adopted the more modern view that self-government is the inherent right of all communities, and that princes are to be obeyed only so far as their acts are legal, and of a nature to promote the general good. They flatly refused the oath of allegiance which Joseph proffered in the name of Lord Baltimore; and when the news arrived that King James had been dethroned by a national rising against Popery and tyranny, with the assistance of free Holland, there were no bounds to the exultation of the Protestant and popular party. Rumours having been spread, whether ignorantly or artfully, that the Papists were plotting to bring the savage Indians into the colony and terrorise its people, a call to arms was sounded all over Maryland, under the direction of John Coode, who had been one of Fendall's associates in the former revolt. The friends of Lord Baltimore could offer no effectual

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I., chap. 14.

resistance, and soon capitulated, with a surrender of the governing powers. These were assumed by a convention of the associated colonists, and were so administered during the next three years, until Maryland, as well as Virginia, came under a new government provided by King William III.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Southern Atlantic States Region of North America—Long-delayed Occupation of Carolina—Isolated settlements from Virginia, Massachusetts, and Barbadoes—Grant of the whole Territory by Charles II. to Eight Proprietary Lords—Lord Shaftesbury and John Locke concerned in devising a Constitution—Its complicated and rigidly oligarchical Design—Actual Condition of Carolina at the Time—The Free Settlers of Albemarle Sound—Aversion of Puritans and Quakers to the Parade of Aristocracy—Sympathy with the Democratic Party in Virginia—Resentment of Fiscal Oppression—Resistance to the proposed Constitution—The Governor expelled by his Subjects—Seth Sothel and his Peculations—Revolution of 1688, and Recovery of Provincial Self-government—Social Progress of South Carolina—The City of Charlestown—Fatal Vice of the industrial System there—Quick development of Negro Slavery—Unfitness of the Shaftesbury Model Constitution—Its final Repudiation by the Colonists.

THE lower region situated between the Alleghany mountains and the Atlantic seacoast, extending over nearly five degrees of latitude south of Chesapeake Bay, has its distinctive natural features, which have determined its economic and social conditions. Its shores, which project into the ocean at Cape Fear, Cape Lookout, and Cape Hatteras, so far as to turn the northward flow of the Gulf Stream in the direction of Europe, are remarkably furnished with several ranges of small flat islands, divided by narrow lagoons or sounds from the adjacent mainland. A belt of low and often swampy ground, from sixty to eighty or a hundred miles wide, lies inside the chain of these "Sea Islands," as they are called; and is succeeded, going inland, by a middle country of pine-barrens, low sand-hills, and upland moors, only here and there inviting culture. Within and above this zone of less available soil, which may, however, be fertilised by skilful treatment of the native marl and other ingredients, rises a pleasant and salubrious land of hill and dale, watered by abundant streams, at the foot of the Blue Ridge. The height of the mountains, in the northern part of the territory here described, reaches from 6,000 feet to 6,700 feet; their rock-formations are rich in gold and copper, while the carboniferous beds yield iron-ore and coal. The pine-forests, with their timber, pitch, and turpentine, also constitute a natural source of wealth. A variety of crops, tobacco in the middle districts, maize and sweet potatoes, the best of rice in those moist lowlands, and the finest long-staple cotton in the Sea Islands, besides ordinary grain and grazing products in the highland districts, contribute to the resources of this country. It now forms the wealthy States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, in the present American Union.

But in the seventeenth century, till the reign of Charles II., it lay an unexplored desert, with the exception of a few puny settlements that were painfully struggling on the coast between Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear. The former name, derived from the ducal title of General Monk after the Restoration, had not yet been conferred on that fine inlet of the sea which enters north of Pamlico Sound, receiving the waters of the Roanoke, the Chowan, and other considerable rivers. Roanoke Island, near its mouth, had long been known but too well as the scene of those disastrous colonising expeditions, from 1584 to 1587, commissioned by Sir Walter Raleigh and conducted by Sir Richard Grenville, Captain Ralph Lane, John White, and others, which were related in our third Chapter. There was another point, far away to the south of these intricate and rather perilous shores, and towards the Spanish dominion of Florida, which had, since the time of Elizabeth and the French Huguenot religious strife, been terribly associated with tales of murderous warfare and destruction. In the harbour of Port Royal, near Savannah, as well as farther down, on the banks of the St. John's or River of May (called by Spaniards the San Matteo), the French Protestant emigrants sent out by Coligny had cruelly perished. But the name of Carolina, which they gave to the whole of this vast region as a compliment to their King, Charles IX., was destined to remain when, a hundred years later, it formed a province granted to certain courtiers by the English King, Charles II.

Little had been done, in the meantime, for the actual possession and use of Carolina by men of a

civilised nation. One of the earliest attempts from the district of the Nansemond in Virginia was made in 1622 by Porey, the Secretary of that province, who travelled overland to the South Chowan, and made a favourable report of the country. In 1630, a patent for the proprietary occupation of all Carolina, between the 31st and 36th parallels of latitude, was granted to Sir Robert Heath; but it is doubtful whether he or Lord Maltravers, to whom his patent was subsequently assigned, really attempted to plant a settlement there. The patent seems to have lapsed, or to have been cancelled. A company of adventurers in 1642 obtained from the Virginia Legislature, for a term of fourteen years, the privilege of occupying some territory south west of the Appomatox. It was to be inhabited by a hundred persons from Virginia, "freemen, being single, and disengaged of debt," with William Hawley for their Governor. But it was not till 1653 that a company from Nansemond, led by Roger Green, traversed the border forests, which single travellers had before explored, to the banks of the Roanoke and the Chowan. They were rewarded with a grant of a thousand acres by the Virginia Provincial Assembly, and ten thousand acres were offered to those who would commence a plantation in that territory. Some three years after this proposal, which appears to have scarcely taken effect, Thomas Dew, Speaker of that Assembly, formed a plan for exploring the rivers farther south, between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear. It is not unlikely that the few scattered families, out of Virginia, who moved southward before the Restoration, considered themselves at first in a half-independent position, beyond the ordinary jurisdiction of that province. They dealt with the Indian chiefs—as George Durant, for example, with the chiefs of the Yeopim tribe—for the lands which they desired to occupy. Some of the uncompromising foes to prelacy and monarchy remaining after the fall of the Commonwealth, who dreaded the reaction expected in Virginia under the new Stuart reign, may have augmented this emigration to Carolina. It certainly derived, about the same time, from two other and more distant sources, several distinct accessions. One was that of a party from New England, who found their way up the Cape Fear River, and established on Oldtown Creek, early in the reign of Charles II., a settlement which endured but six or seven years. It fell into distress, which had to be relieved by a friendly subscription among the more prosperous colonists of Massachusetts. In the opposite direction, from the isle of Barbadoes, came a society of West Indian planters, headed by Sir John Yeamans, who purchased of the Indians thirty two square miles of land on the south bank of the river at Cape Fear. These were the precursors or founders of the English colonisation which at length, after the usual trials, proved successful in that great region of the Atlantic cotton growing States.

The political separation of Carolina from Virginia, and its constitution as a new province, may have been an indirect consequence of Sir William Berkeley's election, in 1660, to the Governorship of Virginia. Sir William Berkeley, as we have seen, together with his brother Lord Berkeley, and with Sir George Carteret, also his partner in a grant of New Jersey some time later, procured for themselves, and for certain peers or Government officials, the grant of all that lay south of Virginia belonging to King Charles II. These men of rank and influence in his Majesty's Court and Council were General Monk, now the Duke of Albemarle; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Ashley, and finally Earl of Shaftesbury; and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. They were probably, of all men in England, those three to whom Charles was most deeply indebted for contriving and effecting the Restoration; and the grant of Carolina was part of the price they asked for open and secret services to his crown and person. With them were associated Sir John Colleton, another zealous Royalist of that date, and Lord Craven, an elderly Cavalier returned from military service in Germany, who had accompanied the Queen of Bohemia, King Charles II.'s aunt, upon her coming home at the Restoration. To the eight lords and gentlemen above mentioned, the vast territories of North and South Carolina, and what is now called Georgia, were given in 1663 by that too liberal or too lavish monarch's favour, moved, perhaps, by the devices of Sir William Berkeley, then in London as agent for the Virginian remonstrance against the Navigation Act.

Sir William Berkeley, though representing the Government of Virginia, did not hesitate, or think of consulting the Legislature of that province, before he procured the severance of Carolina from the territorial jurisdiction often styled "the Old Dominion." He had to satisfy, by particular land grants, the private claims of such persons as George Cathmaid, who proved in 1663 that he had settled sixty-six persons in the new territory, and demanded the reward promised by the Virginia Government. The north or left bank, indeed, of the river Chowan, where the settlers and the lands named in this request were situated, lay beyond the 36th degree of latitude, which was the northern limit originally fixed by the Royal patent for Carolina, and would

therefore have still belonged to Virginia, but for the enlargement of that limit, two years later, by a second grasping performance of the noble proprietors at the King's Court. All the northern portion of Carolina, including Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, was now placed under the administration of William Drummond, the Scottish Presbyterian of Virginia, as deputy for Sir William Berkeley; while the southern portion, from Cape Fear to the former Spanish settlement of the San Matteo, received the name of Clarendon, and was put under Sir John Yeamans.

territories of Florida and of the Mississippi, was no longer maintained. Its assertion was waived or dropped in the treaty concluded at Madrid in 1667; and Florida, with the Bahama Islands, was given to William Sayle by King Charles in the same year. An immense continental area, but with a few points only, at the edge of its Atlantic side, inhabited by small communities of planters, now lay before the corporate lords of Carolina. It was a tempting opportunity to indulge the taste for doctrinal statesmanship, applied to schemes of constitution-making, which had been fostered by the



VIEW ON THE ASHLEY RIVER.

But no sooner had the new proprietary province, enormous as it was in extent, been provided with a governing staff, than its greedy owners proceeded to solicit, and easily obtained, a fresh charter of larger concessions. The boundaries of this preposterous gift of territory, bestowed in 1665, were, to the southward, the 29th degree of latitude, including the Spanish town and harbour of St. Augustine, the oldest European settlement on the North American mainland; to the northward, the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., taking in the Roanoke and Chowan districts of Virginia; the Atlantic Ocean to the east, and the Pacific to the west, comprising nearly all the Southern States of the present Union, with a great part of New Mexico. The title of Spain, indeed, recognised during a century and a quarter of previous history, to the

endless political and ecclesiastical debates of that age.

The most famous of the eight proprietors was the well-known Lord Shaftesbury, the Lord Chancellor of a later date, whom Dryden has reviled and praised in the same breath, with admirable force and skill of language, but with little regard to truth of judgment, in the famous character of Achitophel. His biography, recently published, by the late Mr. W. D. Christie, is a convincing defence of Antony Ashley Cooper against the more heinous imputations that party and personal spite had cast upon his public conduct. He appears to have been a man of restless and morbid activity of mind, craving ever-fresh occasions for the exercise and display of his great abilities; the victim of inordinate self-esteem, and of a passion for the sharp



OLD VIEW OF CHARLESTOWN.

joys of controversial strife, with its intellectual and moral exaltation. But he was not the fool of mere vanity, or of vulgar worldly ambition. It was because he was quite capable of renouncing the esteem and defying the hatred or contempt of his neighbours, more than compensated by the delight of self-applause, that Shaftesbury incurred so much personal ill-will. Compared with other men of his time and rank, he was free from the baser vices of mercenary corruption and servility, as well as from those of darker hue, malignity and thirst for revenge. If he was addicted to deceitful and underhand practices in the choice of means, he was nevertheless tolerably consistent in the pursuit of those ends which he believed to be for the common good, and which were in no instance postponed by him to any private interests.

The maintenance of civil and religious liberty, broadly viewed from a stand-point like that of the modern Whig party, was to be secured, in his opinion, by connecting its principles with the ascendency of the aristocratic class in England, to restrain the excesses both of Royal prerogative and of democratic violence. Shaftesbury was an ardent champion of individual and social freedom, and a guardian of the national welfare, as far as they were compatible with the rule of an oligarchy enjoying a monopoly of power in the State. In our own days we have seen more than one similar example of a profound aversion to the popular element in politics, combined with an enlightened and earnest appreciation of other Liberal maxims, especially with respect to free thought and the rights of conscience. Such a disposition is apt to result from over-refinement and subtlety of mind, and to be accompanied with a fatal predilection for the crafty arts of intrigue and finesse, which are cherished the more fondly because they are reserved from the vulgar understanding. Shaftesbury was a man of this stamp, a statesman of right purposes and wrong procedure, now and then false to his incidental engagements, but faithful to his general notions of patriotic duty. He undertook, in 1668, the task of preparing a constitution for the new American province, which he and his partners held in territorial lordship, and of which he had gained a minuter knowledge by his official labours at the Board of Trade and Plantations.

With this clever and public-spirited nobleman was associated in domestic and studious intercourse one of the most eminent mental philosophers whose original investigations have aided the correct guidance of modern thought. John Locke, a physician and University scholar of retired habits, whose mind and character attract our regard by the moral graces of purity, equity, and temperance, not less than by his intellectual powers, was called to help his patron, Lord Shaftesbury, in the ambitious work now proposed. Their joint production, which was presented to the world in 1670, is a striking instance of the very unpractical determinations at which men of clear and strong intelligence will arrive, when dealing with the affairs and passions of actual human life by formal precepts, rules, and doctrines, instead of by a tentative, sympathetic process. It was, in every respect, a signal failure in constructive and constituent legislation, though greeted by the friends of its authors in England, but not in Carolina, with extravagant commendation.

The corporate firm of chartered proprietors were legally empowered to devise laws and government for that vast and almost empty land, subject to the consent of its freemen. Their own prerogatives of delegated sovereignty were ample, including those of levying troops, erecting fortresses, imposing martial law, and carrying on war by sea or land; those of creating new orders of nobility, constituting shires and cities, manors and baronies; and the more substantial power of fixing customs duties on the colonial imports and exports. The actual government, then administered by Stevens, who succeeded Drummond as Berkeley's deputy in North Carolina, was of a simple and convenient form, with a council of twelve persons, six chosen by the Assembly (which consisted of twelve elected freeholder delegates), the other six by the Governor for the superior lords. The land tenures of the colonists, their freedom of religion, and exemption from other taxes than such as their own representatives might approve, were expressly guaranteed. There was really no need at all for such a complex political machine as the constitution invented by Locke and Shaftesbury. As an object of historical and literary curiosity, we may briefly notice the leading provisions of this abortive design.

The projected constitution would have vested the joint viceregal sovereignty of Carolina, to all perpetuity, in the heirs of those eight original proprietary lords, Albemarle, Shaftesbury, Clarendon, Craven, the two Berkeleys, Carteret, and Colleton, to whom it was granted by King Charles. If any one hereditary line should fail, the other members of this close corporation were to appoint and admit some person to an equal share of their dignities, emoluments, and powers. They were to be the first estate of the provincial realm, to wield all the powers of executive government, and to form the supreme court of appeal in judicature. Their original number of eight could never be increased or

reduced, and the entire territory was divided into as many counties, with a proprietor to be the ruler of each county, and to preside in its local court. Two orders of nobility were created; namely, those of landgraves or earls, one for each county; and caciques or barons, for each county a pair: these were hereditary titles. Below them were the lords of manors, not limited to a rule of hereditary succession, and not, like the superior aristocracy, fixed at a certain invariable number. All the lands in the province were to be divided into five equal parts. The first part was to be the inalienable property of the eight sovereign lords; the second part was to belong for ever, in strict entail, to the landgraves and caciques, otherwise styled the earls and barons; the remaining three-fifths would go among the lords of manors and the ordinary freeholders, these last two classes being the third and fourth estates, respectively, of the enfranchised commonwealth. Freeholders of five hundred acres were eligible, and those of fifty acres were electors, for sending representatives to the Parliament, or grand Assembly, where the deputies of the people were to meet the deputies of the proprietary, the landgraves and the caciques, all sitting together in one chamber. A grand council of fifty, formed of the sovereign lords and aristocratic classes, with fourteen nominees for life of the lower order, had the sole privilege of devising new laws, or proposing subjects for the Parliament to consider. The reigning proprietors, of course, reserved to themselves a veto on all legislative acts; but either of the four estates could forbid any change in the constitution. The judicial tribunals, above those of mere manorial jurisdiction, were the county courts, each consisting of six councillors, four of whom were nominees of the lords and nobles, with a ruling proprietor to head the table; and there were courts for the regulation of different matters, from trade and navigation down even to pedigrees, ceremonies, fashions of dress, sports and entertainments. Trials by jury were to be decided by the verdict of a majority, and no hired advocates were allowed, because the philosophic authors of this constitution deemed it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward." The Protestant Church of England was to be established, with grants from the public revenue, but there was complete toleration of all other creeds and forms of worship. The condition of the lower industrial classes was to be no better than in the least free countries of Europe. Leet-men or serfs attached to the manors, with an allotment of ten acres belonging to each peasant labourer, were bound to perpetual service, and so were their children after them, to all generations. Negro slavery, a still deeper state of social oppression, was also provided for in the laws of Carolina. Such was the model of wise and beneficent government devised two hundred years ago by the most famous political thinkers of that age, one of whom, as a great philosopher, divides with the great poet Milton, his contemporary, the reverence of his countrymen.

Meantime, on the quiet shores of Albemarle Sound, where Stevens acted as Deputy-Governor, the colonists, reinforced by a company of ship-builders from Bermuda, were taking care of themselves. With a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco for the conduct of legal and administrative proceedings, the Governor and Council supported their simple state. Their laws seem to have been judicious and convenient: new settlers were exempt for one year from taxation, but could not obtain a final grant or purchase of land till after the second year; yet they were protected from suits for debts incurred out of the colony. The trade with the Indians was prohibited to strangers. These provisions were calculated to invite an enterprising though needy class of immigrants, but to restrain them from practices of a fraudulent, reckless, or mischievous character. Religion was left entirely free, and marriages could be performed before the civil magistrate.

It was in a community already exercising, in this manner, its natural powers of self-government, that the cumbrous structure of Locke's and Shaftesbury's constitution was to be erected, with its rigid political hierarchy and close monopoly of every public right. The Duke of Albemarle, as Prince Palatine, was to be the nominal head of the Carolina Government. The community consisted of a few villages of Quaker or Presbyterian farmers, wood-cutters, and sea-faring men, on the maritime fringe of a vast continental region, then all but unexplored. The total population may have numbered four thousand, in the northern part of Carolina. It was just at this period, in the same year (1670) when the Constitution was published for the entire province, that the first emigrants to South Carolina, led by Joseph West and William Sayle, entered the Ashley river, so named, as well as its confluent stream the Cooper, from that notable person, Lord Shaftesbury, of whom we have spoken. They had first entered Port Royal, and surveyed the old deserted site of Beaufort, where the French Protestants of 1562 had attempted to form a settlement.

Leaving this party in the act of making for themselves an abode on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper, where now stands the city of Charlestown, we turn once more to the infant commonwealth of Albemarle Sound. It was here that the arbitrary

imposition of such a government as their lordships in England had deemed it proper to decree was felt to be an intolerable wrong. By a peremptory decree in 1670, the existing local institutions were superseded, in spite of a pledge given to the colonists, and without consulting their will. Their indisposition to welcome this aristocratic pomp of new-fangled lords palatine, landgraves and earls, caciques, barons, and manorial lords, was perhaps increased by the visit of George Fox, the apostle of Quakerism and Christian Republicanism, when he came to America in 1672. In North Carolina, as well as in Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, he met with not a few people of simple manners and sincere hearts, willing to be enrolled citizens of that divine kingdom which he set above all titles of earthly origin. His mission had been preceded, however, by that of William Edmundson, who had formed an organised society of Quakers there. As the Tory reaction in the neighbouring province of Virginia, under Sir William Berkeley's government, provoked more and more discontent, Nonconformists, and those who clamoured for popular rights and interests, often passed into North Carolina. The grievous operation of the Navigation Acts, and of the fiscal arrangements designed to compel a direct trade of each southern province with England, by laying an exorbitant tax upon their trade with Boston, increased their dislike of the government proposed by the lords proprietors in London. An agent of this government, named Miller, was driven away by the hostility of his neighbours. In 1674, the political question remaining still in abeyance, Stevens, the Governor of Albemarle, died, and was succeeded by Cartwright, Speaker of the Assembly. Two years more elapsed without a definitive acceptance of the constitution. The administration finding itself weakened by this delay, Cartwright and Eastchurch, another ex-Speaker, were sent to confer with the proprietors in England. It appears from extant letters that they deplored the growing disaffection of the province, saying that it was "in ill order and worse hands." The hands into which they preferred to deliver it were not much better. It fell into those of the obnoxious Miller; for, though Eastchurch was nominated Governor at first, he stayed in the West Indies, while Miller took the actual government, with the offices of secretary to the proprietary and collector of their revenue.

This administration was regarded, of course, with very great disfavour by the colonists. They resented, too, more bitterly than ever, the restrictions and burthens upon their small commerce with New England; and they were both excited and alarmed, in 1676, by the spectacle of Bacon's revolt in Virginia, and the sanguinary vengeance that ensued. One of its victims, the respectable Scotchman, Drummond, was well known in North Carolina as its former Governor, preceding Stevens. The refusal of Deputy-Governor Miller to convene an Assembly became the occasion for a deliberate rising of the people at Albemarle, headed by John Culpepper. It was joined by at least one member of the governing Council, and encountered no valid resistance on the part of Miller, who was imprisoned for a time, and then permitted to sail for Europe. Eastchurch next arrived on the borders of the province, claiming to enter and rule it as the Governor whom their lordships of the proprietary had appointed. But he was denied admission, and the colonists, having again set up their own government and courts of justice, chose for their president the oldest landholder in Albemarle. He was that George Durant who had bought the Yeopim district of the Indians before the date of King Charles's grant. Culpepper was now sent to explain or defend their case in England. He found his colonial antagonist, Miller, appealing to mercantile jealousy against the free-trade party in America, and to royalty and aristocracy by denouncing mob-rule in North Carolina. By the influence of the proprietors with Lord Lauderdale and other courtiers, and upon the representations of Miller, a criminal prosecution was set on foot against Culpepper. This was in 1680, when he was about to sail on his return voyage. It furnished a new incident, worthy of passing remark, in the busy life of Lord Shaftesbury, who had by this time quite broken off his alliance with the Court party. As a leader of the Opposition and champion of popular interests, he took the opportunity to appear in defence of Culpepper on his trial before a jury, and won for him a triumphant acquittal.

The remaining lords proprietors of Carolina were left at a loss for the means of enforcing their impracticable mode of government. Their board of joint sovereignty, in spite of the sublime pretensions with which it began, had in ten or fifteen years undergone some personal changes. The old Chancellor Clarendon, long since departed, had sold his share to a person named Seth Sothel, who was a sordid rogue. This man persuaded his co-proprietors, when they knew not what else to do, that he could restore their authority and put the Shaftesbury constitution in force, if they would send him out with full governing powers. He sailed on that errand, but his ship was captured by Algerine pirates, and he was detained two or three years. North Carolina, in the meantime, after the brief endeavours of Harvey, Jenkins, and Wilkinson, on

behalf of the proprietary, to assume and conduct its administration, was left to the colonists' own discretion. It throve none the worse for that until the arrival of Seth Sothel in 1683; and civil peace was made by the passing of an amnesty for the late bloodless insurrection, in return for a formal submission to the territorial lords. But Sothel, like the contemporary Governors of Virginia, was eager to get money out of the province by various tricks of corrupt administration or fraudulent extortion. It seems, indeed, that he was equally prone to dishonest contrivances for enriching himself at the cost of his seven partners in the ruling corporation. After bearing five years with this discreditable Governor, who was rather despised than hated, the colonists at the Revolution of 1688 sent him away in unpitied disgrace; and their little rustic community remained in a state of practical independence.

We have now to observe the early fortunes of South Carolina, from the first settlement, above mentioned, in 1670, on the banks of the Ashley river. This province, with great advantages of soil and climate for planters having capital at their disposal, does not invite the actual labour of the white man. It was destined to become the most lucrative field for cultivating semi-tropical produce by negro labour. The other colonies had negro slaves; but here they were made the principal instrument of agricultural enterprise. The baneful system was introduced by Sir John Yeamans, with a cargo of black labourers from Barbadoes. Large supplies were very soon brought in from the African Gold Coast by the Dutch merchants of New York. No moralist, economist, or statesman of that age foresaw its effects on the social and political condition of the English-speaking world in America. John Locke himself, who with Yeamans and James Carteret enjoyed the title of a South Carolinian landgrave, was not able to perceive the fatal error of the industrial organisation provided for that fertile land and genial clime.

In this part of Carolina, as in the settlements on the Roanoke and Albemarle Sound, there was no likelihood of success for the highly artificial scheme of government which Shaftesbury and Locke had framed in their scholarly wisdom. "The Grand Model," as it was called, was a machine that would never work among hard-living toilers in the forests and swamps or upon the sea-shore of America. They preferred, following the example of North Carolina, to set up a more convenient form of mixed nominee and elective delegation, which was adopted by a popular convention for the purpose. The Grand Council, to advise the Governor and to restrain him from any wrong act, was to be composed of five members appointed by the proprietary of the province, and five others chosen by the people. These ten councillors again, when joined with twenty more elected deputies of the commonalty, would compose the provincial legislative Assembly. It was as good as anything the most profound political thinker could have excogitated, or borrowed from ancient and modern history for the needs and uses of a young colony. Pedantry, then so rife, and the bigotry of zealots for aristocratic, feudal, and monarchical forms or titles, could alone object to this accommodating plan for the secure and moderate progress of public interests, in harmony with those of the territorial lordship.

To relate the controversy that ensued in South Carolina upon the question here raised, might be felt a tedious repetition, after that of North Carolina before presented to the reader. It may nevertheless be stated that the colonists never could be forced to put up with the fantastic Shaftesbury Constitution. They wrangled about it with the proprietors during eighteen years, till the Revolution of 1688, upsetting all that had stood on the jobbing favours of the Whitehall Court in the Stuart reigns, enabled South and North Carolina to possess their full self-government without molestation. The social advance, meantime, of the southern territory had been far more rapid than in the earlier years of the other provinces. On a piece of land between the two rivers, which was called Oyster Point from the gathering of those bivalves, like manna in the wilderness, to feed the hungry emigrants of 1670 on their first landing, was founded the city of Charlestown, named after their careless King. It stands amidst groves of delicious verdure, commanding an excellent harbour for Atlantic commerce. People of every country, class, and condition, soon hearing of South Carolina with its natural and social attractions, began to think of it as an inviting abode. Dutchmen came from their former colony of New Amsterdam, which had been converted by an English conquest into New York; and were followed by other Dutchmen from Holland. A few score of Protestants from Southern Europe, skilled in the culture of the vine, the mulberry, the olive, and the orange, or in the care of silkworms, were sent over by King Charles at his own expense. Cavaliers and courtiers of England, who sought to repair their wasted estates after the Restoration revel, disdained not to emigrate under the patronage of noblemen, the owners of Carolina. Shaftesbury himself begged leave to go and end his days in the colony, when he was imprisoned in the Tower of

London; and if he had gone, it is probable that John Locke might have gone with him. English Dissenters galled by High Church ascendency during the reign of Charles II., English Protestants dreading the establishment of Popery under that of James II., went out to Carolina, where religious freedom at least was secured to all. Scottish Covenanters who fled from persecution, and the defeated partisans, both in Scotland and in Somersetshire, of Monmouth's and Argyll's rebellion, were mingled with this overflow of the wearied Old World, cast out of Europe by manifold sources of disgust. There was a colony of Irish, too, under Ferguson; and the land also received a French Protestant emigration, after the wicked act of Louis XIV. in revoking the Toleration Edict of Nantes. South Carolina was found a country most suitable for the resort of the persecuted exiles of Languedoc, of Touraine, and of the western provinces of France. Their personal adventures have been told in many an interesting story. Some of their descendants, bearing French names, have contributed greatly, by their virtues and abilities, their liberal spirit and American patriotism, to the prosperity of the United States.

The complete naturalisation of foreigners, however, was necessarily deferred till after the vexatious constitutional question was settled. A summary account of what took place in the politics of South Carolina will suffice to end this chapter. Sir John Yeamans was Governor from 1671 to 1674, effecting little to the public advantage. His successor, Governor West, held office during nine years, but was dismissed by the proprietors for being too much a friend of the colonists. Disputes arose between the Executive, or the Crown, and the Provincial Assembly, upon the treatment of the Indians, the enforcement of the Navigation Laws, the attacks of colonial sea-rovers on Spanish maritime trade, the representative system in the colony, and the litigation of claims for debt contracted abroad. No Governor there ever possessed the actual force that would have been required, and that was employed by Sir William Berkeley in Virginia, to put down the opposition of his subjects. The brother of Sir John Colleton, one of the lords proprietors, was appointed in 1686, with the grant of a large estate and the title of landgrave, to execute their decrees if he could. He found himself unable even to collect their quit-rents. Having rashly attempted, by an act of violence, to exclude from the Legislative Assembly those members who disowned the unhappy Constitution of 1670, James Colleton was speedily upset. The Assembly took possession of the Government records, imprisoned the secretary, and placed its own committee-men in the public offices. The colonial militia, to whom a summons was addressed by the Governor, would not serve him against these representatives of the popular will. At the proclamation of King William III.'s reign in the old country, they finished by sending Governor Colleton away from Carolina. The new era had begun for all English citizens on both sides of the Atlantic.

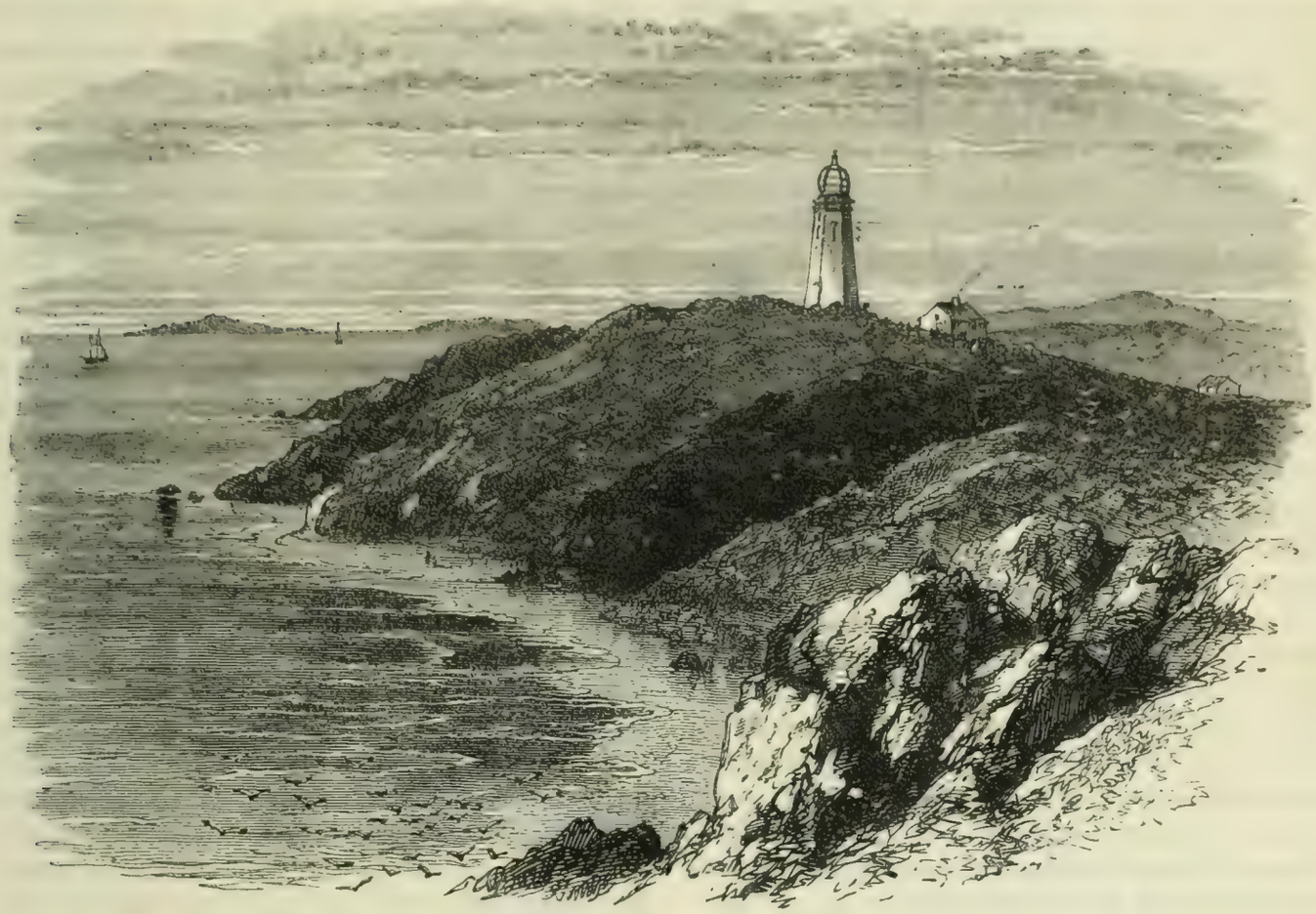
CHAPTER XLII.

Arrival at Boston of Sir William Phipps—Previous Career of that Gentleman—His Expedition to a Spanish Wreck—State of Boston after the Revolution—Turbulence of the Mob—Feebleness of the Government—Revolutionary Movements in Plymouth, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey—Fresh Outbreak of Indian Troubles in the North-east—The Five Nations of Iroquois and the French—Atrocities of the Indians in Maine—A Congress held at New York—Acadie reduced by a Naval Expedition—Combined Operations against Montreal and Quebec—Disastrous Failure of Sir William Phipps before the latter City—Indian Ravages in Maine—Decline of New England Spirit and Ability—Truce with the Natives—Renewal of the War—Proposals of Sir William Phipps for the Conquest of Canada—Death of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians.

THAT William of Orange had become William III. of England—that the Papist James had fled to France, and that the future of Protestantism in the British Isles was once more assured—were facts of the most profound interest to the people of Massachusetts and the neighbouring colonies; but they did not of themselves settle the question as to what form the government of the New England plantations should assume. At Boston, it had been decided that the old charter of 1629 was again in force; but it remained to be seen whether the new monarch would recognise this interpretation of facts—an interpretation which was certainly opposed to English law. It was therefore with mingled feelings of hope and fear that the colonists received an envoy from England in the person of Sir William

Phipps, who arrived in a ship which entered Boston harbour three days after that bringing news of the accession of William and Mary.

Phipps was a native of the Duke of York's territory of Cornwall, and had made his way upward from humble beginnings. His previous career is worth relating. Though now a knight, he had in his youth, after serving as a shepherd, worked as apprentice to a ship carpenter; and, though greatly wanting in book-education, he had managed, by his spirit, enterprise, and business



GAY'S HEAD, MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

faculty, to become a man of importance. Obtaining some property by marriage, he set up a ship-yard at Sheepscote, in Maine, and afterwards another at Boston. He himself commanded a trading vessel, and, hearing at the Bahamas that a Spanish galleon, with a vast amount of silver on board, had been lost near Port de la Plata about fifty years before, he resolved to attempt the recovery of the treasure. To obtain money assistance in the prosecution of this design, he went to England in 1683, and, being encouraged by the countenance of Charles II., sailed with two frigates to the spot which had been indicated, and endeavoured to discover the submarine mine of wealth. After much fruitless labour, he was compelled by the impatience of his crew to abandon the effort for a time, but he still cherished the project as one that must at length succeed. With extraordinary courage and self-reliance, he quelled two attempts at mutiny on the part of his men, and then, returning to England, persuaded the Duke of Albemarle and some other noblemen to advance him money for a second adventure. In 1687 he again sailed for Port de la Plata. There he went up singly into the woods, and with his own hands built a stout canoe, large enough to carry eight or ten oars, which he sent, together with the tender of his vessel, to search for the wreck, while he himself lay at anchor in the port. For awhile, nothing was discovered but a reef of rising shoals, and the crew were returning, weary and dejected, when one of the sailors, looking over the side of the canoe into the clear, transparent sea, saw a feather under water, growing, as he imagined, out of the side of a rock. A number of Indian divers had been taken out in the little vessel, and one of them was now ordered down to make investigations. He reported that he had found many great guns, and, being sent down a second time, brought up a pig of silver, of the value of two or three hundred pounds. Having buoyed the place, the crew returned to port, and at

first misled the captain by pretending that they had had no success; but while Phipps was expressing his determination to persevere until the providence of God gave them better fortune, his men brought into view the great mass of silver that had been discovered by the diver. "Why, what is this? Whence comes this?" cried Phipps in a sudden transport; and, being then told all that had happened, he lifted his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, we are all made!" A more elaborate search soon followed, and the divers, descending into the dark recesses of the wreck, discovered tons of silver, bags of coin, and a large store of gold, pearls, and other jewels. When he had sufficiently laden his vessel, Phipps sailed for England, carrying with him treasure amounting in value to £300,000 sterling, of which, after all charges had been met, and gratuities had been paid to the sailors, Phipps himself received £16,000.*

James II. was so much pleased with this exploit that he knighted the captain, and, to his great credit, refused the advice of his courtiers to appropriate the whole sum to his own use. In consequence of this success, Phipps became a favourite at court, and used his influence in soliciting a restoration of the charter of Massachusetts. But he might as well have asked the King to make over his crown to him. "Anything but that, Sir William," was James's reply. Phipps then procured a patent constituting him High Sheriff of New England, hoping, it is said, to be able in this way to supply his country with honest juries. He landed at Boston about the middle of 1688, but met with so much opposition from Andros and his subordinates that he again went to England, where he was residing when the arrival of the Prince of Orange changed the dynasty, and opened new prospects to the English race.

Though he had been on good terms with James, Phipps soon got into communication with the new ruler, and joined with Increase Mather in urging the rights of the colonies. At first there was some fear lest matters should be left unaltered. An order was actually issued, in January, 1689, for the government of New England to continue for awhile in the hands of Andros; but Mather and Phipps, by vigorous representations against such a course, succeeded in obtaining its annulment. The two friends then joined in a petition for the restoration of the ancient privileges of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, and for the recognition of the late Governors of those colonies as still in power. King William, however, would not promise so much without inquiry; but he gave an assurance that Andros should be removed from his post (which had already been done by the populace), and that he should be called to account for his maladministration. At Boston, the Council made certain proposals with respect to the late Governor and his friends, which resulted in the Deputies sending up various charges against Andros, Dudley, Randolph, Palmer, West, Graham, and some others. Dudley begged for release, and, being ill, was allowed by the Council, with the consent of some of the Deputies, to go to his own house at Roxbury, under a guard, on his giving a heavy bond not to leave it, except on Sundays. The populace did not at all approve of this leniency, and a mob proceeded from Boston the same night (July 13th), broke open the house, and took the sick man back to gaol. The keeper of the prison would not receive him, and the rioters then carried him to the house of a Mr. Paige, a brother-in-law of Dudley. Not satisfied with his custody there, they broke into Paige's house two nights later, and searched for the object of their fury. On the 16th, Dudley voluntarily walked to the prison, accompanied by several gentlemen, as the only means of stilling the people.

It was, in fact, the safest place for him. In the absence of all settled government, the worst of the populace were exhibiting the worst of their passions. When the authorities determined to release Dudley provisionally, on his giving sureties in the enormous sum of £10,000, neither Bradstreet, the Governor, nor Addington, the Secretary, would sign the paper, for fear they should themselves be imprisoned for so doing. The order, which is without any signature, was carried to the gaol by the Marshal. Bradstreet was old, and probably timid. His subserviency to the mob would be disgraceful, if it were not sad. The rioters who went from Boston to Roxbury, to drag Dudley away from his house, took with them a letter from the Governor (another brother-in-law of the offender), entreating him, for the safety of himself and family, and the welfare of the whole country, to yield quickly to the existing stress, as the tumult in the town was so great and sudden that no reason would be regarded. "Have respect, I pray," Bradstreet piteously concluded, "to the glory of God, and the welfare of this people." Dudley's resolution to submit himself to renewed imprisonment was hastened by another letter from the Governor, dated July 16th, in which he described himself as being filled with grief and sorrow for the condition both of his brother-in-law and of the country generally. He had certainly

* Cotton Mather's Life of Sir William Phipps, in Magnalia Christi Americana, Book II., Appendix.

great occasion for the depression under which he laboured. The mob met, whenever they pleased, in a tumultuous fashion, plundering all who had favoured the late Government, sometimes committing thefts indiscriminately, and on one occasion attempting to carry off sheep from a little island near Martha's Vineyard inhabited by Indian converts — an outrage which drew from the ruling sachem a dignified protest.* The insolence of the ill-disposed among the Bostoners was such that the more decent citizens feared a Reign of Terror. The merchants began to complain bitterly. "'Tis a question," wrote James Lloyd to Thomas Brinley, on the 10th of July, "whether £100,000 will make good the damages, and settle the land in so hopeful a way as it was at the time the Governor [Andros] lost his authority." Francis Brinley wrote to the same Thomas Brinley, five days later:—"Should this place be governed as in old times" (he must have alluded to the days before the charter was forfeited), "there can be no living for sober people. To be governed amongst ourselves by some chosen among us, is nearest unto an anarchy." "I am afraid," said Benjamin Davis to Edward Hall on the 31st of July, "that this people will grow so unruly that nothing but an immediate Governor from the King will or can rule them. . . . They are daily expecting Mr. Mather with a charter. If it pleases them, well; if not, they will despise it, for they are not afraid to say, in some towns of the country, that the crown of England hath nothing to do with them." The conclusion of this writer was that they were not bettered by the pulling down of Sir Edmund Andros's Government, but much worse off than before.† Men who have large fortunes at stake are too apt to subordinate political considerations to the insuring of that quiet which is necessary to their business transactions. This may have been the case with the traders whose opinions have just been quoted. The deposed Government was certainly tyrannical, and a violent change had been provoked by the fatal resolve to multiply rather than redress grievances. But it cannot be doubted that the revolution had, up to the summer of 1689, resulted in nothing but the substitution of one despotism for another; and it may well have seemed that the change was the very reverse of an improvement.

The movement in Massachusetts was followed by similar action in the colonies of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, where the former Governments were at once reinstated by popular votes, and without any disturbance. King William and Queen Mary were peacefully proclaimed, and men awaited with curiosity, rather than in fear, the arrival of orders from the new Government in England. At New York there was much division of opinion. James II. and his representative were not without their adherents; but the Dutch population were greatly excited by the news that the Stadtholder of Holland had been asked to rule over England, and, after a deplorable series of events, to be related hereafter, William of Orange was proclaimed King. In New Jersey matters passed off more quietly; but the subordinates of Andros were compelled to yield up their power, and a Provisional Government was formed, in the absence of instructions from the mother country. Thus the rule of James fell to pieces in the New World, in some places with scarcely a touch; and that of his successor was established by the necessity of the times, and by a general agreement as to what was most likely to promote the freedom of the settlers.

In the autumn of 1689, the authorities at Boston received a communication from the King and Queen of England, bearing date August 12th, in which the recent proceedings of the colony were allowed and approved, and the Magistrates then in power were authorised to continue the administration of affairs until their Majesties, by the advice of their Privy Council, should settle them on such a basis as might satisfy all their subjects in that plantation. The position of Sir William Phipps in the settlement was rather anomalous. He had been sent over by the new Government of England, and was therefore to some extent charged with an official character; but he held no distinct office. James II., after reaching France, had offered him the Government of New England; but he had refused to accept it, preferring to cast in his lot with the Revolution. On reaching Massachusetts, he found the country in a state of apprehension as to a new Indian war. A devastating struggle was on the eve of breaking out, and Phipps was destined to take an important part in it. But before we proceed to relate the incidents of that struggle, a brief retrospect will be necessary.

The relations of the colonists to the natives were difficult under the best of circumstances; and they were still further complicated by the rivalry of the French. Both French and English sought, and from time to time obtained, the co-operation of Indian allies; but such assistance was precarious, and jealousies were constantly arising between the savage and the civilised races. The Canadian colonists had from an early period endeavoured to subjugate the warlike tribes to the south of their

* Neal's History of New England, chap. 10.

† Colonial Papers quoted by Mr. Palfrey, Vol. III., chap. 15.

line, and those tribes had at times given their support to the English and Dutch, when they thought it their interest to do so. The Five Nations, known by the general designation of the Iroquois, wielded a power of no inconsiderable character; and the white men, finding it impossible to crush such numerous and warlike opponents, were not unwilling to bid for their favour. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, formed a vigorous race of warriors, not without some of the sterner virtues of humanity, nor altogether devoid of political principles in the management of their little commonwealths. They were the especial terror of the French in Canada, whose fruitless attempts to conquer them in the early part of the century provoked, through a long course of years, many sanguinary reprisals. Quebec itself was besieged; large tracts of country were laid waste; and the subjects of Louis XIV. were glad to mitigate the ferocity of these barbarians by commercial treaties. When, however, it was found that the English dealt with them more liberally than the French, they took their beaver-skins to the south rather than to the north. This led to a firm alliance between the Five Nations and the English of New York and Virginia, which was concluded in 1684, after a period of hostility attended by much bloodshed.

The Governor of Canada, exasperated at what he regarded as treachery, attacked the tribes on the borders of Lake Ontario, but, after losing many of his soldiers by the marshy exhalations of a desolate country into which he had advanced, was compelled to sue for peace. At the solicitation of the English, the Mohawks refused to grant his prayer; but the other four tribes were inclined to make terms with the French, that they might play them off against the English. Peace was dictated by the victorious red men, and, in the following year, De la Barre, the Canadian Governor, was superseded by Denonville, an officer of high repute, who brought with him a reinforcement of soldiers. Disputes continued between the representatives of France and England as to the extent of their dominions, and Louis XIV. determined to break the power of the Iroquois, as the barrier which prevented his advancing southward. He instructed his lieutenant in North America to take a large number of these savages prisoners of war, and ship them to France, where they could be made useful as galley-slaves. Denonville, who in his day was commended as a virtuous and religious man, matured and carried out, in 1687, a piece of execrable treachery. It was impossible to capture the savages by force. Accordingly, a missionary named Lamberville was employed (without being informed as to the design) to decoy the Iroquois chiefs into a French fort on Lake Ontario, under pretence of concluding a treaty. On entering the stronghold they were seized, put in irons, hurried to Quebec, and thence despatched to Europe. The treason of Denonville might have cost Lamberville his life, but for the generosity of the Onondagas. The old men of that tribe sent for the missionary, and told him that, although he had in fact betrayed them, they knew that treason was not in his heart. They exhorted him to fly at once, ere the vengeance of the younger men should be roused; and they conducted him by unfrequented paths into a place of safety. War with the French immediately ensued. Denonville for a time gained possession of the western part of the present State of New York, and erected a fort at Niagara; but the Five Nations rallied, and threatened the French so seriously that Denonville begged Dongan, the Governor of New York, to act as mediator. Their negotiations failed for a time; but in 1688 the French were obliged to accede to the Indian terms, which included the ransom of the captured chiefs. The country south of the chain of lakes, which had been temporarily occupied by the French, although claimed by the English, was rescued from the grasp of Canadian settlers by the valour of the Iroquois; and the soldiers of Denonville reaped nothing but mortification from their operations against a savage foe.

It was the policy of James II. to be on good terms with Louis XIV.; and in 1686, while the struggle of the French with the Five Nations was going on, he made it a condition of amity between the colonies of the two States that neither should assist the Indian tribes with whom the other might be at war. As the English in America had as much reason to fear the French as the aborigines, this provision gave no great satisfaction, and the colonists believed it to be frequently broken or evaded by their rivals. It was always supposed in New England that the North-eastern Indians were encouraged in their turbulence by the French of Canada; and it was the North-eastern Indians who were now again causing alarm. By an act of treachery, the garrison of Cocheco was surprised and massacred in the course of 1689. Houses were burnt, and nearly thirty people carried into captivity. The Government of Massachusetts sent a force into the disturbed country; but only slight successes were obtained, and shortly afterwards Pemaquid Fort was taken, and the greater part of the garrison butchered. Several desultory murders were also committed, and the inhabitants of Sheepscote and Kennebunk abandoned those places, and retired to Falmouth, together with many planters

in other parts of the exposed districts. The rising of the Indians spread far and wide with great rapidity, and, after the English Revolution which deposed James, the French openly engaged in the movement. France and England were by this time at war, and Count Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, was charged to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadie, and to assist a French fleet in conquering New York. The French claimed the whole of the North American continent north and west of New England, on dubious grounds of early discovery; and they now determined by a desperate effort to assert their alleged rights. They were once more being harassed by the Five Nations, who were regarded as the allies of the English; they had been compelled to retire from several of their positions; and they seem to have considered themselves justified in aiding the Eastern Indians to exterminate the English in their northern settlements. Massachusetts and Plymouth joined in operations against the rebels; but the troops were so ill-commanded, and so hampered by the presence of faithless native auxiliaries, who managed to give intelligence to the enemy, that they did nothing but furnish garrisons to Wells, York, Berwick, and some other frontier towns. As the winter came on, they returned to their homes, and the Indians, emerging from the woods and swamps in which they had taken refuge, committed a number of atrocities unchecked.

By February, 1690, the war had reached the province of New York. A body of French and Indians descended from Canada on the Dutch town of Schenectady, where they killed sixty of the inhabitants, and carried off others into captivity. On the 18th of March, another descent was made by the allies, and Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, was burnt, with the massacre of thirty persons, and the capture of fifty. The prisoners were treated with the utmost barbarity. They were stripped of their clothes, and allowed no other covering than a blanket. Barely enough food to support life was given them. Laden with baggage, they were driven on at the rate of twenty or thirty miles a day, and all who lagged behind were instantly slain by a blow of the hatchet. A man who had endeavoured to escape was roasted alive at a slow fire; and women and children were killed or tortured on the least complaint. Many of these horrors were committed by Indians converted to Catholicism by the French Jesuits, who prepared them for their savage work by confession and absolution. At the Penobscot village of Canibas, whence issued the warriors who massacred the garrison of Pemaquid, and committed other murders in the neighbourhood, a little chapel was established, at which Indian savages were being continually purified, at all hours of the day, for the murder of Protestant heretics, that so, if they chanced to fall, their spirits might at once ascend to bliss.

It was now evident that the utter destruction, or at least the partial ruin, of the English power in America was contemplated by the French and their native supporters. The Mohawks had refused an active alliance with the New Englanders against the Canadians and Abenakis, though promising a negative friendship; and it became necessary to take some vigorous measures for the common defence. At the suggestion of Massachusetts, a congress was held, on the 1st of May, 1690, at New York—an event important in itself, as well as in its consequences, since it was another step (the New England Federation being the first) towards the formation of the Union which arose at a later epoch. After discussion, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada by sending an army against Montreal, while a fleet from Massachusetts should attack Quebec. As a preliminary, Sir William Phipps, at the head of seven hundred men and a small fleet, was sent against Acadie, which had remained in undisputed possession of the French since the Treaty of Breda in 1667. The Governor of the province in 1690 had built a little fort at Port Royal for the security of the plantations along the coast. The population of French origin numbered from six to seven thousand, who enjoyed a considerable trade in lumber, furs, and fish. The conquest of this region proved an easy affair. Phipps appeared before Port Royal on the 11th of May. The garrison, being unprepared for a defence, surrendered after a short resistance, on condition of a safe-conduct. The feeble palisadoes which guarded the place were destroyed, and the country was declared by Sir William part of the possessions of the English Crown. On his way home, he destroyed another French settlement, situated at St. John's River in the Bay of Fundy; and by the 30th of May he was again at Boston, with news of his success. This encouraged the confederated colonies in their great design of attacking Canada itself. In the summer months, an army of English and natives pursued its way across the deserts in the vicinity of the great lakes, and it was reported to the French that their enemies were building canoes on Lake George. Frontenac immediately called on his Indian allies for assistance, and, seizing a tomahawk, himself chanted the war-song and danced the war-dance, though he was then an old man. But the land attack came to nothing. The army was defeated by mismanagement without

being once in sight of the foe, and was compelled to return to Albany, whence it had started.

On the 20th of August, Phipps was despatched, with a fleet of thirty-four sail, manned by two thousand citizens of Massachusetts, to effect the reduction of Quebec. If valour in the commander could have secured the success of this enterprise, it would have been a triumph. Courage was certainly not wanting in Phipps, and he had on several occasions exhibited much energy and resource. But it may be questioned whether his abilities were equal to such an undertaking, and in some respects he was unfortunate. His attack on Quebec was to take place simultaneously with the assault of the land forces on Montreal. A diversion would thus have been created, and the French army have been divided. But the utter failure of the English troops to reach Montreal enabled the French to concentrate their forces in the chief city; and this necessarily embarrassed the naval commander. The fleet, moreover, was delayed by bad weather and contrary winds, so that the squadrons did not come within sight of Quebec until the 16th of October—a bad time of year for operations in that northern latitude. On the 17th, Sir William sent to Count Frontenac a summons to surrender, expressed in rather boastful language; offering the garrison mercy if they complied, but threatening, in the event of a refusal, to revenge all wrongs and injuries by force of arms, and to bring them under subjection to the Crown of England, when, too late, they would wish they had accepted the offered favour. A positive answer was to be returned in an hour, on peril of what would ensue.

The officer who took this summons was conducted to the Governor's chamber blindfolded. On hearing the letter read, Frontenac was so enraged that he ordered the captain of his guards to erect a gibbet, and hang the messenger. From this, however, he was dissuaded by the Bishop of Quebec, and he then returned an answer, in which he said that Sir William Phipps and his companions were heretics, as well as traitors to their King; that they had ranged themselves under an usurper, the Prince of Orange, and had made a revolution but for which New England and New France would have been all one. He added that no other answer was to be expected from him but what should come from the mouths of his cannon. It was part of the contention of the French commander that the English forces were simply pirates, as they had no commission from their lawful sovereign, the deposed James. On the 18th of October, Phipps made an attempt to land, but the weather was too rough to permit of its being carried out. The attempt was renewed on the 19th, when fourteen hundred men were put on shore about a league and a half from the town. The French retreated, and drew their adversaries into an ambuscade, from which they poured so galling a fire into the English that the latter retreated in confusion, and regained their camp, with the loss of three hundred men. Next day, Phipps landed four pieces of cannon, and the troops made a fresh attempt to force their way towards the town, but were again repulsed with heavy loss, and pursued to their camp, which the French prepared to attack. The English were now thoroughly disheartened, and at midnight re-embarked, but in such haste and confusion that they lost fifty men in the act of getting into their boats. It was afterwards admitted by the French that the little army had shown no lack of courage; but their proceedings indicated a total failure of discipline, an entire ignorance, on the part both of officers and men, of the science of war, and a want of concert between the land forces and those on board the fleet. It had been agreed that Phipps should bombard the town on the western side, while the troops delivered their assault on the east. All during the night following the 19th of October, and part of the next day, the ships poured a heavy fire into Quebec; but no corresponding action could be observed on shore, and Phipps sent to inquire the reason. The commander of the land forces replied that he dared not venture within sight of the town, having been assured by a French deserter that Count Frontenac had three thousand men with him in garrison. The troops had suffered much on their tempestuous voyage; some were ill with small-pox, and all were depressed and daunted by the extreme cold of the advancing winter, against which they were not properly provided. The blame of failure must be divided amongst the commanders and those who sent them forth so ill-equipped for an expedition of great difficulty and hazard. The New Englanders had committed the serious fault of undervaluing their enemy. As a natural consequence, they lost heart when they found that he was much stronger than they had supposed. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the result; for it depressed the spirits of the English, proportionately elated those of the French, and encouraged the Indians to make renewed attacks on the north-eastern settlements.

A violent storm shortly afterwards separated the fleet. The greater number of the vessels, including Phipps's, arrived at Boston on the 30th of November, but others were not so fortunate. Some were driven as far south as the Bermudas; three or four were lost; and a brigantine, with sixty men



LAMBERVILLE SENT AWAY BY THE ONONDAGAS.

on board, struck on the desolate island of Anticosti, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and became a total wreck. The captain and his men wintered on the island, enduring great hardships from cold and insufficient food, until they were rescued in the following May. In every respect, the expedition to Quebec had been disastrous. It cost the lives of a thousand men, and entailed on the people of New England a money loss of £140,000—a liability which it was found necessary to spread over a number of years by the issue of bills of credit, which passed current among the people until they were redeemed.

The English were equally unfortunate in other directions. In May, 1690, a body of French and Indians crossed the Bay of Casco in canoes, and lay concealed in the woods. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town went out against them, but were repulsed, and driven back to their houses. The whole place was then burnt to the ground, and the garrison in the fort was obliged to surrender. This was at once followed by the abandonment of other positions in the north-eastern settlements. A panic-stricken flight to the south took place, and the scared and bewildered fugitives were hotly pursued by the Hurons, who devastated the open country, burnt several houses, and killed or captured many of the scattered inhabitants. At this period there seems to have been a total want of capacity in the New Englanders. No man of conspicuous mark arose among them; even second-rate men were rare; a kind of languor and debility settled on the people, and the extraordinary vigour and decision of the early Puritan settlers gave place to distracted councils, embarrassed and feeble action, perpetual failure, and an accumulation of misery such as bid fair for a time to ruin the prospects of the associated colonies. Some brave men, however, remained; and two of these—Captains Floyd and Greenleaf—routed the Hurons, and drove them northwards to a considerable distance. Still, the country remained unsafe. Parties of Indians moved to and fro with that startling rapidity which distinguishes savages. The husbandman was murdered in his field; even the towns afforded but little protection against the sudden descents of a foe who neither gave nor desired quarter. The natives had been drilled and instructed in military manœuvres by the French, and, being well supplied with fire-arms, were no contemptible adversaries, even on open ground. A council of war was called at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and it was resolved that a body of men should scour the woods as far as Casco; but the expedition had no better success than others, and the force was compelled to retreat. Major Church, at the head of three hundred soldiers, was rather more fortunate in the early autumn; and shortly afterwards a party of Indians came to Wells with a flag of truce, and proposed a temporary cessation of the war. On the 10th of December, the commissioners on both sides signed articles for a suspension of hostilities for five months. By this instrument the Indians bound themselves to refrain from all injury of the English during the prescribed time; to give timely notice of any plots on the part of the French of which they might have knowledge; and, on the expiration of the truce, to bring into Wells all the English captives in their hands, and there treat for a perpetual peace.

The truce failed to bring about that permanent amity which was anticipated and desired. War broke out once more in 1691; Acadie again passed into the power of the French; and the frontier towns of the English settlements suffered as they had done in former years. In the early part of 1692, a party of French and Indians crossed the wintry deserts in snow-shoes, and, suddenly bursting on the town of York, killed fifty of the inhabitants, and carried off a hundred. A large force of English was afterwards sent to the spot, and arrangements were made which prevented the renewal of such attacks. At Wells, a gallant action took place between a party of Indians and two English sloops which lay in the river, and which the savages attacked from a platform on wheels, driven out on to the sands until it was within fifteen yards of the little vessels, and afterwards by a kind of fire-ship, which the wind fortunately carried in the opposite direction to that of the sloops. The English now rallied from the depression of previous years. To many it appeared a necessity that Canada should be conquered, as the only means of permanently securing New England from continual attacks; and, to enforce these views at court, Sir William Phipps returned to London in 1691, and solicited the assistance of the home Government in fitting out an expedition. In a paper which he submitted to the King and Queen, he argued that it was for the interest of the English Crown and nation to reduce that dependency of France, because they would thus not only engross the beaver trade, but secure the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, some of whose factories had lately fallen into the hands of the French; and because the possession of Canada would increase the English shipping by gaining the fisheries of Newfoundland, and thus diminish the number of French seamen, as well as cut off a great revenue from the French Crown. The failure of the recent expedition against Quebec

was attributed by Sir William to the lateness of the season, the roughness of the passage, and the sickness of the crew and army; and he concluded by stating that the Jesuits endeavoured to draw the natives into their interests by incessantly suggesting the greatness of Louis XIV., and the inability of King William to do anything against the French in those parts—an impression which in time of war was very prejudicial to all the English plantations in America. But, however well-considered these plans may have been, the King was obliged to decline them, owing to the heavy pressure of the continental war with France.

In the midst of war and calamity, on the 20th of May, 1690, John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, quietly died in his house at Roxbury, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He had done everything that intelligence, zeal, and devotion could do to Christianise and educate the savages; yet in his declining days he had the misery to see the Indians of the north-east engaged in a vast and bloody conspiracy against his countrymen. We may be sure, however, that he had his reward even in this world, since goodness is its own light and its own comfort. The noblest fruit of knowledge remained to him when all the lesser fruits had gone. One of his latest utterances was—"I have lost everything. My understanding fails me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God my charity holds out still. I find *that* rather grows than fails."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Endeavours of Sir William Phipps to obtain a New Charter for Massachusetts—A Charter granted—Doubts on the Part of the Agents as to whether they should accept it—Nature of its Provisions—In what Respects it differed from the Old Charter—Boundaries of the New Province, Forms of Government, &c.—Appointment of Sir William Phipps as Governor of Massachusetts—His Expedition against the revolted Indians in the North-east—Conclusion of a Peace—Deplorable Condition of the Province—Dealings of Phipps with the Indians—The Governor recalled—His Death in England—Renewal of the Indian War—The Adventure of Hannah Dunstan—Peace of Ryswick between England and France—Boundaries between the English and French Possessions in North America—Predominance of France in the Region of the Great Lakes—The Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New England and New York—Political Fortunes of New Hampshire—Condition of New England at the Close of the Seventeenth Century.

DISAPPOINTED in his endeavours to engage the English Government in an attack on Canada, Sir William Phipps turned his attention to the political constitution of New England. The unsettled state of the colonies for several years was such as to demand a change of some kind. It is certain that the revolution at Boston had no efficacy to upset a decision in an English court of law, and reinstate the charter of 1629. Everything, therefore, was in a provisional state in Massachusetts, if not in the other colonies of that part of America; and Phipps not unnaturally desired to place the new order on a legal basis. He and the other agents lost no opportunity of bringing the subject before the attention both of the monarch and Parliament; but matters of more immediate urgency prevented the consideration of their plans. They were not without friends in England. The Convention Parliament voted that the abrogation of the New England charters was a grievance. The Presbyterians solicited their restoration. Lord Wharton, a relic of the old Commonwealth days, used his influence to the same effect. Tillotson and Burnet—the two most prominent Churchmen of the time—urged the policy as well as justice of keeping faith with the colonists. But neither William nor his Minister, Somers, was inclined to the restoration of the old charter of Massachusetts, to which, in truth, there were many objections; and in 1691 the agents agreed that, instead of seeking a renewal of that charter, they would petition for another, with more ample privileges than the last. That they had the support of Mary was made evident at an interview with the Queen. She said that she had spoken several times to the King on behalf of New England, and that she desired the people might receive not only justice, but favour. William was not so readily moved. With the phlegmatic caution of his race and of his personal character, he hesitated as to giving an answer, and it was whispered that the King had been prejudiced against the New Englanders by persons about the court. Fears were entertained by the Massachusetts agents that a Governor would again be set over the colonies, and that some one would be chosen who would be distasteful to the people. Mather represented to the King the unfitness of an Episcopalian for exercising the chief authority in a nation of Dissenters; but William desired to retain the privilege of appointing the Governor,

and inquired of his Council whether he might legally make such an appointment. The Council told him in effect that, as the charter was vacated, he might institute what form of government he pleased. Thus fortified, he resolved to nominate a Governor, but to do so with due regard to the inclinations of the people themselves, according to what had been suggested by Increase Mather. At the same time, he promised to grant a new charter, and, departing for Holland, left instructions with the Attorney-General for drawing up a document such as he could sign on his return.

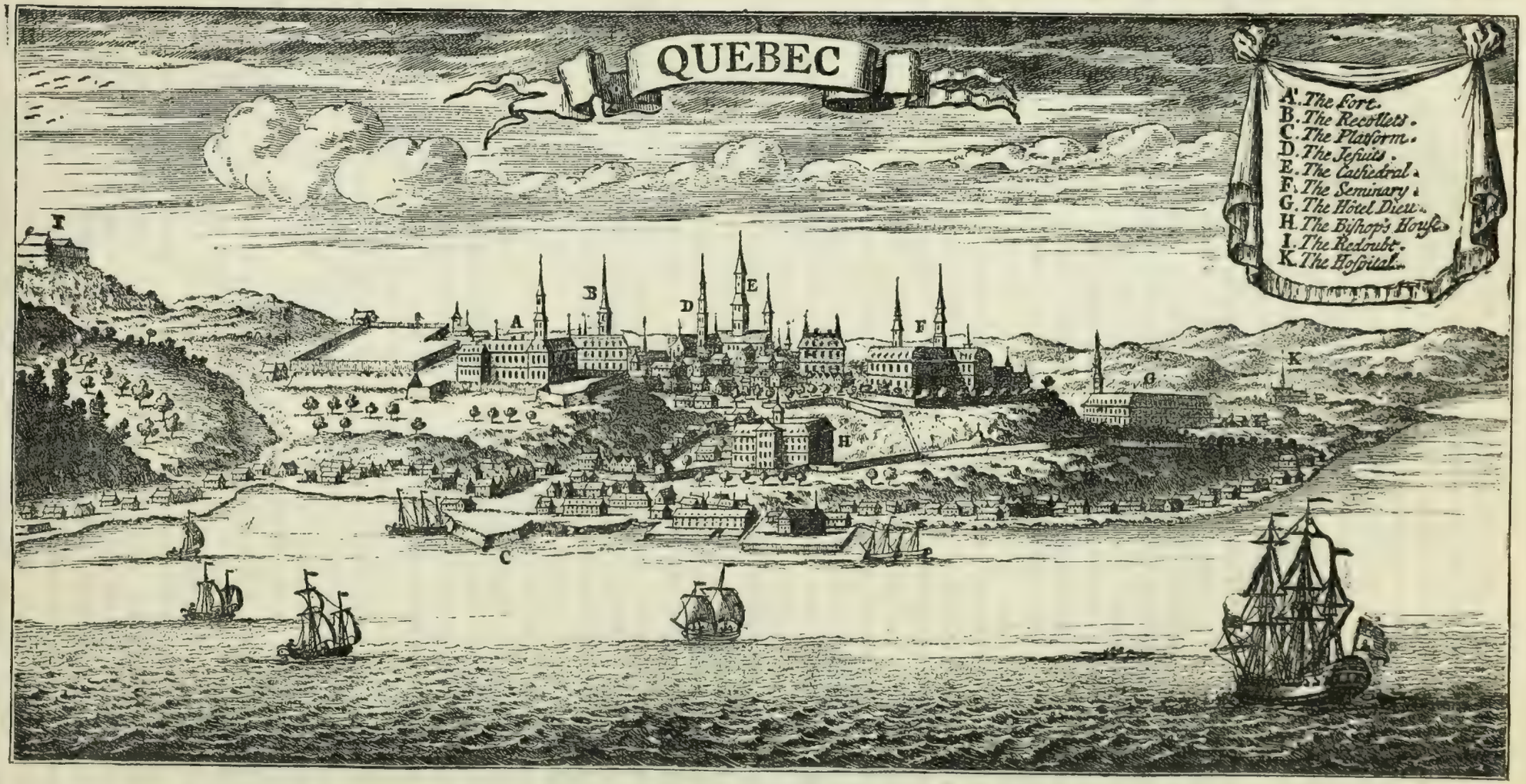
The change of dynasty, and the political revolution by which it was accompanied, soon proved less satisfactory to the rulers of Massachusetts than they had anticipated. King William was as anxious to retain a firm hold over the New England colonies, and to reserve to himself a right of veto, as Charles or James. He would grant them privileges, but would permit nothing like a position of independence. The draught of the Attorney-General gave so much dissatisfaction to Mather that he protested against it, and was told by the Council that the agents of New England were not plenipotentiaries from a sovereign State, but subjects who must submit to the King's pleasure. Nevertheless, Mather, Phipps, and the other representatives of Massachusetts in England, sent over their objections to the King himself, but could obtain nothing more than the addition of a few articles of a nature to please the popular party in the colonies. The agents were in considerable doubt as to whether they should accept the proposed charter, or stand a trial at law for reversing the legal judgment by which the former had been annulled. The new patent was in some respects less favourable than the old, in some respects more so; and it seemed a moot point on which side the balance of advantages lay. At length, however, it was determined to receive what was offered, and make the best of it. The better-instructed politicians wisely reflected that the charter of 1629, even if it could be regained, was a very unsatisfactory instrument when strictly construed; that it made no provision for a House of Deputies; that it conferred no power to impose taxes on the inhabitants who were not freemen; that it did not include the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire; and that the liberties which Massachusetts enjoyed had been acquired rather in defiance of the original patent than by means of it. If, then, that patent should be restored, and the colonial Government should exercise the same powers as before, the plantation might be subjected to pains and penalties against which there would be no sufficient defence. These were the main considerations which led to the acceptance of the charter of William and Mary.

Instead of a mere trading corporation, as in the earlier patent, the later document (which is dated Westminster, October 7th, 1691) erected the colony into a province, and conferred on the General Court as much power within its jurisdiction as the Parliament of England possessed in the parent country. All the liberties and privileges of Englishmen were granted to the colonists, and they could be touched by no law or tax but of their own making. The freedom of their religious worship was for ever secured, and the titles to their lands, the disputing of which had been so great a grievance under the rule of Andros, were permanently confirmed. The Governor, though appointed by the Crown, could not make a Counsellor, a Judge, a Justice of the Peace, nor even a Sheriff, without the consent of the local authorities. In all important respects, the government of the settlement remained in the hands of the people; and no power was wanting either to the creation or the upholding of a state of freedom. On the other hand, the almost complete independence of earlier years was prevented by special provisions. The nomination and powers of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and Officers of the Admiralty, were wholly reserved to the Crown. The Militia was placed under the command of the Governor, who had the ordering of all military affairs. All Judges and Justices, whether of a superior or inferior order, as well as the Sheriffs, were to be nominated and appointed by the representative of the sovereign, though only with the advice and consent of the Council of Assistants, to be chosen annually by the General Court. To the Governor was granted a veto on all laws, elections, and Acts of the General Assembly and Council; and even after the laws had been approved by the Governor, it was necessary that they should be transmitted to London for ratification by the King, who might disallow them at any time within the space of three years.

There were here, undoubtedly, some rather considerable limitations of the popular power, but none such as seriously endangered the self-government of the plantation. The machinery for retaining a distinct connection between the colony and the mother country was similar to that which exists at the present day in Canada, Australia, and other British possessions, and which has been found consistent with a political condition of perfect freedom and prosperity. The appointment of superior officers, and the command of the forces, could not result in the creation of a despotism as long as the people themselves were virtuous and

resolute. The Governor's veto might at times be vexatious, but could hardly prove an insuperable barrier to any policy on which the colonists had earnestly set their hearts; nor was the prerogative of the sovereign likely to be exercised except in extreme cases, where the interests of the Empire might seem to be imperilled. It must be admitted, however, that the extension of the King's veto over so long a period as three years was a real grievance and practical hardship. That there was the possibility of an unwise and unjustifiable use of these powers will of course be conceded. But colonies cannot reasonably expect the absolute independence which belongs to sovereign States; and the disadvantages of partial subjection are counterbalanced by the benefits to be derived from association with Imperial rule. The petty tyrannies of Massachusetts, in the days of her unchecked power, were the faults of a petty provincialism, which had been so long cut off from the great world of varying interests and diverse views as to be incapable of sympathy with the largest interests of a commonwealth. The elder Winthrop, Endicott, Leverett, and the other early Governors, were far from being unjust men in desire or intention. They were certainly not self-seekers. In many respects they were liberal and statesmanlike. But they needed the check of a higher and broader organisation; and it was because they had no such check that they committed acts which entailed a certain, if tardy, retribution, and placed them at the mercy of men like the second Charles and James. William III.—a man of honour, of probity, of political wisdom, and of a solid and sedate liberalism—avoided the errors of the two last monarchs; yet he felt compelled in some degree to adopt their colonial policy. He had to preserve the integrity of the great English Empire which had been committed to his charge, and to consider, not the predominance of a particular party in one section of that Empire, but the interests of the whole. That the charter of 1691 gave substantial guarantees for the well-being of Massachusetts, is proved by the course of affairs in that colony for some generations. A document which had Somers for its chief author was not likely to do less.

The province created by this patent included Massachusetts proper, New Plymouth, Maine, Acadie or Nova Scotia (which had not then again passed under French rule), and all the territories lying between Nova Scotia and Maine. The whole was to go under the general designation of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England. By this arrangement, New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts: but the division did not last long. The Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Secretary, were to act in conjunction with eight and twenty Assistants or Counsellors, nominated in the first instance by the King, but afterwards to be chosen annually by the General Court, consisting of the Assistants themselves, and the Deputies. The Deputies were to be in the proportion of two members to each town or place, with liberty to the Court to revise that number in subsequent years, as it might be found necessary. The qualification for voting was the possession of a freehold estate in land, within the province, to the value of forty shillings a year, or of some other estate to the value of £50 sterling. The suffrage, consequently, was not universal; the old English principle of basing representation on property was studiously preserved. The members so elected were, together with the Governor and other officials, to take the oaths which, by an Act passed in the first year of the existing reign, were substituted for the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and the oaths thus substituted might be administered to any person within the colony. To the Governor was given full power to adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the General Court, and, with the advice and consent of the Council of Assistants, to appoint Judges and other officers of justice. Liberty of conscience in the worship of God was allowed to all Christians, excepting Papists. The General Court was invested with authority to erect and constitute Judicatories, Courts of Record, and other Courts, to be held in the King's name, for the trial of crimes and offences, and the hearing of civil causes; but the claim of the earlier colonists to act in such matters without any appeal to England was not recognised. "Whereas," said the new charter, "we judge it necessary that all our subjects should have liberty to appeal to us, our heirs and successors, in cases that may deserve the same," it was ordained that, in case either party should not rest satisfied with the judgment or sentence of any of the provincial Judicatories or Courts, in any personal action wherein the matter in difference exceeded the value of £300 sterling, such person might appeal to the King in Privy Council, which might be either the Provincial Council or the Council in England. The laws which the General Court was to have power to enact were to be such as should not be repugnant to the laws of England. The said Court was to have full power to nominate annually all civil officers within the province, excepting such as were to be appointed by the King or his representatives; to levy all necessary taxes; and so to dispose all matters and things as to insure the religious, peaceable, and civil government of the



OLD VIEW OF QUEBEC. (*From Popple's American Atlas*, 1730.)

colony, that thus the good life and orderly conversation of the people might win the Indians to the profession and practice of the Christian faith, which, it was observed, was avowedly the principal design of the plantation when it was first set on foot. With respect to military service, it was expressly provided that the Governor should have no power to transport any of the people beyond the limits of the province without their own consent, nor to exercise martial law on them without the advice and consent of the Council of Assistants. The power of Admiralty Courts was reserved to the sovereign; but nothing in the charter was to be taken as barring or hindering any of the King's subjects in the trade of fishing on the coasts of New England, or in the salt-water rivers. Lastly, for the better providing and furnishing of masts to the Royal Navy, the charter reserved to the Crown all large-sized trees growing on any tract of land not previously granted to any private person.

Conscious, perhaps, that, notwithstanding the liberality of many of its provisions, there were some things in this patent which would hurt the self-love of the New Englanders, the King conferred on the Massachusetts agents the favour of appointing their first Governor. Their choice fell on Sir William Phipps, and the hero of the expedition to the Spanish wreck kissed hands on his elevation to this new dignity. He was not the most fortunate selection, for, though an honest man, he had rather the qualities of a sea-captain than a statesman. Rough in his manners, fanatical in his religious views, uninstructed in the arts of government, and identified with a disastrous failure, he was hardly the person to give dignity to the post he was called on to fill. Yet, on landing at Boston in May, 1692, he was received with acclamations by the majority of the people. His first act was to call a General Assembly of the province, which he opened with a speech urging the deputies to prepare a body of good laws with all despatch, and promising that whatever Bills they might offer to him, consistent with the honour and interest of the Crown, he would readily pass. "Whenever," he said, "you have settled such a body of good laws that no person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not to continue one day longer in the Government." It was not merely law-making, however, that the new Governor had to consider. The country was still devastated by the Indians of the north-east, and it was necessary to take measures for the better protection of the outlying settlements. The savages of Maine and the neighbouring territories knew Phipps well. They had fished and hunted with him in his youth; they did not forget that he was a native of that part of America, and was intimately acquainted with their haunts, and they saw in his appointment a sign that the war would be carried on with greater vigour.

Phipps was always better inclined to engage in daring enterprises than to sit quietly at home. At the head of four hundred and fifty men, he marched to Pemaquid, and gave orders for the building of a strong fort. It was finished in a few months, and had twenty-eight port-holes, with fourteen guns in position, and a garrison of sixty men. Being situated in the heart of the enemy's country, it produced a considerable effect in overawing the savages; but the cost of erecting this stronghold was so great that the people murmured at the addition to their taxes, and Phipps speedily lost the popularity with which he started. Another fort was built at Saco in 1693, and the Abenakis, being defeated in several scattered actions, and hunted from place to place, began to lose heart. They were by this time deserted by the French, who had more important work to do in other quarters; and they feared an invasion from the Maquas, a powerful tribe to the west, who had learned the use of fire-arms earlier than their neighbours, and, by one of the usual exaggerations of fear, enjoyed the reputation of having killed more than two millions of natives inhabiting the country on the borders of the Mississippi. The rebels were therefore disposed to peace, and the English were equally well-inclined to an understanding. A French friar who was with the Indians at the time did his utmost to dissuade them from coming to an agreement; but negotiations were opened at Fort Pemaquid, and in August, 1693, peace was concluded on favourable terms. By the articles, the Indians confessed that they had been led astray by the French, submitted themselves to the government of England, promised to oppose the Canadian tribes, and renounced their claim to lands already occupied by the English. It was further agreed that all trade and commerce which might subsequently arise between the Indians and the English should be under settled rules of management, and that, in case of any controversy arising, or any real or supposed wrong, proper application should be made to the Government for remedy in a court of justice. For the due execution of these terms, hostages were delivered to Sir William Phipps. All looked well for the time; but the prospects of a permanent peace were illusory.

The condition of the newly-created province of Massachusetts Bay was at this period deplorable. Trade had greatly diminished; taxation had equally

increased; apprehension and discord spread throughout the colony; and Sir William Phipps, less from faults of his own than from the difficulties of the situation generally, soon came to be regarded as a failure. Cotton Mather had from the first desired to see some post of importance conferred on William Stoughton, who had acted as Deputy-President under Dudley, and who had made himself so unpopular that, in the election of judges shortly afterwards, he was passed over without a vote. Why Cotton Mather, who belonged to the opposite party, should have been so solicitous for his advancement, does not appear; but he urged his father, Increase Mather, while the matter was yet pending, to do something for Stoughton, who shortly afterwards received the appointment of Deputy-Governor. Of the twenty-eight Assistants nominated by the King, the elder Mather wrote that every one was a friend to the interests of the churches. The younger Mather cried exultingly that the time for favour had come; that, instead of his being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers, he was in a position of command, as several of his relatives, and many brethren of his own church, were in the Council, while the Governor of the province was a member of his flock, and one of his dearest friends. Yet the new Government was scarcely more popular than that of Andros. It was wanting in marked ability; it had to encounter difficulties of no ordinary kind; and its failures made it disliked by those who could probably have done no better.

In his dealings with the Indians, Sir William Phipps is certainly deserving of praise. He threw a new vigour into the war with the Abenakis, and, having extorted a peace, exerted himself to remove any grievances of which they may have had just cause to complain, and to wean them from their attachment to the French. Early in 1694, in the midst of a very hard winter, he journeyed into the north-eastern districts, and, having sent for several of the principal sachems, gave them presents, and treated them with great respect. Proposals were made for opening a lucrative trade, and Phipps offered to leave behind him an Indian preacher, who would give instruction in the Protestant faith. The Abenakis were glad of the trade, but cared not for the missionary. They had been converted to Roman Catholicism by French priests, who had assured them (so at least they stated) that Christ had been crucified by Englishmen. Phipps was not successful in his endeavours to detach the Indians from their French allies. They were afraid of offending such powerful neighbours, especially as the English were not in a position to offer them armed assistance. The attempt, therefore, came to nothing; but it was well-meant, and not badly conceived. The Governor, however, could ill afford another failure. His unpopularity was becoming every day more serious, and at length his enemies drew up articles of impeachment, and sent them over to the King, with a request for his displacement, and for the appointment of a committee to take depositions against him for maladministration. The King, determining to hear the case himself, recalled the Governor, and cited his accusers to appear at Whitehall in prosecution of their charges. Phipps embarked for England towards the end of November, 1694, carrying with him an address from the General Assembly, commending his faithful services to the country, and begging that he might not be displaced. The accusations against him were in fact never examined. The accusers did not appear in support of their imputations, and it is probable that Phipps would have been restored to his post had not death terminated his career. He caught a malignant fever, and expired on the 18th of February, 1695, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Cotton Mather's friend, Stoughton, the Deputy-Governor, now succeeded to the chief post. He found the colony in the midst of a renewed Indian war in the north-east. The French had again excited the tribes to fury, and the usual atrocities of savage warfare were committed in many lonely settlements. The chiefs of the Micmacs presented to Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, a grisly trophy of English scalps, taken from the heads of those who had been killed on the Piscataqua. French priests encouraged these horrors by exhortation and by praise. Charlevoix, the Jesuit historian of his countrymen's colonising efforts in North America, eulogises the valorous feats of the Abenakis, who burnt towns and villages, murdered men, led women into captivity, and behaved with unchecked barbarity to inoffensive children. No great successes were obtained in the open field, but the country was kept in a state of alarm for years, and the English power was compromised by its manifest inability to prevent such disasters. The worst thing that happened was the surrender of Pemaquid fort in 1696. The French had taken an English man-of-war, with which they appeared before the fort, and landed a body of soldiers, who were soon joined by a party of Indians. This struck so much terror into the commander that he surrendered his stronghold without firing a gun. The French then demolished the works, and retired. Chub, the commander, was temporarily arrested for dereliction of duty, and, being ultimately deprived of his commission, was sent home to his house at

Andover, where, a year or two later, he was killed, together with his wife and some others, by a party of Indians.

Misfortunes continued to thicken on the English, and ill-success attended all their measures. Towards the close of 1696, the Indians were so inspirited by their good fortune that they threatened to ruin the whole country in the following summer. A bad harvest, resulting in a scarcity of bread which amounted almost to a famine, added to the other calamities of the time; and political discontent took the most dangerous of all forms—that of the clamorous demand for food. The savages remained quiet during the winter, but with the spring of 1697 were again in arms, pouring down on small settlements with the terrific war-whoop, and murdering indiscriminately all whom they did not capture. At Haverhill a tragical incident occurred. Hannah Dunstan, a married woman, was lying in bed with an infant not more than a week old, when the Indians burst upon the town. No man was in the dwelling at the time; only Hannah Dunstan, the nurse, and eight young children. The husband was at work in the fields, but, seeing the enemy approaching, he rode home in the hope of repelling the attack. The children were bidden at once to fly to the nearest garrison, and Dunstan then warned his wife of her danger; but before she could rise the savages were so near that, finding it impossible to carry her off, he rode after the little ones, who had crept into the surrounding forest. Sometimes facing back on the pursuing Indians, and pointing his gun at them, sometimes cheering the frightened children as they fled through the tangled wood-paths, Dunstan hurried on, and gained a place of safety. The savages wreaked their vengeance where they could be less opposed. The house was rifled and burnt; the new-born infant was dashed against a tree, and killed; and Mrs. Dunstan, the nurse, and several of the neighbours, were carried off by the attacking party. They were forced to march at so great a pace that in a few days they had travelled a hundred and fifty miles; and any one who lagged behind was immediately slain. Mrs. Dunstan and the nurse were to serve an Indian family consisting of two men, three women, and seven children, all of them Roman Catholic converts, very particular in their religious observances. Their master resolved to carry them to an Indian rendezvous beyond Penacook, about two hundred miles from the place where he lived, in order that, in accordance with a native custom, they might run the gauntlet through the whole army. Ultimately, Mrs. Dunstan, her nurse, and a boy from Worcester, Massachusetts, found themselves on an island in the Merrimac, above Concord. A little before daybreak, one spring morning, Mrs. Dunstan, observing the family asleep, proposed to the nurse and the boy to put them all to death. The plan had been discussed for some days, and the boy, Samuel Leonardson, had asked his master where he would strike to kill instantly. The Indian told him where, and also how to scalp. When the right moment arrived, the two women and the boy took each a tomahawk, and smote with stern resolve at the sleeping barbarians. Ten speedily lay dead; one of the squaws was wounded, but not mortally; a child was spared because of its infancy. Then the three English people escaped in a bark canoe, floated down the Merrimac to the settlements of their country people, and exhibited, in a grim spirit of rivalry to the savages themselves, the scalps of the enemies they had slain. A reward of £50 was voted for them by the General Assembly, and presents from private hands gave expression to the popular satisfaction.

Aided by the French, the Indians continued throughout 1697 to give trouble to the English colonists; but they did not succeed in obtaining complete command of Maine. An alarming rumour, however, led to serious preparations for resistance. It was said that the French King intended to send a fleet to ravage the coast of New England, and to conquer New York. But the design, if ever entertained, was not carried out; and at the close of 1697 the Peace of Ryswick put an end to the war. By the terms of the treaty, France was allowed to retain Hudson's Bay, a moiety of Newfoundland, the whole of Canada, the valley of the Mississippi, and the entire eastern coast, with its adjacent islands, from Maine to beyond Labrador. Such was to be the French territory in America, stated in general terms; but the precise lines of demarcation were left to be settled by commissioners. It was ultimately proposed that the boundary to the east should be the river St. George, as a compromise between the French claim to the Kennebec on the one hand, and the English claim to the St. Croix on the other; but peace did not last long, and the question remained unsettled. The boundary between New France and New York led to a long and excited discussion, which did not terminate in favour of the English. Both the English and French laid claim to the domains of the Five Nations. During the last few years of the war, Frontenac had conducted several operations against those tribes; had burnt many villages, slain many warriors, and left the remainder to suffer from a famine, brought about by the destruction of their crops. Notwithstanding this treatment, the Iroquois

now inclined rather to the French than to the English alliance, because the religious converts among them were Roman Catholics rather than Protestants. On commercial grounds, the interests of these savages were on the side of England; but religious conviction is one of the strongest motives that influence mankind. The moral power of the Jesuits over the Five Nations was so great that in 1700 the Legislature of New York made it death to any Popish priest who should enter the province. Nevertheless, the French were able, in that very year, to effect a peace between the tribes of the Iroquois on the one side, and themselves with their native allies on the other. It was declared at the same time that hostilities should cease between the Sioux and the Indian tribes in amity with the French, and that this peace should reach beyond the Mississippi. The English still continued to trade with the Five Nations; but France was supreme on the great lakes, and in June, 1701, a French Jesuit, accompanied by a hundred of his countrymen, formed a settlement at Detroit, in the present State of Michigan.

The Earl of Bellamont was now Governor of New England and New York. He arrived in America in 1698, and in the following year recommended to the General Court of Massachusetts the repair of their fortifications, the accumulation in them of warlike stores, the settling of a free trade with the Indians, and the passing of laws agreeable to those of England. Quitting Boston for New York in the summer of 1699, he made the latter city the place of his official residence to the end of his life, leaving Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton to represent him in the capital of Massachusetts. New England and New York were thus once more united, but only so far as the personal rule of the Governor was concerned. To Lord Bellamont was also assigned the direction of affairs in New Hampshire. The condition of that province long continued very unsettled. In 1690, the colonists had, by the solemn vote of a popular convention, united themselves with Massachusetts; but, by the charter granted to the latter colony in 1691, the right to the soil claimed by Samuel Allen, of London, who had purchased it of Mason, was fully recognised. Allen himself received a Royal commission to govern the people, and his son-in-law, John Usher, of Boston, Colonial Treasurer of Massachusetts under Dudley, and afterwards one of the adherents of Sir Edmund Andros, acted as Lieutenant-Governor. Usher organised a government; but it gave no satisfaction to the people, and the legal position of the colonists was for years made the subject of lawsuits which wasted large sums of money without settling anything. The conduct of Usher was resented by the people as tyrannical; that of the people was denounced by Usher as turbulent; and in 1699 the home Government placed the colony under the rule of Lord Bellamont, assisted by a judiciary composed of men who had the confidence of the popular party. Although this put an end to political disquietude, it did nothing towards solving the question of proprietary rights. Those rights were frequently urged in the colonial courts, where the verdict was always given against the proprietor. Appeals were made to the English sovereign in council, but without any conclusive result. Records of the court under Cranfield, the Governor of the province in the time of Charles II., were destroyed, and other documents withheld. Orders from the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations were disregarded, and every device that quick and not very scrupulous wits could imagine was resorted to for defeating the rights of Allen and his heirs. At length, in 1715, the claim was abandoned in despair of enforcing it. The people of New Hampshire thenceforth enjoyed quiet possession of the soil, and the waste domains reverted to the Crown. A descendant of Mason subsequently renewed the original claim, on the ground of a defect in the conveyance to Allen; but the litigations were finally closed by a relinquishment, on the part of the claimants, of all but the unoccupied portions of the territory. In 1741, New Hampshire was finally disjoined from Massachusetts; but even previous to the separation the former province had had a distinct legislative Assembly, and was the author of its own laws.

The death of Simon Bradstreet, in the spring of 1698, removed the last of the original colonists of Massachusetts. Dying in the ninety-fifth year of his age, he connected the widely-separated epochs of Charles I. and William III. Born in the year that Queen Elizabeth expired, he missed by only four years seeing the commencement of the reign of Anne. It is said that at ninety his intellectual force was hardly abated; but in his failing days he earnestly desired to be at rest. Cotton Mather tenderly and beautifully observes that it seemed as if death were conferred on him, rather than life taken away. The great age to which several of the early colonists and their children attained is worthy of note; yet we find Increase Mather remarking in 1684 on the frequency of sudden deaths in New England.*

The state of New England at the close of the

* Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, chap. 12.

seventeenth century was of a nature to excite mingled feelings of apprehension and hope. The colony had for several years been desolated in its more remote parts by a savage war, stimulated and aided by a civilised but hostile neighbour. It was burdened by a debt which for a country not rich was heavy. Its trade, which forty years before had been considerable, was now greatly reduced. A succession of misfortunes had diminished the wealth of its merchants, and broken the spirits of its commonalty. The independence of a previous generation had been forced to give way, first before the legal proceedings of Charles, then before the tyranny of James, and lastly before the new charter of William and Mary, which, while it respected the rights of the people, was not forgetful of prerogative. Internal dissensions were more rife than in the primitive times; a class of poor had arisen to trouble the repose of the rich. On the other hand, the plantations were firmly established. There was no longer any room to doubt that the great experiment of another England beyond the seas was destined to succeed. Numerous towns had sprung up in the wilderness. From the Penobscot to Long Island Sound, from the Atlantic to the Hudson, the territory had been reclaimed from the forest and the morass, and made to yield crops, of which the Indians before the coming of the English had known nothing. Civilised societies had taken the place of barbarian federations, which had wasted the capabilities of the soil by the ignorance and anarchy of savage life. A love of reading was very common among the people, and as early as 1686 a large number of London booksellers had made considerable fortunes by their trade. Lord Bellamont, a few years later, remarked with agreeable surprise on the graceful and courteous demeanour of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut. Yet, although these artificial charms of the old society lived again in the thinly populated townships of America, it could not be doubted that new political ideas were being developed under the new conditions of colonial existence; and, despite temporary failures and local drawbacks, it was evident that a great commonwealth, of English origin, was shaping itself in the western world, the future of which was already beginning to trouble jealous observers in the old domain. It was anticipated by several that the colonists would in time throw off their allegiance to the mother country, and establish a republic. They had come very near doing so in the time of Charles I., and on the face of things it was not unlikely that, with increasing numbers and greater self-reliance, they would again place before themselves the goal of independence as the promised land of their national pilgrimage. There were those in England who had the blindness to recommend a total subjection to the Crown as the only way of checking this tendency. They ought rather to have aimed at a continually increasing development of the principle of local self-rule, combined with the personal tie of a Governor appointed by the sovereign, and representing the grandeur and stability of the whole Empire.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Unsettled State of South Carolina after the Revolution of 1688–9—Extinction of the Constitution of Shaftesbury and Locke—Joseph Archdale, the Quaker—His wise Government in South Carolina—Illiberality of the Proprietors—Prosperity of the Planters—Condition of North Carolina—Tyranny and Turbulence—Popular Rising—Sir Edmund Andros Governor of Virginia—The William and Mary College—Deficiency of Education in Virginia, and General State of the Country—Characteristics of the Government of Andros—Position of the Church of England in Virginia and Maryland—Establishment of the Royal Government in the Territory of the Baltimores—Unjust Treatment of the Roman Catholics—Life in Maryland—Effect of the English Revolution of 1688 in New York—Insurrection under Jacob Leisler, and Subsequent Course of Events—Disagreements between New York and Connecticut.

The two Carolinas passed through a period of considerable agitation after the Revolution of 1688–9. In South Carolina, much internal disturbance resulted from the bickerings of the Church of England emigrants with those who professed Presbyterian views. The first-named formed the minority, and were for the most part free-livers, and men opposed to popular power. The latter were persons of more liberal ideas, yet inclined to support the proprietaries as the legal holders of authority. Persistent injustice, however, at length converted the Presbyterians into opponents of the existing order; and when Colleton was deposed, Seth Sothel, though one of the body of proprietors, and not favourably known by his previous rule in North Carolina, was in 1690 chosen by the people to succeed him. His adminis-

tration was at first conducted in accordance with the expressed will of the commonalty, meeting in a freely-elected Assembly. Measures of defence were adopted; military stores were acquired; a revenue was established; and in 1691 the Huguenot refugees were placed on the footing of freeborn citizens. But, notwithstanding these just and reasonable provisions, the colony remained in a very unsettled state. The people were split into factions, and the acts of the Legislature were rejected by the proprietors. After a time, Sothel became as despotic as his predecessors; and on his deposition by the people, in 1692, Philip Ludwell, formerly Collector of Customs in Virginia, and more recently Governor of North Carolina, was sent to the southern plantation to re-establish the supremacy of the proprietary body. But he was quite incapable of effecting such a result, and, withdrawing into Virginia, he left the South Carolinians to that condition of anarchy which now seemed chronic. The proprietors at length opened their eyes to the necessity of concession. In April, 1693, they voted "that, as the people had declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitution" —that of Shaftesbury and Locke, which has already been described—"it would be for their quiet, and for the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." Philosophical constitutions, the work of scholars sitting in their studies, and elaborating details out of certain general principles, the truth or falsity of which, under particular conditions, can only be tested by experience, seldom survive the rough collision of ordinary needs. It was so with this ingenious production of two of the most eminent men of the seventeenth century. The people of South Carolina wanted a plain, workable government, with reasonable provision for the maintenance of their interests; and this was not furnished them by Shaftesbury and Locke.



A VISTA IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Thomas Smith, who in a former year had advised the establishment of martial law as a means of suppressing the populace, was appointed Governor



MRS. DUNSTAN ESCAPING DOWN THE MERRIMAC.

after the abrogation of the constitution. He was of course the nominee of the proprietary, and as such was unable to agree with the people, who, having set on foot a system of biennial Assemblies, were in a position to dispute his policy with great effect. Smith was an honest, well-meaning, and personally blameless man, despite his leanings towards martial law as a cure for disaffection; and, finding that he made no progress towards the pacification of the country, he suggested, in 1694, that one of the proprietors should visit the settlement, with powers of inquiry and redress. This resulted in the selection of John Archdale, a Quaker, and one of the body appealed to, as a species of dictator over the turbulent and uneasy colonists. He acted with exemplary fairness and liberality. Being himself a Dissenter, he did not pass over Nonconformists in the filling of offices; but High Churchmen also were employed. He laid it down as a rule that men should always find an enlargement of their native rights in a wilderness which they have left their own country to colonise. He formed his Council in such a way as to reflect the predominant feeling of the settlement. He remitted quit-rents for a term of years; he regulated the price of land and the form of conveyances; and by other concessions and re-arrangements he soon established a state of comparative concord. A board was created for settling disputes between the Indians and the Europeans, and the former were treated with so much consideration that, with the generosity of which red men are not incapable, they always behaved with exemplary kindness towards any unfortunate sailors who might be shipwrecked on the coasts. Archdale exhibited those political virtues which are so often found amongst Quakers. A House of Assembly was elected by the people, who, by means of a militia, were allowed to retain their own defence in their own hands. Friendly relations were maintained with the Spaniards at St. Augustine; and Archdale, as a proof that he had none but kindly feelings towards a nation at that time regarded as the hereditary enemy of England, and with whose religious opinions he could assuredly have had no sympathy, ransomed four Indians, converts of the Spanish priests, who had been taken captive by a hostile tribe, and sent them to the Governor of the Spanish settlement.

On leaving South Carolina to return to England, in 1696, Archdale had the satisfaction of knowing that he had established the prosperity of the plantation on a sure foundation. The representatives of the people gratefully acknowledged the fact, and New England men, seeking a more genial climate, found in this luxuriant and beautiful land a place where they could live under political institutions not inferior to their own. After the departure of Archdale, and probably as a consequence of his wisdom, the Huguenots, who had again been subjected to disabilities, were once more enfranchised by the colonial Legislature. With the exception of Papists, liberty of conscience was granted to all Christians. The proprietary body in England were not inclined to endorse in all respects the liberal ideas of Archdale. They passed a new code, in which they asserted that the natural foundation of political power is in property. The expression is a strange one; for even if it be advisable, on grounds of expediency, to associate the suffrage with some form of property, this surely cannot be called a natural foundation. It is in fact an artificial basis for an exclusive superstructure; as men build their houses on piles where the soil is naturally infirm. The laws which the English proprietors deduced from their very questionable maxim were rejected by the Provincial Assembly in 1702, after a prolonged debate. But the colony was not in accord with itself on the subject of religion, and the disagreement led to unfortunate results. Although the Dissenters were in a considerable majority among the people, the followers of the Church of England contrived, in the year 1704, to obtain one more representative in the Assembly than their opponents. They used the power thus acquired in the most tyrannical manner. Disfranchising all who held Nonconformist views, and creating an arbitrary Court of High Commission for the trial of ecclesiastical causes and the preservation of religious uniformity, they established a political monopoly on their own behalf. This revolution was eagerly approved by the proprietors, although Archdale did his utmost to oppose it. Its effect was speedily seen in the legal establishment of the Church of England in South Carolina, as a specially privileged body; but a number of lay commissioners were appointed to exercise supreme authority over the colonial clergy. Some such check was necessary to restrain a spiritual despotism which otherwise would have been perfectly uncurbed; but at best it could only confine within somewhat straiter bounds an evil which was perfectly gratuitous.

Even with this extraneous check, the evil became so serious, and the means of redress in the colony itself were so entirely wanting, that the South Carolinian Dissenters appealed to the House of Lords in 1706, and obtained the powerful advocacy of Somers. The Peers agreed to a resolution condemning the attempt to establish religious uniformity in South Carolina as "an encourage-

ment to Atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tending to the ruin and depopulation of the province." The Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations reported that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter, and the acts of which complaint had been made were declared by Queen Anne to be null and void. The colonial Assembly had no choice but to give way, and the Dissenters again acquired their political rights, though the Church of England retained its position as the established religion of the colony. It had hitherto done very little towards the support of religion in the colony, which had only one edifice belonging to the Church of England at the close of the seventeenth century. The Dissenters were equally ill-provided; and outside of Charleston there was no place of worship whatever in the whole of South Carolina. The colony, however, enjoyed a period of comparative repose, and its prosperity, which had steadily increased even during the era of disruption, advanced with still more rapid strides. One of the principal productions of the country was rice, which had been introduced from Madagascar. It soon came to be regarded as the best rice in the world; but the fields were cultivated by negro slaves, and the wealth of the planters was built up by a form of labour which was destined to become the special curse of America. Both the Carolinas had a considerable trade in the skins of wild animals and in timber. For the former, adventurous traders penetrated into the interior many hundreds of miles, and the glades of distant forests were thus made known for future colonisation.

In North Carolina very few slaves were to be found, and the white people enjoyed a state of almost boundless liberty. At that time, the more northern of the two Carolinas was described as a country in which there was scarcely any government; where laws hardly existed; and where every one did what was right in his own eyes, without paying tribute either to God or Cæsar. The people were denounced by royalist writers as an evilly-disposed crew of Quakers, Deists, and Atheists: they were in truth a motley gathering of Nonconformists of all shades of opinion, the wild freedom of whose sylvan lives did not permit of much formal or public worship. The proprietors determined, therefore, to set up the Church of England among them. It was enacted by the local Legislature that every one holding a place of trust must take an oath acknowledging the supremacy of that Church. Places of worship were erected at the public cost, and the Dissenters were discouraged by every means that could be devised. But the established form of religion made no progress. The opposition to its ministrations was deep and earnest, and the Quakers were accused of fomenting distractions in North Carolina, and spreading their anarchical views into Virginia. It is certain that for several years the colony was torn by dissensions which amounted almost to a civil war. The proprietors appointed a Governor whom the majority of the people would not receive. The popular party elected their own Governor and their own representative Assembly; so that two authoritative bodies were ruling at the same time. Compromise was impossible, and the Government of the proprietary, wanting the support of all but a few, was scarcely able to maintain itself. Violent and revengeful enactments were passed by what must perhaps be called the legal Legislature; but the would-be tyrants had no power to enforce their own laws. It was a common practice of the North Carolinians to imprison their Governor (who was generally a deputy of the Governor of South Carolina) whenever he was displeasing to them; and this they seem at length to have regarded as one of those customs that by repetition acquire the force of law. Doubtless they were a rough, turbulent set of men; but they were treated in a manner likely to exasperate them to the utmost.

By 1711, the antagonism of the two parties had reached an alarming point. The malcontents, headed by Thomas Cary, who in 1705 had been deputed to the Governorship by South Carolina, but who was afterwards deposed by the proprietors, took up arms, and, it was said at the time, were prepared to ally themselves with the Indians. Edward Hyde, the ruler appointed in England, called to his aid a veteran soldier named Spotswood, at that time the Governor of Virginia. Spotswood was inclined to assist. He regarded the rebels as incendiaries, and believed, not without reason, that their success might endanger the whole of the Queen's dominions in America. But his military judgment told him that a country so cut up by rivers and creeks, so burdened with forests, and so ill-provided with ordinary modes of intercommunication, was not fitted for the operation of large forces. A detachment of marines from the guard-ships was all the assistance sent by Spotswood, and nothing was effected, or even attempted. Cary and his friends, on the other hand, went into Virginia, and were despatched by Spotswood to England in a man-of-war, that they might lay their case before the home Government. But it was long ere the pacification of the province was brought about. The popular leaders continued to resist the nominees of the proprietary; the latter continued

to denounce the majority as criminals for whom no treatment could be too severe. Undeterred by these intestine feuds, emigrants still sought the fertile lands of North Carolina in large numbers. Swiss established themselves at New Berne, and Germans from the Palatinate added to the rapidly increasing population of the land. There was also a rather considerable Scotch immigration into several of the southern colonies.

All this while, Virginia pursued its course of prosperity without any material check. Beverley, a Virginian historian who wrote early in the eighteenth century, says there was such an entire absence of want in the province that, when five pounds were left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish in which he lived, the sum lay nine years before the executors could find any one poor enough to be entitled to part of the legacy, and at last it was all given to one old woman.* The rich were so hospitable that they would post their servants on the main roads for the purpose of bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass that way—a custom arising from the want of society in a country where there were few opportunities of amusement, and which lasted to a much later period than we are now considering. One of the earliest Governors of the Old Dominion under William III. was Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived there in 1692. The fortunes of that much-reviled gentleman had been singularly checkered during the previous few years. After his seizure by the insurgents of Boston in April, 1689, he was kept in prison until February, 1690. In accordance with an order from England, he was then sent home, together with his former colleagues, for trial. To prosecute the charges against him, Massachusetts commissioned Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes as assistants to their representatives in England, Sir Henry Ashurst and Increase Mather. The agents, however, do not appear to have even alleged anything against Andros; at any rate, they proved nothing; and the accused persons were at once acquitted. Hutchinson, one of the older historians of Massachusetts, says that this miscarriage was owing to the bad management of Sir John Somers, the counsel employed by the agents; but the probability is that Andros and his friends, however objectionable their policy, and however likely that policy to provoke a revolution, had not exceeded their legal powers. It certainly speaks well for Andros that he should so soon have received from the Whig monarch a new colonial appointment in America. A college had been established at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, during the rule of the last Governor; and for this institution Andros brought over a charter. The college received the name of William and Mary, and the new representative of royalty laid the foundation-stone of the building. The King gave endowments to this seminary, and its funds were augmented by a tax of a penny a pound on all tobacco exported to other plantations.

The William and Mary College was due to the energy of the Rev. James Blair, a Scotchman, but a minister of the Church of England, who in 1685 was sent out to Virginia by Archbishop Sancroft. In the reign of James I., Patrick Copland, chaplain of the East India Company, had made great efforts for the advancement of education in Virginia; but his project of a college for that plantation had not met with success. It was revived with better results by Blair. The state of the settlement was such as to render some special provision for intellectual culture highly necessary. Even as late as the beginning of last century, there was not one bookseller's shop in all Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina. Sir Josiah Child, writing in 1698, observed that "Virginia and Barbadoes were first peopled by a sort of loose, vagrate people, vicious, and destitute of means at home, being either unfit for labour, or such as could find none to employ themselves about, or had so misbehaved themselves by thieving and debauchery that none would give them work; which merchants and masters of ships, by their agents, or 'spirits' as they were called, gathered up about the streets of London and other places, to be employed upon plantations." This account must not be received without exceptions; but it was true to a considerable extent. The descendants of the original emigrants shared the wildness of some among their ancestors. Their magnificent climate disposed them to indolence; their possession of slave labour enabled them to be idle. The inhumanity with which the negroes were treated moved the indignation of an English clergyman, the Rev. Morgan Godwyn, who had been in Virginia, and who on his return to England, about 1680, drew attention to the wrongs of these unhappy beings. Profligacy was rife among the people; drinking, card-playing, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and sensual indulgence, occupied their time. The towns were so small and scattered that the country had the appearance of a wild desert. The condition of society was so primitive that tobacco was used as the ordinary currency, for lack of coin. Virginia was not likely to care much about scholarship, nor were there any means of gratifying such

* History of Virginia, 1705.

a desire, had the colonists possessed it. In the preamble to the Statutes of the William and Mary College, the state of education in Virginia is depicted in the darkest colours.

"Nowhere," says this document, "was there any greater danger on account of ignorance and want of instruction than in the English colonies of America, in which the first planters had much to do, in a country overrun with weeds and briars, and for many years infested with the incursions of the barbarous Indians, to earn a mean livelihood with hard labour. There were no schools to be found in those days, nor any opportunity for good education. Some few, and a very few indeed, of the richer sort, sent their children to England to be educated; and there, after many dangers from the seas and enemies, and unusual distempers occasioned by the change of country and climate, they were often taken off by small-pox and other diseases. It was no wonder if this occasioned a great defect of understanding and all sort of literature, and that it was followed with a new generation of men far short of their forefathers, which, if they had the good fortune, though at a very indifferent rate, to read and write, had no further commerce with the Muses or learned sciences, but spent their life ignobly with the hoe and spade, and other employments of an uncultivated and unpolished country."

The rule of Andros in Virginia was in many respects wise and liberal, though not of a nature to enlarge popular freedom. The Governor encouraged manufactures and the cultivation of cotton, and introduced reforms into the administration of affairs. He directed that all the public papers should be sorted and kept in order in the Secretary's office, and, when the State House was destroyed by fire, took measures for their careful preservation. In time he gained the respect and regard of the people; yet his powers were to some extent despotic. He was Lieutenant-General, Admiral, Lord Treasurer, Chancellor, Chief Judge, President of the Council, and head of the Church. The members of the Council were appointed by his recommendation, and could be removed at his pleasure. He had, together with the Crown, a veto on the acts of the Assembly. He was empowered to appoint a clerk to watch over the proceedings of the Legislature. He had the right of dissolving the representative chamber whenever he chose; and, as a perpetual revenue had been established some time before, he was not controlled by the necessity of asking from year to year for the means of meeting current expenditure. Still, the existence of a Parliamentary body of any kind is always a guarantee of liberty—a germ from which any people of sense may develop an ever-increasing mass of privileges. The Virginians, though pleased with many of the acts of Andros, were not inclined to let him have his way in all things. When special funds were wanted, they refused to supply them unless they were permitted to nominate a treasurer of their own, whose orders should not be interfered with by the Governor. The Assembly gave expression to its opinion that it was entitled to all the rights and privileges of the English Parliament; and it acted consistently on this view. Andros, however, had no serious difficulty with the Virginia Assembly. His recall, which took place in 1698, was owing to a quarrel with Blair as to the administration of the college.

The religion of Virginia was that of the Church of England as regards the major part of the population. The settlement had been a royalist colony from the first, and its faith was as courtly as its politics. Yet it was not without a Puritan element as well. In 1610, when Sir Thomas Dale, who had served in the army of the States-General, was appointed provisional Governor of Virginia, the Netherlands made proposals for joining in the settlement of the country, and several Dutchmen planted themselves about Henrico. They were Lutherans, and their minister was the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, an English Puritan, who has left some curious accounts of the native tribes, their manners, morals, and beliefs. Dissenters, therefore, were to be found in Virginia, as elsewhere; but the greater number of the people were Episcopalians. In the early days of the colony, the Virginia Company sent over clergymen to look after the settlers, but not in sufficiently large numbers, so that many were left without pastoral care. The General Assembly stated in 1623 that several of the ministers officiating in the plantation were laymen. That they were not invariably treated with respect appears from an official record stating that in 1632 a man was placed in the stocks for calling the Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Accomac, "a black-coated rascal." The Puritans of Virginia received their preachers from New England, but in the reign of Charles I. these were expelled. The Episcopalians were equally under a cloud while the English Commonwealth lasted; but the habitual tendency of the principal Virginians reasserted itself after the restoration of the monarchy. The right of presentation to livings lay with the parishes. The clergyman was recommended by the Governor, and licensed by the Bishop of London; but the actual choice was that of the parochial representatives. The hiring was from year to year; and, though English lawyers pronounced that the

ministers were in every case incumbents for life, the vestries claimed and exercised the right of dismissing them at pleasure. Thus the Church of England received in America a democratic element. It would seem that the provision for religion was not very liberal. There were instances in which only one place of worship existed in parishes extending fifty miles in length. Often the minister was only a lay reader, chosen because he could be had at a cheap rate, and James Town itself had no preacher for more than twenty years, except at brief intervals.

The planting of the Church of England in America was a work in which many joined with zeal, but which in some quarters made very slow progress. In the northern and middle colonies, it was not until the latter end of the seventeenth century that clergymen of the national Church began to obtain a recognised position. The first Episcopal society in Massachusetts was formed in 1686; and the first Episcopal chapel at Boston was erected in 1688. Even in the south, where the people were on the whole better inclined to such ministrations, the hindrances were



SOURCE OF THE ROANOKE, VIRGINIA.

numerous. It was stated by the Bishop of London in 1677 that Maryland had no settled maintenance for the ministry, the consequence of which was seen in a total absence of divine worship, except among those of the Romish belief, who, as was at that time conjectured, did not amount to one in a hundred of the population. To these representations of the Bishop, Charles, Lord Baltimore, replied: — "The Act of 1647, confirmed in 1676, tolerates and protects every sect. Four ministers of the Church of England are in possession of plantations which afford them a decent



YALE COLLEGE.

subsistence. From the various religious tenets of the members of the Assembly, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to induce it to consent to a law that shall oblige any sect to maintain other ministers than its own." Anglican clergymen were sent out to Maryland by the Bishop of London; but they either died speedily, or removed into Virginia. In 1685, the rites of the Church of England were not observed anywhere in the colony of the Baltimores, and a Mrs. Taney, wife of the Sheriff of Calvert County, wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft), in which she said that she and her family were seized with extreme horror when they reflected that for want of the Gospel they were in danger of being condemned to infidelity or apostasy. This lady rather pointedly reminded the Archbishop that the commission to baptise and teach all nations was large enough, to say nothing of the Marylanders being subjects of the King of England, and members of the English Church. An incidental allusion in the letter gives some idea of the difficulties which clergymen have to contend with in a young colony. It was not to be expected, said thoughtful Mrs. Taney, that a minister should ride ten miles in a morning, and ten more before he could dine, going from house to house even in the hottest weather, because of the want of churches, the large extent of parishes, and the insufficiency of pastors. Mrs. Taney accompanied her letter with a petition to the heads of the Church, from which it appears that she had in a former year petitioned Charles II. on the subject, and that a minister had accordingly been sent out, but had died shortly after. In consequence of these representations, several clergymen were despatched to Maryland, and the Church of England acquired a hold on the people. An Act was passed by the colonial Legislature for establishing and endowing the Episcopal Church; but the opposition of the Quakers and the Romanists was so great that this law was not enforced. In 1702, however, the

Church of England was finally and successfully established in Maryland, together with special provision for the toleration of Protestant Dissenters.

The transfer of power from Lord Baltimore to the representative of William III. was preceded by some disturbance. The proprietary ruler omitted to proclaim the new sovereign, even after it was officially known that James II. had been succeeded by the Prince of Orange. The people took up arms, and the deputies, who sided with Baltimore, were compelled to seek refuge in a garrison standing some little way above the mouth of the river Patuxent. Being unable to maintain themselves in this position, they capitulated, and at the same time consented to the exclusion of Papists from all offices in the colony. The government was then assumed by a convention for the defence of the Protestant religion, and an address was transmitted to King William, charging the Catholics with a series of crimes, for which there appears to have been no foundation. The Privy Council advised the forfeiture of the charter by process of law; but the monarch would not risk any such method of procedure. By an arbitrary exercise of his own authority, William constituted Maryland a Royal Government under the direction of Sir Lionel Copley. The act was perhaps one of doubtful legality, though sanctioned by the opinion of Chief Justice Holt; yet it was a step in a good direction, since the rule of a constitutional sovereign is better than that of a proprietary lord. The investigation into the conduct of Lord Baltimore failed to establish the charges that had been brought against him; and he was suffered to retain his patrimonial interest in the province, while deprived of his political powers.

The democratic convention in Maryland was dissolved by Sir Lionel Copley immediately on his arrival in 1692; an Assembly was elected, and Annapolis was now made the seat of government. The provincial Legislature did not get on very well with the mother country. An Act, containing a clause which established Magna Charta as part of the public law of the province, was rejected by the Crown in 1692; and in 1696 the claim of the colony to English rights and liberties, as introduced into another Act, was similarly disallowed. Yet, in the main, the Marylanders enjoyed a large amount of freedom. The one great exception to that condition was due to the colonial Legislature itself. The treatment of Catholics was cruel and unjust. The public profession of their tenets was forbidden, and they were subjected to every kind of disability;—so low had the power of Romanism fallen in a colony that had been founded by a Romanist; so imbued with the spirit of intolerance were those who objected to intolerance in others. These tyrannical laws were suspended in 1714 by an express mandate from Queen Anne; but in the meanwhile they had done much mischief. The hardship was especially serious in Maryland, because the province had been originally colonised as a place of refuge for Catholics, and still contained a large number of persons professing that form of faith. In other colonies, where Papists were not to be found, the prohibition had no worse effect than to keep them away. But in Maryland a population already Catholic in some degree was injuriously affected as regarded certain of its members. The Protestants, however, had a powerful majority, and they did what seemed good in their own eyes. Their action in the matter was not without one noteworthy effect. Benedict, son of the existing Lord Baltimore, renounced the Church of Rome for the Church of England.

The physical condition of Maryland at this period, and the character of its people, were similar in many respects to those of Virginia and the Carolinas. In the southern colonies, population did not increase so rapidly as in the northern. The towns were less numerous, smaller, and not nearly so important as seats of industry and centres of political life. The pursuits of the Marylanders, as of their southern neighbours, were for the most part agricultural. They grew tobacco, and hemp, and flax. A few manufactories of linen and woollen were established for supplying the actual needs of the population; but manufacture was not what the Marylanders aimed at. They were content to sell their raw material to others. They were a race of landowners, cultivating whatever the soil would produce. Living on their estates, they were isolated from one another, and congregated but little in urban communities. The primitive forest, even in the early part of the eighteenth century, still divided settlement from settlement by wide interspaces of unconquered desert. The roads to the capital were marked by notches on trees, as the children's path through the forest in the old fairy tale was identified on the return journey by a trail of shining stones that had been dropped along the way. Postal communication between Maryland and Philadelphia took place only eight times a year. It was necessary to wage a constant war with wolves, as the English did in the days of Edgar. Beyond the little towns and the enclosed settlements, savage life was fierce and triumphant. But the Indians gave the white men very little trouble, and peace for a long term of years was the rule in Maryland.

The power of the proprietary was restored in 1716, on the death of Lord Baltimore, and the succession of his Protestant heir. At the same time, however, the Royal sanction was declared to be necessary, in all the feudatory principalities of North America to confirm the nomination of the proprietary Governors. This political state was not again interrupted until the period of independence; but it seems to have had the effect of checking the development of Maryland. Government hardly existed at all in the plantation of the Baltimores. If to be lawless is to be happy, a great measure of happiness should have been the portion of the Marylanders. In 1729 they were so turbulent and averse to authority that they would not allow even a militia to be established. To grow and sell their commodities, to enjoy their rough pleasures, and to tyrannise over their negro slaves, made up for them the sum of felicity. No great measure of progress was possible under such conditions. A Governor appointed by the Crown, and acting in concert with an Assembly, might have promoted a higher social life; but the people desired no such change, and it was not thrust upon them. As it was, Maryland went on in its sluggish way, without many events of importance, until drawn into the vortex of the republican war.

The English Revolution of 1688 led to some deplorable events at New York. On information reaching that city as to what had happened in the Old World, a man named Jacob Leisler, of Low Country origin, placed himself at the head of the Dutch masses, and commenced a movement in favour of William of Orange. He was a captain of militia, and therefore possessed of influence with a number of men bearing arms, and trained to the use of them. But it was only the lower orders of his countrymen whose confidence he won. The wealthy Dutch landowners looked on him with distrust as a demagogue, and the English members of the population, excepting a few Dissenters, were heartily opposed to his designs. Leisler, like most Dutchmen, was a Presbyterian, and some of the English who shared his religious views gave a degree of support, though in no very earnest spirit, to the insurrection he had begun. In June, 1689, a body of armed men seized the fort at New York, and issued a declaration in support of the Dutch Prince. A committee of safety, ten in number, assumed the powers of government. Leisler took command of the fort, and despatched to King William in London a letter which was at any rate not repudiated. The province was at that time nominally under the rule of Andros; actually, under that of his deputy, Francis Nicholson, who had declared himself in favour of a pure despotism. The known principles of Nicholson made him unpopular, and he was not able to stem the tide of disaffection. In a little while, Leisler received from the insurgents the post of temporary Governor of the province of New York. The Mayor of the city, and several of the local council, protested against so illegal a proceeding, but, finding they were powerless to resist the revolution, retired to Albany. The magistrates, sitting in convention at that town, proclaimed their allegiance to William III., and with equal unanimity rejected the rule of Leisler. Milborne, a son-in-law of the chief revolutionist, was accordingly sent to Albany to demand the surrender of the fort, but met with so determined a resistance that he was compelled to return without having accomplished anything.

The position of the King towards Leisler was clearly embarrassing. The humble Dutchman of New York was the fellow-countryman of the powerful monarch who now filled the throne of England. He had made his revolution on behalf of that monarch, and perhaps as much out of a sentiment of nationality as from either political or religious predilections. It was difficult, therefore, for the King to disavow him altogether, especially as he had read his communication without any signs of displeasure. But sovereigns, even when they have received their sceptres from the managers of a revolution, are jealous of any power created by a popular rising. William was disposed to support Nicholson, though he could not entirely ignore Leisler. He despatched to New York letters addressed to the former, or, in his absence, to such as were for the time being in command at the seat of government. These letters, which arrived in December, were accompanied by a commission to Nicholson to act as Governor. But the late deputy of Andros had some time previously stolen on board a ship, and sailed for England. Leisler, conceiving that the alternative direction of the letters contained a recognition of himself in the absence of Nicholson, assumed the title and authority of Lieutenant-Governor; and something like a regular government was formed in the spring of 1690. A House of Representatives was elected; measures were taken to protect the frontier against the Indians; and Albany about the same time yielded to the new rule. Leisler confiscated the estates of the leaders who had opposed him, and by his financial operations gave great offence to numerous classes. At the commencement of his revolution, he had received some promises of support from both Massachusetts and Connecticut: he was now threatened by the secession of Long Island, which

solicited annexation to the latter of those two colonies.

But events were hastening to a miserable termination. The King bestowed the government of New York on Colonel Sloughter, a man of small means and ill repute. His arrival was preceded by Captain Ingoldsby, who appeared before New York in January, 1691, and, without producing any written order, demanded possession of the fort. He also issued a proclamation requiring submission; but Leisler refused to comply, while promising obedience to Sloughter as soon as he should reach the colony. When the Governor at length arrived, Leisler endeavoured to open communications with him; but Sloughter, entirely disregarding such advances, ordered Ingoldsby to arrest the revolutionary leader at once, together with the persons calling themselves his council. They were tried before Joseph Dudley, formerly of Boston, and now Chief Justice in New York, who gave it as his opinion that Leisler had never possessed any legal authority whatever. Six of the council were found guilty of high treason, but reprieved. Leisler and Milborne refused to plead, and were condemned and sentenced to death. With the sanction of the Council and Legislative Assembly, they were hanged on the 26th of May, acknowledging the error they had committed through ignorance, rashness, misinformation, and misconstruction, but asserting the purity of their motives, their loyalty to the King and Queen, and their devotion to the Protestant religion. The original intention of Sloughter was to await the Royal pleasure as to their doom; but it is said that the party most opposed to Leisler, after vainly endeavouring, by ordinary means of persuasion, to hasten the action of the Governor, invited him to a feast, plied him with wine until he was intoxicated, and thus obtained his signature to the death-warrant, which was carried out before he had recovered from the effects of his debauch. The estates of the two victims were afterwards restored to their families, and an Act of the English Parliament reversed the attainder.

It cannot be questioned that the treatment of Leisler was in the last degree cruel and ungrateful. His conduct may have been imprudent, but he rose in the interests of the very power which slew him, and he had throughout shown his readiness to act with loyalty when assured of the legal powers of those who summoned him. His sad fate, however, was due as much to the vindictive fears of his fellow-colonists as to the offended pride of authority at home. The Legislative Assembly contained a large proportion of men having very aristocratic inclinations, and they feared the results of a popular insurrection such as that which the Dutch Presbyterian and his son-in-law had for a time made successful. Yet the Legislature was regardful of the interests of freedom after its own fashion. Its members declared, in successive years, that the right to a representative Assembly and to the privileges of Englishmen was inherent in the community, not the result of Royal favour; that supreme legislative power belonged to the Governor, the Council, and the representatives of the people; and that no taxes ought to be imposed but such as they levied. The King vetoed these propositions; but he could not destroy their effect.

Sloughter died suddenly on the 2nd of August, 1691, not many weeks after the execution of Leisler and Milborne. He was followed in his office by Benjamin Fletcher, under whose rule the people of New York began once more to think of extending their territory to the Connecticut River in one direction, and Delaware Bay in another. The King was requested to command that the neighbouring colonies should contribute towards the protection of Albany against the combined attacks of French and Indians. Orders to this effect were transmitted from England, but some of the colonies disobeyed the injunction. The administration of Fletcher was distinguished by angry contests with the Colonial Assembly regarding the position of the Church of England, to which the Governor would have given more exclusive privileges than the Legislature cared to sanction. When the representatives of the people resisted these encroachments, Fletcher roundly scolded them for unmannerly conduct; said they were endeavouring to usurp all the functions of Government; and asked why, when they exhibited so much zeal in reducing the salaries of others, they did not relinquish some part of their own allowance of ten shillings a day. In 1698, the Earl of Bellamont, an Irish peer of liberal and conciliatory disposition, succeeded to the Governorship, with a commission which included all the northern plantations, excepting Connecticut and Rhode Island. He coalesced with the popular representatives in a very friendly spirit, and was generally regretted at his death, which took place in March, 1701. Lord Cornbury, a nobleman allied to the Royal Family, was the next ruler of New York and New Jersey; a man the reverse of his predecessor—haughty, despotic, and unprincipled. Being grandson of the great Earl of Clarendon, nephew to the first wife of James II. when Duke of York, and cousin to Queen Anne; he considered that his relationship to Royalty gave him a right to browbeat all who stood in his way. While still a

young man, in command of a detachment of cavalry in the west of England, he betrayed the monarch whose commission he held, by deserting to the Prince of Orange. Self seeking was the rule of his life, and tyranny his only idea of political wisdom. He found the colony in a state of fiery agitation, owing to a contest between the party of prerogative and the party of privilege; and the latter had succeeded in procuring the condemnation to death of two members of the unpopular faction for a political libel against the Lieutenant-Governor (Nanfan) and others. Lord Cornbury reversed this decision, and at once placed himself at the head of the party opposed to the majority. One of his great objects at New York was to secure the predominance of the English Church; and this he sought to effect by acts of the most arbitrary character, in which he was constantly defeated by the verdicts of juries or the decisions of judges. He put Episcopalians in possession of ecclesiastical edifices which had been built by Dissenters, and thus provoked disgraceful scenes of riot and contention. He was at issue also with the Assemblies of New York and New Jersey with respect to the right of taxation, but was unable to prevail against the spirited yet temperate opposition of the people. His repeated dissolutions of the Assemblies only made his discomfiture the more complete, and at length, after threatening the Assembly with the application of certain secret powers with which he said the Queen had armed him, he was compelled to give way. The contest turned on the desire of Lord Cornbury to obtain a permanent revenue, over which the Legislature should have no control, and the determination of the popular representatives to keep the colonial expenditure within their own power by annual grants. Lord Cornbury is accused of actually embezzling the public funds. He is also said to have emulated one of the infamous freaks of Nero, by wandering abroad disguised in women's clothes. He was a man of profligate habits, and personally so much in debt that, on being deprived of his office in 1708, he was thrown into prison, where he remained until he succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his father, the second Lord Clarendon, in 1709. He died in England in 1723. The struggle with regard to the popular control over taxation was prolonged under his successors, but always to the advantage of the colonists.

Connecticut received its original charter again after the accession of William and Mary, and the thoroughly democratic constitution of the colony was once more in force. A collision, however, occurred in connection with the militia. In 1692, the command of that force was by the King conferred on the Governor of New York, Benjamin Fletcher. The people petitioned the home Government against such an interference; but Fletcher, not choosing to wait for the decision, went to Hartford, and ordered the militia under arms. At their head appeared William Wadsworth, the senior captain of the town. He ordered the drums to beat. Fletcher commanded silence while his commission and the Royal instructions were being read. Wadsworth bid his men beat all the louder, and threatened, if he were interrupted again, to make the light shine through Fletcher's body with his sword. The Governor of New York thereupon desisted, and shortly afterwards left for his own province. The question was virtually decided, and Connecticut pursued its way with much internal tranquillity. One of the happiest incidents in its domestic history was the founding of Yale College, in 1700, by a few small contributions of books from certain associated pastors.

CHAPTER XLV.

Outbreak of Superstition in New England—The Belief in Witchcraft—Circumstances which conduced to that Belief in Massachusetts—Agency of Cotton Mather in spreading the Disease—Character of his Life and Writings—Case of Mrs. Glover—Witchcraft Crusade instituted by Cotton Mather—His Proceedings and Motives—Outbreak of Witchcraft in the Family of the Rev. Mr. Parris—The Witch Mania at Salem—Tituba, the Indian Woman—Mather's Account of the Sufferings of the Bewitched—Explanation of some of the Phenomena—Trial and Condemnation of the Alleged Sorcerers—Judicial Murders and Reign of Terror—Publication by Mather of his "Wonders of the Invisible World"—Reaction against the Witch Mania—Recantation of the Confessing Witches, and Remorse of the Jurors—Final Views of Mather on the Subject.

During the closing years of the seventeenth century, Massachusetts was infected with a strange epidemic of superstition, the details of which must not be passed over in this History. The belief in witchcraft is as old as human records. We read of it in the Bible, and the Pagan nations of antiquity

conceived that under certain conditions men and women could acquire a command over spirits and devils. Yet the ancient world was much less affected by this particular form of superstition than the modern world at several periods of its history. The nations of the extreme north of Europe, dwelling under a dismal climate in the midst of sombre forests and threatening wastes, were peculiarly oppressed by a sense of diabolical mystery, and of the commerce of the known with the unknown. The impish horror of the fancies which oppressed the minds of Scandinavians in Norway, Sweden, and Iceland, is unparalleled in the aberrations of the human intellect. Some taint of this melancholy and brooding fear seems to have been transmitted to the English people from their Gothic ancestors; and at various epochs a sudden accession of witch-fever has spread a general panic through the land, and led to vindictive acts of repression. The perverted learning of James I. did much to foster these ideas; and the men who founded the New England colonies must have carried to the Western world a lively impression of scenes which had happened in their native country when every ugly and grotesque old woman was regarded as an agent of Satan for the accomplishment of dark and foul designs. The Puritan tendency to dwell at all seasons on spiritual questions, and to contemplate man as a being exposed to the perpetual temptation of evil powers, encouraged whatever disposition to believe in witchcraft the settlers may have derived from their early recollections, or from the opinions they brought out with them from England. This belief must have been still further increased by contact with the native tribes of America. As a race of Pagans, the Indians were



THE REV. COTTON MATHER.

regarded as being specially in the grasp of Satan; and there were ceremonies in connection with their religion and their social life which would be likely to prompt the idea of diabolical intercourse. We have seen that Alexander Whitaker, the missionary, called their priests a generation of vipers, of the brood of hell itself. The powows, or medicine men, employed many conjurations in the practice of their art, and were believed to have control over the elements, and over the lives of human beings. The Indians generally were people oppressed by a sense of the spiritual world, which to them more frequently took an evil than a benign aspect. They were observers of omens, dreamers of fatal dreams, the sport of ghosts and goblins, the inheritors of a mournful knowledge pointing to some occult wickedness at the heart of things. They professed to have dealings with the unseen. Several English ministers who talked with them about such matters believed in the reality of what was asserted, and of course attributed it to the direct agency of the Prince of Devils. Cotton Mather made no doubt that the powows were actually able to work a mysterious kind of mischief on the bodies of those whom they designed to injure; and many others were of the same opinion.

The proximity of wide and gloomy forests increased the original disposition of the settlers to credit whatever marvels they might hear. Anything that was terrible or infernal might well go on in those dim recesses, where the whisper of restless leafage, and the cries of birds and beasts not well understood, seemed always suggestive of a mysterious life beyond the life of flesh. Even the least superstitious are sometimes conscious of a certain incommunicable strangeness—a muffled vitality that may possibly be antagonistic to human interests—in those forms and manifestations of savage nature which are not yet subdued to the purposes of man, not yet rescued from the primeval wonder of creation. As we build cities, and enclose waste lands, and cut down forests, the supernatural with-



INDIAN MEDICINE-MAN. (*After Catlin.*)

draws more and more into the distance. The face of earth becomes familiar; the old chaos, with its shadows and its voices, passes into the limbo of half-forgotten dreams; the external world is annexed to the homestead. But where a small handful of people dwell on the skirts of a vast unreclaimed territory, human life seems almost overwhelmed by the blank awe of solitude. If men are superstitious at all, they will be superstitious here; for to such minds it is not unnatural to suppose that a land but thinly peopled by man is occupied by spirits.* To them, the very silence of the desert is threatening; the very emptiness makes shapes and visions out of its airy substance. The enigma of existence presses more nakedly upon the soul; and there is little to relieve the burden of such thoughts, or to dull the sharpness of the spiritual sense.

These feelings had doubtless something to do with the lamentable events which occurred during the reign of William and Mary; but the events could never have been developed to the extent we find recorded, had not a mischievous superstition been stimulated to fever-heat by men whose education should have taught them better. One of the principal agents in spreading the belief in witchcraft, and bringing a number of miserable people to a violent and ignominious death, was the celebrated minister, Cotton Mather—on all accounts, a singular figure in the colonial history of New England, and the most important member of a family in itself remarkable. Richard Mather, the founder of the race in America, was a Nonconformist divine who emigrated to Massachusetts in 1635, and died there after many years. His son, Increase Mather, was of American birth, and during a long life held a position of great influence in the little commonwealth which had its centre at Boston. He was for sixty-two years pastor of the North Church in that city, and was regarded by the political rulers of the community as their principal guide, not merely in questions of faith, but in affairs of state; for, the government of Massachusetts being to a great extent theocratical, the clergy were consulted on all serious issues. It was not until 1723 that Increase Mather reached the close of his life, at the age of eighty-four; but, though discharging his pastoral duties to the last, he had for a long while given place in all other matters to his son, Cotton Mather, a man of a more energetic and vehement nature, desirous of exercising a controlling force over the minds of his fellow-citizens and the fortunes of the colony. The early annals of Massachusetts present no more curious subject of study than Cotton Mather. He was a true child of the social state which his father and grandfather had done so much to fashion. Being called to the ministry at twenty-one years of age, as an assistant to his father, he was accustomed while still a youth to regard everything from the religious point of view. Yet he was no illiterate ranter. He had received a scholarly education at Harvard College, of which institution Increase Mather was the President; and he taught as much through the press as from the pulpit. The catalogue of his printed works, enumerated by his son Samuel at the close of his memoir of his father, numbers 382, bearing date from 1686 to 1727. Some of these, it is true, were only sermons and pamphlets; but others were large and elaborate books. The "Ecclesiastical History of New England" of Cotton Mather is a perfect reflection of the odd, contradictory nature of the man. It shows him in his strength and his weakness; with all his acumen and all his credulity. Notwithstanding his literary skill, of which he was not without a fair measure, Mather was totally devoid of the power of selection. His net dragged high and low, and took in everything that it found. His book is a heap of heterogeneous materials, without law or method, or with only such law and method as still further confuse those who would consult it. With an affectation of learned elegance, he calls the several divisions by such designations as "Polybius," "Sal Gentium," "Thaumaturgus," "Ecclesiarum Prælia," and so on. He distributes his matter into Books, Parts, Chapters, Sections, and Appendices; and yet, with all this accumulation of detail, or perhaps even by virtue of it, he leaves the casual reader almost pathless in the midst of a wild desert of information. History, biography, anecdote, and sermonising, are jumbled together in one distressing folio. Garrulity itself could not be more full of unnecessary particulars; yet sometimes the portraiture is vivid and alive. Cotton Mather was a man of the world, though a saint; a scholar, though a Puritan minister. He would quote stories from Pagan history to illustrate the lives of his modern Christians; he would

* Cotton Mather dwells on this point. "In the days of Moses, it seems deserts were counted very much an habitation of devils. Yea, they really were what they were counted; and for that cause the names of *Shedim* and *Zijim* were put upon them; and when the Scriptures foretel desolations to such and such places, they still make the devils to be their inhabitants. Who can tell whether the envy of the devils at the favour of God unto men may not provoke them to affect retirement from the sight of populous and prosperous regions, except so far as they reckon their work of tempting mankind necessary to be carried on? . . . . The devils often recede much from thence into the wilderness." (Magnalia Christi Americana; or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, 1702. Book VI., chap. 7.)

chatter about all the odd things he had ever heard, to advance the cause of the true church in Massachusetts. He could even make his joke upon occasion, after the quaint fashion of the seventeenth century, which survived in America after its decline in England. He wrote verses; he loved anagrams; he could sedately sport, demurely toy, with a subject if he pleased. He gives one the impression of a man having in him the capacity of an amusing and even genial companion, yet of one who might at any moment flame forth into the controversialist and the persecutor. That New England was the sole place of refuge for genuine Christianity, and that Satan was perpetually contriving to destroy that refuge, and corrupt the people in it, were his two dominant ideas. Such was the man who fanned the fires of superstition in the country of his birth.

Instances of witchcraft, of diabolical possession, of ghostly appearances, and of houses supposed to be haunted by demons, occurred from time to time in Massachusetts before the date to which we are about to refer. The solitary life of many of the colonists, the melancholy influences by which they were surrounded, the constant peril from savage Indians, and the habitual excitement of the mind on religious topics, seem not unfrequently to have produced a species of mania which perverted the senses and the perceptions of its victims. It would appear that the children of the English settlers had acquired—probably from Indian servants—a foolish habit of small conjurations and fortune-telling; and this prepared them for a belief in necromancy. In 1688, a girl of thirteen years of age, the daughter of one John Goodwin, charged a laundress with having stolen some linen. The mother of the laundress, an old Irishwoman, better acquainted with her own language than with English, retorted by a flood of abuse. Shortly afterwards the child was taken with fits, which were at once assumed to be demoniacal. Then her sisters and brothers were afflicted in the same way. Sometimes they were deaf, sometimes they were dumb, sometimes they were blind. Their faces and bodies were distorted; they would purr like cats, or bark like dogs. The history of medicine abounds with instances of similar hysterical maladies, which are to be accounted for by certain mental arising out of certain physical conditions; but until comparatively recent times it has been usual to attribute them to sorcery. The Irishwoman was set down as the cause of all the sufferings of John Goodwin's children. She was put on her trial, and a witness was ready to swear that he had heard some one else allege that old mother Glover had been seen to come down a chimney. Her house being searched, several images, made of rags, and stuffed with goats' hair, were found in it; and by means of these, according to the wretched creature's confession, she produced convulsive effects upon the children. What still further prejudiced the case against this poor woman was the discovery of the fact that she was a Roman Catholic. Thus, she was not only a witch, but a heretic; so that to get rid of her would be a double service to the community. She was accordingly condemned and executed; but her death gave no relief to the children. On the contrary, their torments grew worse than before; a child of other parents began to suffer; and Cotton Mather, that he might be a critical eye-witness of facts that would enable him to confute the Sadducism of a debauched age (the expressions are his own), took the eldest daughter of John Goodwin to his house, and made a study of her. He found amongst other wonderful things that the possessed girl, or rather the demon which guided her actions, had no objection to Quaker literature, the Roman Catholic services, or the Common Prayer Book of the English Church, but was much tortured by hearing the Bible read, or a prayer delivered after Puritan fashion by Cotton Mather himself; all which greatly confirmed this zealous minister in the infallibity of his own way of thinking. It may, perhaps, be some little excuse for his folly that he was at that time a very young man, not yet six-and-twenty; but it is to be feared that at no period of his life would he have acted otherwise. He has put on record a minute account of the actions of this hysterical girl, whose disease was probably mixed up with some amount of conscious deception, as such complaints not seldom are.

At length the children got well; but Mather was not inclined to let the matter rest. He had observed in the people of Massachusetts a growing tendency to resist that excessive influence of the clerical body which earlier generations had received with an awful satisfaction. He regarded this falling off as a sign of extreme wickedness, and as evidence that Satan was doing his best to break up the kingdom of the saints. The sorceries of old mother Glover were only another proof of the machinations of their infernal enemy; and it would therefore be good policy to excite a species of crusade against witchcraft. He lost no opportunity of preaching or writing on the subject. He kept the idea of diabolical enchantments constantly before the popular mind. The disposition of some among the educated to doubt such narratives, or to explain

them on purely natural grounds, he denounced as corrupt and blasphemous. Glancing, apparently, at some of the subtleties of Quakerism, he complained that, in the opinion of certain philosophers, the devil was no more than a quality or a distemper; that presently they would come to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind; that men counted it wisdom to credit nothing but what they saw and felt; and that they pronounced there were no witches simply because they had seen none. Other ministers took up the same note; but none sounded it is so loudly and persistently as Cotton Mather. He was probably sincere; yet sincerity alone is not enough to excuse a series of outrages on humanity and sense. In the midst of his abstract devotion to what in his blindness he believed to be true and pious, it is impossible not to see a considerable regard for the interests of his order and of himself. He announced that, after his published relation of all he had observed in the case of Goodwin's children, he should look on the denial of devils and witches as a personal affront, resulting from ignorance, incivility, and dishonest impudence. This attempt to turn an intellectual discussion on a very recondite subject into a personal quarrel, strongly exemplifies the arrogant character of the man. Despite the wide divergence of their ecclesiastical views, the nature of this Puritan divine had many points of similarity with that of his contemporary, Jeremy Collier.

The book in which Mather set forth his alleged facts, and made the announcement of his mighty resolve on the subject, was published at Boston in 1689, and reprinted at London, where the celebrated Richard Baxter prefixed to it a Preface, in which he declared that the evidence was so convincing that none but a very obdurate Sadducee would discredit it.* In New England, the seed found a more congenial soil than in the old country. Mather's work circulated in large numbers, and undoubtedly had a very pernicious effect on the public mind. Excitable persons began to think themselves the objects of supernatural malignity, and children, in particular, were affected by the prevailing fear. The next outbreak of the epidemic took place about the latter end of 1691, or beginning of 1692, in the household of the Rev. Mr. Parris, minister of Salem, between whom and a part of his congregation there had been for some time a bitter feud. The daughter and the niece of this gentleman, both of them children not yet in their teens, began to play singular antics, afterwards fell into convulsions, and then complained of being pinched and bitten by invisible agents. The physicians who were consulted could make no better diagnosis of the case than that the children were under the influence of an evil tongue. At first, Parris could do no more for the cure of this evil tongue than to fast and pray; but afterwards his suspicions fixed on an Indian woman, named Tituba, who lived in his house, and on her husband. The children themselves soon accused the Indian woman, and two English women, of persecuting them; and all three were thrown into prison. Tituba after awhile confessed to having acted as was alleged, and at the same time implicated the other two, but, on being released, alleged that the confession was extorted from her by Mr. Parris, who had beaten and otherwise ill-used her until she said whatever he wanted. The infection, however, grew: Tituba herself began to suffer in an unaccountable way; numerous persons in the town were taken with fits; the contagion spread into the surrounding country; and in a few weeks the prisons were hardly able to contain the number of the accused.

No fact is better ascertained than the tendency of such mental distempers to propagate themselves like any other infectious disease. A depraved state of the intellect and the moral sense is created in a given centre, and is communicated, in ever-widening circles of indefinite extent, by contact, by rumour, by exaggerated reports, by excitement, and by fear. In the instance we are considering, the operation of this natural law was quickened by the ceaseless provocations of Cotton Mather and other clergymen. A little before the outbreak at Salem, Mather besought God that he would awaken the churches by some remarkable thing; and he says that he obtained of the Lord to use him as a herald of the holy kingdom which he believed to be approaching. After the accusation of Tituba and the others, he prayed for what he called a good issue—by which of course he meant the conviction and execution of the persons charged. At service, at prayer-meetings, at fasts, the people were lashed into a state of morbid heat by the perpetual discussion of this one topic. Vanity, of a spiritual character, was no small element in Mather's disposition. He described the assault of Satan on the virtue of Massachusetts as a "particular defiance" to himself. It was therefore, to his perverted reasoning, a necessity that he should take up the gage, and fight

* The work was entitled "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions; with Discoveries and Appendix." The substance was repeated by Mather in his "Magnalia Christi Americana," Book VI., chap. 7. Mather also published at Boston, in 1692, "The Wonders of the Invisible World," together with "Observations upon the Nature, the Number, and the Operations of the Devils," &c.; and in the Life of Sir William Phipps (Magnalia, Book II., Appendix) the same matters are gone into.

the devil by every means in his power. A hearty coadjutor was found in Parris, who informed against the suspected, questioned them before the magistrates, acted as witness, and exerted himself to the utmost to obtain convictions. It is said that in charging particular individuals he was guided by personal enmities arising out of the disputes in which he had been involved, and that he passed over others against whom he had no grudge. The accusations rapidly increased in number, and the slightest circumstance was sufficient to bring a woman under the ban of this clerical informer. Men also were proceeded against, especially if they had the courage to express disbelief in the reality of the possessions. George Burroughs, a clergyman, whom some of the Salem people had desired to be their pastor instead of Parris, was one of those who were committed to prison for doubting the truth of what was alleged.

Cotton Mather is very precise in his descriptions of the way in which the afflicted were made to suffer. He says that their limbs were horribly distorted and convulsed; that they were pinched black and blue; that pins were invisibly run into their flesh; and that they were scalded till blisters were raised. One of the bewitched was assaulted by a spectre armed with a spindle, which no one else in the room could see, till the afflicted person, in one of her agonies, snatched it out of the phantom's hand, when it became visible. Another was haunted by a spectre in a sheet, of which the sufferer tore away a corner, and then showed it to the others. Sometimes poison was forced on the afflicted by a hand which could not be seen; and after they had drunk it they became swollen, and were relieved by the medicines usually given in such cases. Poison was seen to drop upon their pillows, and the smell of it was detected. Sometimes they complained of burning rags forced into their mouths; and, although no such thing was observable by others, the burns presently appeared about their lips. Invisible brands would be heated at the fire, for searing the flesh; and the sufferers were subsequently found to be marked as by red-hot iron. These injuries were produced by a sort of ghostly double of the witch, which could be seen by no one but the afflicted; and if this diabolical shadow was wounded by the person haunted, a corresponding hurt would be found on the suspected sorcerer. It was often perceived that the flesh of the afflicted was bitten, so that the print of teeth was visible, corresponding to the teeth of the accused. In the beginning, the sufferers would be tendered a book, and asked to sign their names in it; when, if they refused, the spectres under command of the Black Man would commence a series of prodigious tortures.* These were the phantasies or the impostures which Cotton Mather put forth for facts.

A sensible merchant of Boston one Robert Calef published an answer to Mather's statements, in which he alleged that the story of the sheet was a palpable forgery, the corner having been provided by the afflicted person the day before. The print of teeth was produced by the patients biting themselves; and sometimes the accused, instead of having a set of teeth, were destitute of even one. The same writer mentions a remarkable circumstance which took place at the trial of Sarah Good. During the progress of the trial, one of the afflicted fell into a fit, and cried out that the prisoner's spectre was stabbing her with a knife, and had broken it in her body. In proof of the reality of this assertion, she pulled a piece of the blade out of her breast, and showed it in court. A young man who was present, however, said that the knife was his; that he had broken the blade the day before, and thrown away the piece in the presence of the afflicted person. He then produced from his pocket the corresponding portion, which was found to fit exactly. But the judge simply reprimanded the witness, and bade her tell no more lies. The accused got no benefit from the proved cheat.

Bradstreet, who was occupying the post of Governor at the time the Salem witch-fever broke out, conceived that the evidence against the accused was insufficient. But on the 14th of May, 1692, Sir William Phipps arrived from England with the King's Commission as Governor of the colony; and Mather, with his friends, received a powerful reinforcement. On all such subjects the mind of Phipps was of the weakest. He was one of those men whose religion runs into fanaticism, and whose thoughts of the spiritual world are qualified by a large element of the slavish. Moreover, he permitted himself to be swayed by Mather in matters of which he supposed himself to be ignorant; and, arriving in the midst of the excitement about sorcery, he adopted the views of his pastor. A court of oyer and terminer was at once instituted by the new Governor to try the persons suspected of witchcraft. Stoughton was made the Chief Judge; and the court opened on the 2nd of June. The first trial was that of Bridget Bishop, an old woman, who, being speedily condemned, was hanged on the 10th of the month, protesting her innocence. At the next session of the court, five more women were

* Magnalia Christi Americana, Book II., Appendix.

sentenced. One of these, Rebecca Nurse, was at first acquitted; but, the court objecting to the verdict (being, as it would seem, frightened by the hideous outcries of the accusers and the afflicted), and the prisoner making use of some ambiguous words which were interpreted as an admission of the alleged fact, the jury, after some hesitation, found her guilty. The evidence brought against the accused persons was quite worthless. It comprised all the old stock horrors about super-



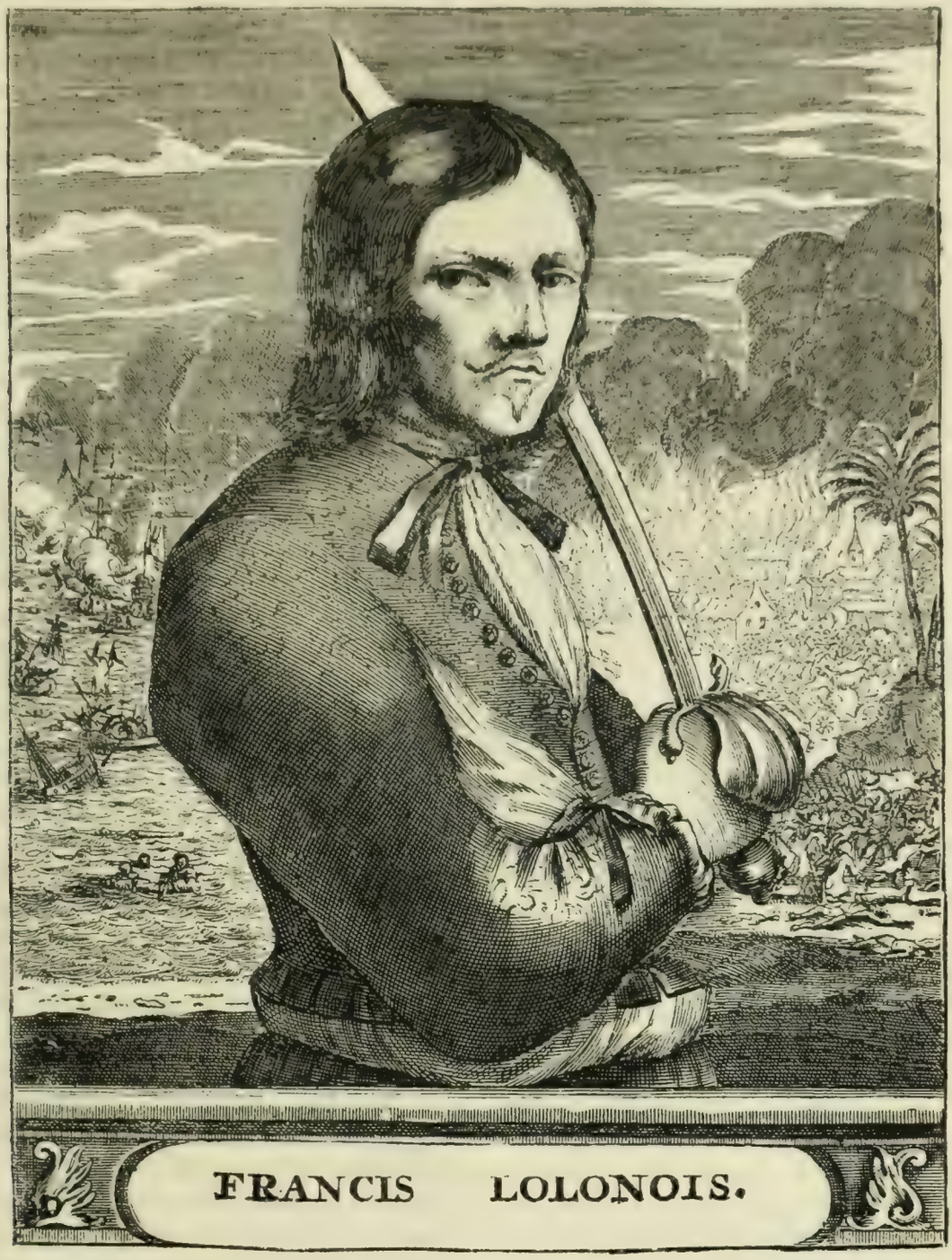
MARTHA CORY AND HER PERSECUTORS.

natural appearances, malicious injuries done to the witnesses themselves or to their cattle, diabolical gatherings, and so on. Some of these stories seem to indicate that the persons relating them were asleep at the time, or under the influence of nightmare, or afflicted with epileptical fits; and that the visions thus induced received the shape and colour of the prevailing superstition. Others, doubtless, were sheer inventions, put forward with the design of revenging old quarrels. The court allowed the witnesses to ransack their memory for circumstances, or alleged circumstances, of twenty or thirty years back; and some of the testimony was simply hearsay, or conjectural. Any man whose cow or whose pig had had a fit, was permitted to swear that some wretched old woman had bewitched it, though he had held his tongue upon the subject for half a generation.*

Many of the accused loudly denied the truth of what was stated against them. Sarah Good, who had long been accounted a melancholy, distempered woman, was urged at the gallows to confess; whereupon she turned fiercely on the minister of Salem, who had remarked that she was a witch, and that she knew it, and exclaimed, "You are a liar! I am no more a witch than you are a wizard; and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink." But several of the accused confessed—a fact not at all surprising when we know that confessions were actually purchased by the promise of immunity from death, while it was evident that the non-confessors would be hanged without the slightest hope of mercy. The prisoners who admitted the truth of the charges made against them, became in

* Daniel Neal, whose good feeling and good sense rarely deserted him, discredited all these absurd stories of witchcraft. (History of New England, Vol. II., chap. 7.) He also spoke of the powows as a set of impostors, having no claim to supernatural knowledge or influence. (Vol. I., chap. 1.) But in 1720 opinion had advanced a long way beyond 1692.

their turn accusers, and sought to gain favour by implicating others in the alleged conspiracy of Satan. A regular trade of accusations sprang up, as in England during earlier times. All the most sordid passions of human nature were aroused, and fear and suspicion prompted cruelties beyond measure. No man was safe unless he fell in with the prevailing mood. A constable who had been ordered to arrest some suspected witches refused to do so, owing, probably to scruples of sense and humanity. He was immediately denounced by the afflicted, tried, convicted, and hanged. The clergyman Burroughs met with no better fate; he had committed the unpardonable offence of doubting the reality of witchcraft. So great a height did the insanity reach, that a dog belonging to a gentleman accused of witchcraft was hanged as an accomplice of its master. In some cases, the required evidence was extorted from unwilling witnesses by threats, or by actual torture; and the persons bearing this perjured testimony afterwards acknowledged the fraud with deep contrition. A girl, whose evidence had led to the conviction of her grandfather, retracted her statements in a little while. The magistrates cast her into prison, and proceeded to hang the old man without further delay; while the girl herself and both her parents had a narrow escape.



LOLONOIS THE BUCCANEER.

In all, twenty-eight persons were sentenced to death, upon insufficient evidence, for an impossible offence. Of these, nineteen were hanged, and one —a man of eighty—was pressed to death for refusing to plead. He had seen that all the previous trials had ended in convictions, and, knowing that the same witnesses would be produced against him, declined to submit to such a prejudiced tribunal. The death of this man by the process known as the *peine forte et dure*—a relic of Anglo-Norman cruelty—was the only instance of the kind that has ever occurred in New England. Samuel Wardell, who had confessed and received the promise of his life, withdrew his admissions, and was executed. Martha Cory, when visited in prison by Parris and other clergymen, rebuked her persecutors in language of terrible sternness, and was excommunicated before being hanged. Mary Easty, who is described as a woman of great sweetness of disposition and of earnest piety, was equally firm in exposing the cruelty and falseness of the testimony upon which she and others had been convicted. She sent a petition to the judges and ministers, praying that further inquiry might be made, not into her own case, but into those of the others, that no more innocent blood might be shed; for, said she, "I know you are in the wrong way." The Rev. Mr. Burroughs made a powerful impression by his demeanour at the foot of the gallows. He asserted his innocence in a touching and solemn speech, and repeated the Lord's Prayer with so much fervency and exactness that many were moved to tears, and it was feared that a rescue would be attempted. But Cotton Mather, who was riding about on horseback among the crowd, insisted on the guilt of Burroughs, and bid the spectators remember that the devil himself could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light. The fickle people were persuaded, and in a little while the lifeless body of Burroughs was tumbled into a grave together with several more. Among the other persons hanged was Rebecca Nurse, who had in the first instance been acquitted. Sir William Phipps was induced to grant a reprieve in the case of this unhappy creature, who seems to have been a person of exemplary life. But Parris exerted himself against any mercy being shown; and the reprieve was recalled. Throughout the whole miserable business, the clergy were the most remorseless of the persecutors. Noyes, one of the ministers of Salem, gloated over the executions with an unnatural joy. "There hang eight firebrands of hell!" he cried, pointing to the dangling bodies.

The trials and executions lasted throughout the summer and early autumn. By the close of September, 1692, twenty persons had been put to death, and fifty-five had been tortured or threatened into making confessions. A hundred and fifty persons were in prison, and above two hundred more under accusation. Several of the accused managed to make their escape; and the lives of those who confessed were invariably spared. But the consistent assertors of their innocence received the hardest measure; and no subsequent admission of witnesses that they had perjured themselves, no acknowledgment of the jury that they had erred in their verdict, sufficed to save a non-confessing prisoner from the gallows. Everything was done to envenom the cases for the prosecution, and to discourage and browbeat all who hung back from aiding the convictions. Perjury, however obvious and undoubted, was no bar to the same witness testifying against others. Terrorism was the only law, and no position was a safeguard against the denunciations of madmen or of scoundrels. Dudley Bradstreet, a Justice of the Peace at Andover, who had granted warrants against thirty or forty supposed witches, was accused, together with his wife, of killing nine persons by enchantment, and was forced to fly the country. He had given offence by refusing to grant any more warrants, and, being no longer a friend, was at once reckoned among the enemies of Mather and his party.

But the evil at length reached a point at which reaction was inevitable. Cotton Mather found antagonists who disputed his reasonings and denied his conclusions. The sentences at Salem were openly canvassed, and Mather considered it necessary to make a special effort against the growing opposition to his infatuated cruelty. In October, 1692, he published his "Wonders of the Invisible World," one of the most melancholy exhibitions of elaborate folly, tending to a malignant purpose, that literature can show. It is painful to be obliged to add that Increase Mather was no wiser than his son. He had in 1684 put forth "An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, especially in New England," in the course of which he gave his sanction to the belief in wizardry and devilish enchantments; and when the son published his account of the witch-trials at Salem, the father, in his capacity as President of Harvard College, conveyed to him his approbation. Shortly afterwards, Increase Mather himself printed "A Further Account of the Trials of the New England Witches," to which he added "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcrafts and Evil Spirits personating Men, written at the Request of the Ministers of New England." The

fact is that only a few men in those days had sufficient courage to question such diabolical agencies. Divines were never weary of asserting that he who denied witchcraft must in his heart deny God; and inquiry was stifled by the assumption that the mere wish to inquire was evidence of a nature utterly depraved. But the very extravagance of the belief in New England, as manifested by the outbreak of 1692, conduced to its ultimate decay.

Notwithstanding all the power of the Mathers, the reaction, having once begun, gathered force with every day. Phipps might praise Cotton Mather for his literary performance, which was published by the special command of the Governor; Judge Stoughton might consider that a wonderful service had been rendered to New England, as he declared in an epistle to his reverend friend, prefixed to the book; but the mass of the people were not persuaded. The first awakening of the popular conscience took place at Andover, in October, 1692, about the time that Cotton Mather published his report of the trials. The town of Andover had been the scene of a particularly violent outbreak of the witch-mania. A man, fancying his wife was bewitched when she was sick of a mortal distemper, sent to Salem for some of the experienced witch-finders of that town; and, in a few weeks, more than fifty persons were accused. Upon this, the people of Andover, with their minister at their head, appeared before the General Assembly at Boston, and presented a remonstrance against the doings of the court at Salem. The Assembly was not indisposed to listen to such representations. The whole question of witchcraft had been discussed at a meeting of ministers which the Governor had summoned in the middle of June, when several of the clergymen present gave it as their opinion that the apparition of persons afflicting others was no proof of their being witches; that it was not inconsistent with the righteous government of God to permit the devil to assume the shape of good men; that a good name obtained by a good life ought not to be forfeited by mere spectral accusations; and that alterations made in the sufferers by a look or a touch of the accused were no infallible evidences of guilt, seeing that they might be brought about by the devil's legerdemain. At the same time, the ministers recommended to the Government "the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as had rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the laws of God, and the wholesome statutes of the English nation for the detection of witchcrafts." Fortified by these opinions, which Increase Mather says he and his son agreed to, the General Assembly, while adopting the old English law on the subject in the autumn of 1692, abrogated the special court at Salem (a court that had really no legal existence at all), and established another tribunal, which, that the prevailing fever might have time to spend itself, was not to meet for some months. Stoughton was to preside in the new as in the former court; but it was probably hoped that juries would be less subservient. The matter began to look serious when the afflicted actually accused the wife of Sir William Phipps, and near relations of the Mathers themselves, of being concerned in witchcraft.

The new tribunal met early in January, 1693, when, out of fifty-six bills brought in against persons for witchcraft, the grand jury ignored thirty; and, of the twenty-six persons tried, the petty jury convicted but three, whom the Governor pardoned. The delusion had passed; sanity and right feeling had returned to the people.* A gentleman of Boston, who had been accused by the afflicted of Andover, sent a writ to arrest his accusers in an action for defamation for £1,000; and from that time the accusations at Andover gradually ceased. The confessions of so-called witches were no longer received as of any worth. In the case of one Mary Watts, who confessed, the grand jury, looking upon her as a person demented, threw out the bill; and, although the court sent them back to reconsider their decision, they stoutly adhered to it. Six women who had previously confessed to witchcraft now withdrew their confessions in a certificate in which they stated that they had been induced to criminate themselves in the hope of being spared, and because they had been so questioned, talked at, and bewildered by a number of gentlemen, that at length they hardly knew what they said, but assented to whatever was suggested to them by the examiners. The torture, however, was not simply mental in all cases. John Procter, one of the convicted, affirmed in a letter to the ministers of Boston that several of the accused, including his son, were tied neck and heels till the blood was ready to gush from them, in order to extort a confession. This was before the

* Mr. Bancroft very disingenuously insinuates (History of the United States, Vol. II., chap. 19), that the temporary insanity which produced so much evil was due to a few officials appointed by the English Crown. It is true that Phipps, and Stoughton, and the judges generally, were at that time appointed by the parent State; but the superstition had been mainly encouraged by Cotton Mather, his father, and some of the other ministers, who had nothing to do with the old country. The jurors who convicted were Massachusetts men—no doubt, good average specimens of the race; and the feeling they represented was one which at that time was dying out in England, though it is evident that in America it had an acrid intensity of life.

tide began to turn; and Procter was hanged, together with the others.

Efforts were made, early in 1693, for the conviction of Sarah Daston, who had had the reputation of a witch for twenty years. A very large body of evidence was brought against her; but a verdict of acquittal was the only result. Cotton Mather then made a great noise about a case of witchcraft occurring in his own parish, which he alleged he had cured by his prayers; but the statement was exposed to ridicule by Robert Calef, whom Mather afterwards described as "a coal from hell." All further prosecutions were now stopped; persons who had escaped were not searched after; those still in prison were set free; and in a little while Sir William Phipps pardoned all who were under sentence of condemnation. It is worthy of note that in the height of the persecutions witchcraft was supposed to be of daily occurrence, and that when the persecution ceased there was an end of the alleged cases of devilish malignity. Cotton Mather says that, as a consequence of the prosecutions, Satan was tied up in tighter chains, and thus withheld from vexing the land; and that the accused had generally been quiet since their pardon.* He could not see that the delusion vanished with the excitement which he had so sedulously kept up. Parris, notwithstanding a humble confession of his wrong-doing, was driven out of Salem by the popular indignation. Noyes, the fellow-minister of Parris, acknowledged his cruelty, prayed for forgiveness, and gave up his life to works of charity. Stoughton passed the remainder of his days in sullen isolation from the majority of his countrymen; acknowledging, indeed, that he might perhaps have been in error, but contending that, as he had acted to the best of his understanding, and with the fear of God before his eyes (a phrase often used to cover a vast amount of wrong-doing), he did not feel called on to express any contrition. Sewall, another of the judges, made a public recantation in the South meeting-house at Boston; and the Salem jurors of 1692 published a paper, in which they said:—

"We confess that we ourselves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand, the mysterious delusions of the Powers of Darkness and Prince of the Air, but were, for want of knowledge in ourselves, and better information from others, prevailed with to take up such evidence against the accused as, on further consideration and further information, we justly fear was insufficient for the touching the lives of any (Deut. xvii. 6); whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourselves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood, which sin the Lord saith, in Scripture, he would not pardon (2 Kings xxiv. 4); that is, we suppose, in regard of his temporal judgments. We do therefore hereby signify to all in general, and to the surviving sufferers in especial, our deep sense of, and sorrow for, our errors, in acting on such evidence to the condemning of any person. And we do hereby acknowledge that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God, for Christ's sake, for this our error, and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves nor others; and we also pray, that we may be considered candidly and aright by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with and not experienced in matters of that nature. We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all whom we have justly offended, and do declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of satisfaction for our offence, and that you would bless the inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the land."

Even Cotton Mather, some years afterwards, admitted that things had been carried too far, as appeared to him from the great number of persons accused; from the characters of those persons, several of whom were of blameless and holy lives; from the number of the afflicted, which increased to about fifty, and gave just ground to suspect some mistake; from the conduct of the prisoners at their execution, where they denied their guilt with great solemnity, which could hardly have been a falsehood in all cases; and from the fact that similar mistakes had been made in other parts of the world.† Besides, he had by this time discovered (perhaps from the teachings of his father, who was very learned on the point, or perhaps from certain Dutch and French ministers in the province of New York, who during the height of the epidemic were consulted on the subject) that Satan could assume the shape of an innocent person, and in that shape do mischief to the bodies and estates of mankind; and he even granted that some of the confessing witches (he would not allow the observation to apply to all) had been in a sort of preternatural dream, wherein they had said of themselves they knew not what.‡

* Magnalia, Book VI., chap. 7.

† Magnalia, published at London in 1702, and written a few years earlier. Book VI., chap 7.

‡ Ibid. Book II., Appendix.

The question has been raised whether, in these terrible prosecutions, Cotton Mather acted with sincerity, or was swayed throughout solely by the desire of increasing his personal and professional influence. The point is one very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to determine; and it is therefore wiser, as well as more charitable, to give the offender the benefit of whatever doubt may naturally exist in the mind on a subject so dark and perplexed. Mr. Bancroft appears to take the most unfavourable view; and it is, indeed, a hard matter to resist a feeling of indignant scorn at so much cruelty, so much intellectual blindness, so much ignorance where a liberal education seemed to give men a right to expect knowledge, so much which in effect was criminal and disastrous in the highest degree. That Mather hoped to turn the witch-mania to the advantage of the body he belonged to —that he saw, in the excitement which he partly created, and in a great degree sustained, a means of re-establishing the waning power of the clergy in all its old force—is certain; and to that extent a taint of self-interest attaches to his conduct. But it is very possible, or perhaps we should rather say it is probable, that he was really convinced of the reality of the supposed witchcrafts. We must not judge the men of one age by the standards of another; or at least we should judge them with all due allowance for the influence of recognised ideas. Some children had, in the first instance, been strangely affected; and it was usual in those days to attribute these maladies to a diabolical source, and to suspect particular persons of being the agents by which the malignity of Satan was brought to bear on the afflicted. Medical science was in a very backward state; such disturbances had not been watched with a view to discover in them a natural cause; it was taken for granted that they lay within the sphere, not of the physician, but of the divine. Some years afterwards, Cotton Mather gave a certain degree of attention to medical subjects, and was instrumental in introducing into Boston the practice of inoculation for small-pox recently brought to England from Constantinople by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. But in 1692 he had probably thought of little else than the doctrines of religion, and to the end of his life he would have held such cases to be supernatural. The whole tenor of New England life helped to foster the state of mind out of which such fears arise; and it is likely that Cotton Mather could no more help believing in witchcraft than the ignorant Neapolitan peasant of our own day can help believing in the Evil Eye. The minds of men are in a great measure formed by inherited opinions; and superstition is a plant which dies down slowly.

It appears from the diary of Cotton Mather that there were times when he had temptations to Atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion. The revelation bears a terrible commentary on the man, and on the age and country in which he lived. Such misgivings were owing, not to any spirit of intellectual scepticism, for that had not yet appeared in America, but to the natural revulsion of the mind from a system of religion morbidly overstrained, and arrayed in the most gloomy colours and the most forbidding forms. Mather had placed his religion in antagonism to natural feeling, to intellectual progress, to inquiry, to sense, to joyfulness and beauty, to art and science, to all that is noblest and sweetest in the human soul. What wonder if those deathless foes rose up sometimes, and smote him to the heart? What wonder if, in mere blind and casual obedience to outraged principles, he reeled back from his own false standard, and, seeing for the moment nothing but chaos, doubted of that which the more temperate and rationally pious never dream of questioning?

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Buccaneers of America—Origin of the Term "Buccaneer"—Piracy in the Roman Empire—Claim of Spain to the entire Sovereignty of America—Resistance to this Claim the Beginning of Buccaneering—Extreme Cruelty of the Spaniards towards all but Spanish Settlers in the West Indies—English, French, Portuguese, and Dutch, in the West Indian Seas—Sacking of Spanish Towns and Spanish Ships—"The Brethren of the Coast," or Early Buccaneers—Laws by which the Fraternity was governed—Attractive Character of the Lives led by West Indian Sea-Rovers—Head-quarters of the Buccaneers in the Islands of St. Christopher and Tortuga—Career of Francis Lolonois—Henry Morgan's Exploit at Maracaibo Pillage of Panama by Morgan—Second Expedition of Buccaneers to Panama—Adventures of Captain Dampier and Others—Division between the English and French Buccaneers—Pirates in the Eastern Seas—The Earl of Bellamont and William Kidd—Execution of Kidd, and Inquiry into the conduct of Lord Bellamont—Subsequent History of the American Pirates.

AMERICA in the seventeenth century would not be completely described without some notice of the Buccaneers—those daring and often bloodthirsty rovers of the sea who made a prey of Spanish mer-

cantile vessels, and, while acting simply for their own private gain, restrained the egregious pretensions of a grasping and selfish Power. Although comparatively few of these criminals were American by birth, and although the scene of their exploits was often far to the south of the United States, the English colonies were so much affected by their operations that it will be advisable to trace their whole career from its beginning. A large part of the romance of American annals is associated with freebooters of the ocean, whose flags carried terror along the Atlantic and other coasts, and whose leaders often exhibited a degree of genius which, in the service of regular Governments, would have given them high rank as naval or military commanders. The Buccaneer of the New World had much the same characteristics as the Corsair or Algerine pirate of the Mediterranean; and the same kind of sentimental admiration—generally quite misplaced—has gathered about the one as about the other. Adventurous deeds, whatever the motive, or however great the cruelty by which they may be accompanied, will always excite the sympathy of the young and quick-blooded. One thinks of figures like those of Henry Morgan, Richard Sawkins, William Kidd, and others of the same era, as of the banditti described in "Gil Blas." They are robbers, but they are picturesque. They are ruffians, yet they do not lie entirely beyond the sphere of a reasonable interest. They may be vicious, but they are not vulgar. The wild blood of the old Vikings throbs again in their veins. The gust of fighting, the passion of freedom, the appetite to acquire, the large capacity to enjoy, were theirs; and if their lives were deeply stained with crime, so were the lives of men of much greater position in the world, whose history has in it nothing of the sharp sting of ocean winds, the salt and savour of the variable sea.

The term Buccaneer is derived from a Caribbee Indian word, denoting a peculiar way of curing and preserving the flesh of cattle. The flesh so cured was called *Boucan*, whence the French, who had dealings with the Caribbees, made the verb *boucaner*, to dry red without salt. The earliest Buccaneers, so called, were French settlers in that part of Hispaniola which the Spaniards had deserted in the second half of the sixteenth century. These Frenchmen at first employed themselves in hunting and taking the black cattle that ran wild there, the flesh of which they dried after the Indian method; but, being joined by large numbers of English, Dutch, and other seamen, all of whom had a strong feeling of enmity towards the Spaniards, they built ships, and carried on privateering expeditions against Spanish commerce, without being very particular if chance threw the ships of friendly nations also in their way. By the French, these sea-rovers were commonly called Flibustiers, from which the Americans in modern times have made the well-known designation of Filibuster. The origin of the expression is to be found in our own word "freebooter;" so that the English and the French have to some extent interchanged terms in the designation of these marine robbers.

Piracy is a very old form of crime. It existed in the ancient as in the modern world; and the sea-rovers of Asia Minor, in the later days of the Roman Republic, carried their depredations to such lengths that the commerce of the Mediterranean was to a great extent crippled. They seized on Julius Cæsar when, as a very young man, he was returning from the court of Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, and did not release him until they had been paid an enormous ransom. Cæsar afterwards took their fleet, and executed several of the freebooters; but the mischief was only checked for a time. These desperadoes did not confine their operations to the sea. They are reported to have sacked four hundred cities, laid several others under contribution, plundered the temples of the gods, and ransacked the houses of noblemen on the Tiber. Persons of high position were seized on shore, with a view to their redemption by a money payment; and the power of the robbers grew so great, and was so well supported by fortresses and castles along the coasts, that it was found necessary to send Pompey against them with a large fleet and an equally large army.* In this way they were subdued; but the evil became as bad as ever in the decline of the Roman Empire, and so continued for many centuries. The Greek islands, owing to the security offered by their narrow and sinuous waters, were perfect nests of pirates; a Greek sea-rover established himself on the throne of Algiers; and the Barbary freebooters were long the terror of the ocean. The Sea-Kings of Scandinavia were little better than robbers on a large scale; and the Saxon tribes who conquered England might have carried on their flags the Buccaneers' insignia of a death's head and crossed bones. It was to be expected that this institution of the Old World would pass the Atlantic, and germinate anew on the shores of America.

The preposterous assumption of Spain, to be

* Plutarch: Lives of Pompey and Julius Cæsar.



MORGAN'S DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH FLEET. (*From the History of the Buccaneers.*)

considered the sole and undisputed mistress of all America, had much to do with the origin of Buccaneering. This assumption was based on alleged priority of discovery; though it is very certain that the American continent (setting aside the outlying islands) was first revealed to an English ship, as far as any exact historical knowledge will take us.* Spain, however, was supported in her rapacity by Pope Alexander VI., who, by a famous bull, handed over the whole vast territory to the sway of Madrid. It was of course impossible to make good such a claim; but Spain did her utmost to exclude other nations from trading or settling in the West Indies. The English and French were the most enterprising of all in their attempts to establish themselves there, and the Spaniards treated them with merciless severity. They were literally murdered wherever they could be found. When an English ship, in 1517, appeared at St. Domingo with a request for liberty to trade, the Spanish Governor opened fire on her, and was afterwards reproved by the authorities at home for not seizing the vessel, and destroying all on board. When the French Protestants, in 1564–5, endeavoured to plant a colony in the southern portion of what is now South Carolina, the Spaniards pursued them there, and slew the greater number. Every foreigner seen on the coasts in that part of the world was punished as a robber; and the mere spirit of opposition and retaliation caused a large number of enterprising sailors to defy such tyrannical ordinances, and to treat the wrong-doers with the same severity that they meted out to others. The attraction to those regions was of course very great. Immeasurable wealth was to be discovered there; the opportunities for adventure and for gain were boundless. Countries like England, France, and Portugal were not likely to submit to the selfish policy of Spain. They had ships in plenty, and daring hands to navigate them. The thoughts of all the chief European nations were being directed to commerce and colonisation as the great regenerators of a world which had outgrown feudalism, and was compelled to seek for some new order that might supplant the old. The West offered more openings than any other quarter of the globe; and it was not in the power of any Papal bull or Spanish decree to curb the enterprise of races to whom it was natural to be foremost in all the great struggles of life.

The West Indies swarmed with alien fleets not long after the discovery of America. In 1526, Thomas Tyson, an English mariner, was sent out there as factor to some merchants. Then the French penetrated into Brazil; the Portuguese followed, and, as the century advanced, the Dutch, who were beginning to assert their separate existence, and to share the trade of the world, made their appearance in those western seas which Spain was vainly endeavouring to close against all vessels but her own. By the second half of the sixteenth century, several cities of importance had sprung up along the coasts of Spanish America. They abounded in precious metals, in jewels, and in the most costly articles of commerce. Between these cities and the ports of Spain, numberless ships, laden with the riches of the wealthiest lands, were constantly passing to and fro. The temptation was too great to be resisted. Treated as pirates even when they desired nothing but fair and equal trade, it is no wonder if the interlopers turned on their enemies, and considered it no great sin to sack and destroy a town, or to seize a merchant-vessel. They knew that in any case they might be condemned to an ignominious death, and they considered that their adversary's own acts had established a state of war between them, of which they were entitled to take every advantage. It fared ill with the single galleons of Spain when they encountered the adventurers of England or France. Those "pageants of the sea," those "signiors and rich burghers of the flood," had to fight hard for their existence, and did not always prevail. The cities were scarcely more safe than the floating argosies. The Spaniards trembled for their possessions, and found it necessary to employ *guarda-costas* (guard-ships) for the protection of their commerce and their shores. The commanders of these vessels were instructed to massacre all their prisoners; nevertheless, piracy was far from being suppressed. It had not yet become the institution into which it was afterwards developed, nor was the term Buccaneering invented until early in the seventeenth century; but in the reign of Queen Elizabeth Spanish ships and Spanish towns were attacked by roving Englishmen, who regarded them as perfectly fair game. Raleigh, in some of his expeditions, was in no respect to be distinguished from a pirate. Grenville, Cavendish, Gilbert, Drake, and other famous seamen of that time, were never very scrupulous in their dealings with Spaniards. The feeling of national enmity was greatly exasperated after the attempted invasion of England by the Armada, and it came to be considered almost a point of patriotism to vex the subjects of Philip II. wherever they could be found. It cannot be denied that many acts were committed by these adventurers which are not to be justified

* See p. 8 of this volume.

either by international law or by morals; but the provocation given by Spain must always be borne in mind in considering the aspects of the case.

At a somewhat later period, the English, French, Dutch, and other sea rovers, coalesced in a kind of guild or fraternity sometimes called "The Brethren of the Coast," and Buccaneering became a regular profession, sustained by a spirit of corporate honour (whatever the crimes of individual members), and governed by a fixed code of laws. To some extent, these pirates held their property in common; but prizes were distributed in proportion to the rank of each man. All the necessaries of life were to be equally shared. As a rule, each robber had a declared comrade, and the two divided their entire property as long as they lived together. When either died, the other took the whole; but this extreme form of comradeship did not always exist, for Buccaneers have been known to bequeath property by will to their friends in Europe. Amongst themselves, no bolts, locks, or other modes of fastening, were to be used, since such things would imply a doubt as to each other's honour. That they were not without a genuine sentiment of mutual obligation is certain, and their vices were relieved by the virtues of courage and self-reliance. They were not unfrequently religious, after the fashion which use and custom had recommended to them. A French *flibustier* shot one of his crew in church for behaving irreverently during mass. The English pirates were often Puritanical, and were very particular that the Sabbath should be kept holy. It might have been supposed that such wide divergences of religious belief, amongst men to whom religion was not indifferent, would lead to constant and sanguinary dissensions; but such does not seem to have been the case. The interests of the community held them together, and the activity of their lives stifled the more intense and acrid forms of theological controversy. Endless change, perpetual adventure, the excitement of danger and of gain, gave a charm to their existence, which to many a wild spirit seemed irresistible. When not at sea, they were hunting cattle on the islands, preparing their *boucan*, or leading lives of almost savage freedom in groves of tropical splendour, or in the winding folds of valleys where the moan of the encompassing sea was hushed or sweetened by the inland calm—valleys so exquisitely beautiful, so rich with pendent foliage, so bright with flowers, so musical with gliding streams, so sumptuous with the jewellery of painted birds, that mortal men might well be excused if they expected or desired no more in the valleys of Paradise itself. Then, when those voluptuous delights began to pall, there was the ready vessel close at hand, in which to cruise from shore to shore across waves of luminous purple, with some ever new delight of battle to break up the stagnancy of peace—with Spanish argosies to be seized, with Spanish towns to be plundered, with Spanish girls to be shared among the victors who survived. Dwelling always on the very edge of death, these men made a quintessence of life, and drank it concentrated and sparkling. To be dull, was with them to taste beforehand the torments of the condemned.*

Many men of good birth and education joined these sea-rovers, from sheer love of adventure, from desire of repairing their broken fortunes, or from hatred of the Spaniards. Their golden age was the second half of the seventeenth century, but they had become a formidable power even before 1650. Narratives of the cruelties committed by Spaniards on all intruders in the West Indies were circulated in Europe, and undoubtedly had a great influence in exciting the desire of revenge. Montbars, a Frenchman, was stimulated by these stories into quitting his own country, becoming a Buccaneer, and inflicting the utmost amount of injury on the persecutors. He killed so many of the offending nation in the Western seas that he acquired the name of "the Exterminator;" and the freebooters generally were little inclined to mercy. There was a time, however, when the Buccaneers seemed disposed to settle down to peaceful modes of occupation. Several of them, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, became logwood-cutters in the Bay of Campeachy, where for awhile they carried on a good trade with European ships, not only in timber, but in cured meats, hides of animals, and other commodities. The Spaniards, however, would not let them rest in quiet. They slaughtered them on every opportunity, burnt their log-huts, and hunted them down with pitiless ferocity. The

* The shore-life of a later race of Buccaneers has been described by Canon Kingsley in a spirited ballad:—

"Oh, the palms grew high in Aves, and fruit as gay as gold,
With parrakeets and humming-birds most beauteous to behold;
And the negro girls to Aves from bondage fast did flee,
To welcome gay young mariners, a-sweeping in from sea.

"Oh, sweet it was in Aves to hear the landward breeze,
A-swing with good tobacco in a net between the trees;
With a negro lass to fan you while you listened to the roar
Of the breakers on the reef outside, that never came to shore.

"But Scripture saith, an ending to all fine things must be;
So the King's ships sail'd on Aves, and quite put down were we.
All day we fought like tigers, but they burst the booms at night,
And I fled in a piragua sore wounded from the fight."

folly of such conduct was soon made apparent in the wider extension of freebooting, and the greater savageness with which reprisals were conducted.

As early as 1625, the English and French sea-rovers took possession of St. Christopher, and in 1630 they seized on Tortuga. These two West India islands became the head-quarters of the Buccaneers, and are associated with many wild stories of adventure. Thenceforward the business of piracy was carried on with greater regularity and system. When England and France were at war with Spain, freebooters obtained letters of marque from their respective Governments, so as to acquire an acknowledged position as privateers. But their operations did not terminate on the conclusion of peace; for to the Buccaneer Spain was always an enemy, and pillage was always an attraction. After England had gained possessions in the West Indies, her representatives in that part of the world sometimes connived at the doings of these brigands of the sea, for the sake of what they themselves got out of the plunder. Tortuga, however, was not secured by the Buccaneers without a struggle. In 1638, while a number of the pirates were away in Hispaniola, hunting wild cattle, a large force of Spaniards landed on the island, and massacred all whom they found there. But the freebooters speedily retook Tortuga, fortified it strongly, and made it their base of operations. Their organisation became more perfect every year; their attacks on commerce grew more frequent and more bold; and in time not merely the West Indies, but a large part of America, paid unwilling tribute to their flag.

One of the most famous of the early Buccaneers was Francis Lolonois, a Frenchman, who had been sent to the Caribbee Islands, early in life, as a bond-servant. When his time of service had expired, he went to Hispaniola, and lived for awhile among the hunters; then took to the sea, and, having ultimately obtained a ship, made piratical war on the Spaniards, whom he always treated with extreme cruelty. The city of Maracaibo, in Venezuela, was sacked by this miscreant, who afterwards, at the head of his victorious freebooters, advanced towards Gibraltar. The Governor of the latter place was a military officer who had served in Flanders; and, putting himself at the head of eight hundred men, half of whom were regular soldiers, while the rest were civilians armed for the occasion, he made vigorous preparations for defence. A battery was raised towards the lake, and mounted with twenty guns, masked with baskets of earth. In the rear of this was placed another battery, consisting of eight guns; and the chief highway into the town was barricaded. On arriving with his fleet before Gibraltar, Lolonois saw that a serious resistance was intended, and, calling a council of war, he sought advice as to what course should be taken. His own voice was for an immediate attack, and he had no great difficulty in communicating his resolution to the others. All promised to follow him, and on the following day they landed, to the number of three hundred and eighty, well armed, and each man provided with powder and shot for thirty charges. Finding the ordinary entrance into the town obstructed by the barricade which had been thrown up, they went round by a narrow and tortuous path through the woods, where they were fired into by the Spaniards. The ground was so miry that the Buccaneers were obliged to cut down branches of trees, so as to make a somewhat firmer road for marching on. Advancing through the noise and smoke of the cannon which the Spaniards brought to bear against them, the brigands, as soon as they had cleared the wood, came upon a battery, the defenders of which, after a raking fire, darted forth with so much fury that the pirates were driven back. Lolonois, however, rallied his forces, and again led them forward, but without success. He then ordered his men to make a pretence of flying, and in this way drew the Spaniards some distance from their batteries. Facing round when they thought they could do so with effect, the Buccaneers fell upon their opponents with the sword, killed above two hundred, and, fighting their way back to the batteries, took possession of them. The main body of the Spaniards now fled into the woods, and the rest surrendered on the promise of their lives. The town of course was sacked; the citizens were tortured to make them disclose their hidden wealth; many of the inhabitants perished of hunger, owing to a scarcity of provisions, which the invaders seized for their own necessities; and several died in the forest, of wounds received during the fight, in addition to upwards of five hundred who fell sword in hand. The loss on the side of the Buccaneers was much smaller; but they did not gain the day without paying for it. After many similar exploits, and the commission of numerous horrible cruelties, Lolonois was torn to pieces by the savage Indians of Darien, into whose hands he had chanced to fall.*

* The adventures of this worthy are related with much fulness in a scarce volume entitled "Bucaniers of America: or, a True Account of the Most Remarkable Assaults committed of Late Years upon the Coasts of the West Indies by the Bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French," 1684—a work originally written in Dutch. The author (John Esquemeling) was himself one of Henry Morgan's pirates.

Several more of these robbers have won for themselves a permanent name in history; especially Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who, whatever his crimes, possessed some of the qualities of a great military leader. Having succeeded to a sort of general direction of the West Indian pirates, he plundered the town of Puerto del Principe, in Cuba, attacked the strong position of Puerto Bello, and then directed his course towards Maracaibo and Gibraltar, towns situated on opposite sides of the lake of Maracaibo. This lake is entered by a narrow passage from the Gulf of the same name, which opens out of the Caribbean Sea; and the passage in Morgan's time was defended by a strong castle. The commander made but a poor defence, and forsook the position as soon as darkness came on. Morgan possessed himself of a large quantity of powder left in the abandoned works, spiked the cannon, partially demolished the walls, and sailed into the inland waters. Both Maracaibo and Gibraltar were sacked, and at these places, Morgan, who had the Buccaneer vice of cruelty in full measure, committed or sanctioned the most frightful atrocities, to force the people into giving up their treasures. While at Gibraltar, a negro slave promised to conduct him to a river flowing into the lake of Maracaibo, where he would find a ship and four boats laden with valuables belonging to the inhabitants of the adjacent city. He also revealed to him the place where the Governor of Gibraltar lay hidden, together with most of the women, who had managed to escape. Assigning to a detachment the task of capturing the boats, and leaving the rest of his fleet in the lake, Morgan himself, with a party of two hundred and fifty men, went overland in search of the Governor. That officer had retired to a small island seated in the middle of the river, where he had hastily built a little fort; but, on hearing that Captain Morgan was coming in person against him, he moved farther off to the top of a mountain, the only ascent to which was by a very narrow passage, that would not admit of two men going abreast. The position was so strong that Morgan, with all his daring, recoiled from attacking it; particularly as his powder had been wetted by a heavy rain, and he had lost several of his men in fording a swollen river. He therefore retreated, first to Gibraltar, and afterwards to Maracaibo, having reason to apprehend that the Spaniards were preparing to despatch a strong force against him. His men were by this time laden with riches; yet they were greedy of every opportunity of acquiring more. It soon became apparent, however, that they would have enough to do to secure what they had already got, and to save themselves from a great reverse.

At Maracaibo, the Buccaneers learned that three Spanish men of war had arrived at the lake, and that the castle by which the entrance was guarded had been repaired and put in a good state of defence. They were in fact hemmed in by a force much stronger than their own, and could only get from the inland lake into the more open waters by conducting their little fleet of small ships through a narrow channel, where they could hardly escape being crushed by the fire of the Spanish men-of-war and of the fortress. For a little while, Morgan seemed to lose heart; but, soon recovering his spirits, he sent a Spaniard to the Admiral of the three ships, demanding of him a ransom for not setting fire to the city of Maracaibo. The man returned two days after, bringing a letter from the Admiral, who threatened the pirates with extermination, unless they made an immediate and absolute surrender. Morgan submitted this letter to the judgment of his men, asking them whether they would yield or fight; and, the reply being unanimous that they would struggle to the last, he made arrangements for an attack upon the enemy. Previous to taking active measures, however, he sent proposals of accommodation to Don Alonso, the Spanish commander. He promised that, if allowed to pass out of the lake without molestation, he would quit Maracaibo without doing any damage to the town, or exacting any ransom; that he would set at liberty half the slaves he had taken, and all the other prisoners; and that he would send home freely the four chief inhabitants of Gibraltar, whom he had seized as hostages for the contributions promised by that city. The Spaniard refused to enter into any negotiations, and Morgan resolved to proceed at once to extremities. By the advice of one of his men, he made a fire-ship, the combustibles on board of which were cleverly concealed by counterfeit cannon, while the deck was covered with logs of wood, rudely fashioned into the shape of men with high-crowned hats. This ship was sent forward, and, being kindled, set fire to the largest of the Spanish vessels, which was burnt to the water's edge. The second man-of-war was sunk by her own crew, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Buccaneers; the third, being unable to escape, was taken by Morgan. The scene of this action was the narrow channel communicating with the gulf, the approach to which was guarded by the castle. To get past that fortress was now the great difficulty. The pirates, going ashore, made an attempt to take it,

but found the work far too strong to be carried by assault. Morgan, however, continued to conduct himself like a conqueror, and not only demanded but obtained an enormous ransom from Maracaibo for not firing the town. He also got up from



SACK OF PUERTO DEL PRINCIPE. (*From the History of the Buccaneers.*)

beneath the lake an immense amount of treasure belonging to the ship that had been sunk; and then, after causing a division of the total booty, concocted a stratagem by which he might escape. He made a feint of landing his men on the opposite side of the castle; and when the Spaniards, fearing an attack in that direction, had transferred their cannon from the walls commanding the lake to the landward walls, the pirate vessels spread sail by moonlight, and, with a parting salute of seven guns, swept out into the gulf. Before the Spaniards could re-shift their cannon, and fire on the free-booters, they were beyond reach, speeding with a favourable wind towards the freedom of the great deep.*

This exploit took place in the spring of 1669, and was in time followed by another still more extraordinary, for which the most elaborate preparations were made. One of the richest places in Spanish America was the city of Panama, situated on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus bearing the same name. Morgan designed to pillage the town, and resolved to lead his men over the wild, jungly tract of land

* Bucaniers of America (1684), Part II., chap. 7.

which separates the eastern from the western ocean —a territory even now but imperfectly known, and at all times rendered perilous by lurking savages, by pathless ways, and by a deadly climate. The expedition was conducted on no mean scale.



MORGAN, THE BUCCANEER.

Thirty-seven vessels, carrying about two thousand men (English and French) were brought together at Cape Tiburon in December, 1670, and Morgan speedily attacked the island of Santa Catalina, which he took. Leaving a strong garrison there, he pushed on to the mouth of the river Chagre, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, where, after a desperate fight, he seized the strong castle of San Lorenzo, situated in a position which might fairly have been reckoned impregnable. Of three hundred and fourteen Spaniards whom he found in this castle, he put two hundred to the sword. Five hundred men were left at San Lorenzo, together with the fleet; and the remaining freebooters, numbering some twelve hundred, began their land march across the Isthmus. They suffered terribly from fatigue, weather, and deprivation, being at times reduced to the utmost extremities for want of food; and when, after ten days, the goal of their enterprise appeared in sight, a Spanish army, composed of two thousand foot and four hundred horse, was found drawn up in battle-array to dispute any further advance. The wearied brigands were greatly overmatched; but they fell on their adversaries with so impetuous a fury that the defenders

of the town were driven back, and Panama fell into the hands of Morgan and his comrades. A sack, accompanied by horrible atrocities on the part of the Buccaneers, followed as the inevitable result. The city, in which there were about seven thousand houses, was finally burnt, and the attacking forces then made their way back to San Lorenzo, each man carrying with him his share of the spoils. Morgan, who was accused by his comrades of cheating them out of the greater part of what had been taken, afterwards sailed to Jamaica, and became a person of high position. It is said that he thought at one time of setting up an independent State among the islands of the Pacific; but he probably saw that his real interests lay in another direction. Charles II., who is suspected to have shown, on more than one occasion, a disposition to encourage piratical adventures in the hope of personal gain, made him a knight: and he successively occupied the posts of Commissioner of the Admiralty Court in Jamaica, and Deputy-Governor of the island. Yet some of the inferior pirates were hanged, as a sacrifice to the wrath of Spain.

Nearly ten years after Morgan's achievement, it was repeated, as far as crossing the Isthmus was concerned (though not in precisely the same part), by a band of three hundred and thirty English Buccaneers. These men took the town of Santa Maria, but did not feel themselves in sufficient force to make another attack on the city of Panama, which had by that time been rebuilt. The captain of the expedition was Richard Sawkins, a man of ability and courage, who, being asked by the Governor of Panama why, during a time of peace between England and Spain, Englishmen should enter those seas to commit depredations, and from whom they had received their commission, replied that he and his comrades came to assist their friend, the native king of Darien, who was the rightful lord of Panama, and of all the country thereabouts. They had in fact formed an alliance with the Darien Indians, from whom they had obtained a number of small canoes, which proved extremely useful. An attack which they made on Puebla Nova resulted in a disastrous failure: several of their men were killed, and Sawkins himself was among the slain. Some of their operations, however, were successful. Pushing out into the open seas in their Indian canoes, they attacked and captured a few Spanish traders, and at length, relinquishing their design on Panama, stood away to the south. They cruised for some months along the coast of Peru, plundered a small town, and passed the Christmas of 1680 on the island of Juan Fernandez, celebrated as the scene of that adventure of Alexander Selkirk's which was made by Defoe the groundwork of his "Robinson Crusoe." This was the farthest point in that direction to which they attained. Their voyages, whatever the object of undertaking them, resulted in a considerable addition to the existing stock of knowledge with respect to what was then called the South Sea—that is, the South Pacific. Many of this company of Buccaneers were men of good education, and, apart from their piratical doings, of respectable character. One of the number was the celebrated Captain William Dampier, a Somersetshire man who afterwards attained great fame as a navigator. He has left an admirable account of his adventures; and so have three other members of the expedition—Basil Ringrove, Barty Sharp, and Lionel Wafer.

Shortly after quitting Juan Fernandez, the Buccaneers were repulsed with heavy loss from the town of Arica, and dissensions then broke out among their ranks. One party would have re-elected Barty Sharp to the chief command, which he had filled for a short time after the death of Sawkins. Another faction accused him of want of courage, and refused to sail under his orders. After much quarrelling, they agreed to part company. Sharp and his adherents retained possession of a large vessel, and continued to cruise in the South Sea. Dampier, Wafer, and a few others, took the long-boat and the canoes, in the early part of 1681, and made for the Isthmus of Darien. Of this latter party, the white men numbered only forty-four, to whom were added a Spanish Indian, two Mosquito Indians, and five slaves, whom they had taken while cruising about. On coming in sight of the Isthmus, they perceived two Spanish men-of-war, of large size, supported by detachments of soldiers at different posts along the shore. Knowing that they were quite incapable of coping with such adversaries, the Buccaneers exercised their utmost skill in eluding the enemy, and, though pressed very hard, contrived to land in a small creek of the Bay of Panama. Sinking their canoes, to destroy all trace of their whereabouts, they struck across the savage and inhospitable country which separated them from the Atlantic. By the aid of pocket-compasses, they shaped their way across the desert; but it was no easy task to accomplish. The physical difficulties of the route, in the shape of dense woods, torrents, swamps, and rugged mountains, tried them severely. Deluging rain fell for days; the lightning was terrific; food was scarce, the Indian tribes were unfriendly, and there was always the danger of falling in with Spaniards. For a time the party was separated, and it was not until after many adventures and

perils that they were reunited on the shores of the Atlantic. Dampier engaged in other piratical expeditions for some years; but he was too good a man for such work. To cover the infamy of their occupation, he called his companions privateers, which they cannot fairly be considered. In 1684, he and some others sailed down the whole eastern side of South America, passed round by Cape Horn into the Pacific, surveyed the coasts as far as California, and then stretched across the vast ocean to China and the Indies.

The Spaniards suffered so much from these Buccaneers that, at the treaty concluded between England and Spain in 1667, they introduced a clause for the entire suppression of piracy. This had not the slightest effect, for the freebooters refused to be bound by it. In 1673, the Spaniards killed three hundred French *flibustiers* who had been shipwrecked at Puerto Rico. Frightful reprisals followed, and it seemed as if the trade of Buccaneering would have received a yet deeper tinge of atrocity. But it was not only the subjects of the Spanish King who suffered from the depredations of these ruffians. The commercial ships of New England and other of the American colonies were sometimes attacked, and men of American birth occasionally joined the desperadoes, or traded on their own account. Persons of good social position and staid religious life, in various cities of the New World, were strongly suspected of being interested in these ventures; and hatred of the Navigation Acts had much to do with the encouragement of piracy. The Buccaneers were supported in their enterprises by the people of South Carolina, who maintained friendly relations with the sea-rovers, opened their ports to them, furnished their ships with supplies, and were glad to make money out of their vices. The Governor himself, and the principal inhabitants, were on familiar terms with these criminals, and were even suspected of a desire to engage in their enterprises. The proprietors remonstrated against such disgraceful habits and inclinations, and Charles II., in 1684, transmitted to the colony a law against pirates, which the proprietors required the Assembly to enact, and their executive officers strictly to execute. The law was passed, but evaded, and James II., in 1687, found it necessary to send out an expedition against the pirates of the West Indies, which the South Carolinians were compelled to aid, and which proved temporarily successful.

When war broke out between England and France, in 1689, the English and French Buccaneers took the sides of their respective countries, and, being commissioned as privateers, fought with one another as ferociously as if they had never been the best of friends. This broke up the once formidable confederacy; yet piracy still continued, though on a less serious scale. On the Earl of Bellamont being appointed Governor of New England and New York, he was told by the King that one of his special offices would be to suppress the piracy which was disgracing America. His appointment to this post was as early as 1695, though he did not go out till 1698. In the meanwhile, he was recommended to employ, in the contemplated operations against the pirates, a veteran sailor named William Kidd, who had fought with the French, and had now retired on a pension. The exploits of the Buccaneers had by this time been transferred to the eastern seas—to the Indian Ocean, and its various gulfs and straits. Bellamont was assured that no man was better acquainted with those seas than Kidd. He knew all the haunts of the pirates, and would undertake, if provided with a single ship of thirty or forty guns, to hunt down and destroy the whole gang of robbers. The lawful spoils of such an expedition, it was urged, would more than defray all expenses. Such a scheme appeared to Bellamont both practical and desirable, and he spoke to that effect to the King. The Admiralty demurred to the plan, and the Earl then thought that the same results might be accomplished by a privateer, to be fitted out by a few gentlemen of wealth. On communicating this idea to wealthy friends, and stating that six thousand pounds would be enough, several noblemen, including Lord Somers, contributed various sums of money, and a ship called the *Adventure Galley* was equipped in the port of London. Kidd was placed in command of this vessel, and, besides ordinary letters of marque, carried with him a commission under the Great Seal, empowering him to seize pirates, and to take them to some place where they might be dealt with according to law. Whatever right the King might have to goods found in the possession of the freebooters, he granted, by letters patent, to the persons who had been at the expense of fitting out the expedition, reserving to himself no more than a tenth part of such profits as might accrue from the adventure, which proportion was to be paid into the Treasury.* Kidd could not fully man his ship in the Thames; but his complement was soon made up at New York, and, sailing from the Hudson in February, 1697, he proceeded to the coast of Madagascar.

It was a long voyage, which took about five months

* Macaulay's History of England, chap. 25.

to perform. Whether in the course of that voyage the designs of Kidd underwent a change, or whether he started with a deliberate intention of violating the trust that had been reposed in him, can never be known. But it is certain that, on finding himself in the oriental seas, he determined to plunder the merchant-vessels he had been sent out to protect. Kidd and his seamen had probably very loose and accommodating ideas on the subject of freebooting. They were not disposed to run the risk of fighting with the Buccaneers of those waters, especially as by making terms with them they might enrich themselves to an indefinite amount. Having established friendly relations with the sea-rovers already on the spot, Kidd robbed every ship he felt strong enough to attack. The gains of this infamous expedition were enormous. Even the common sailors grew rich, and the commander laid up stores which many a poor nobleman might have envied. Kidd behaved on all occasions with the utmost cruelty. Whenever he went ashore, he burnt houses and massacred peasantry. One of his crew, who had reproached him with his deeds, he struck dead without a moment's notice. Intelligence having at length reached London that Kidd had turned pirate on his own account, orders were despatched to the Governors of English colonies to look out for and arrest him; but the freebooter had already burnt his ship, and dispersed his men amongst the other pirates. He had by this time made enough to satisfy him, and, going to Boston in 1699, he endeavoured to deceive Lord Bellamont with a false account of his proceedings. For a little while he succeeded; but, suspicion being aroused, the pirate was apprehended, and ultimately sent to England, where he was tried and hanged in 1701. The participation of Bellamont and other great lords in the expedition of this scoundrel was made the subject of inquiry in Parliament. The opponents of the Government seized with eager delight on so good an occasion for discrediting their political enemies, and it was more than hinted that Lord Bellamont, Somers, and the rest, had a guilty knowledge of Kidd's designs, and hoped to share the profits. There is no real ground, however, for supposing any such thing. The inquiry resulted in a vindication of the characters of those who had fitted out the privateer; and of all the Governors of New England none has left a better reputation behind him than the Earl of Bellamont.

Buccaneering, as a highly-organised institution, came to a close with the seventeenth century. Several of the freebooters turned planters or negro-drivers in the West India islands, or served as sailors in the mercantile marine. But others held to their original calling, and, ranging over the waters of the world, plundered any vessels they could find. Spain was no longer the special object of their antagonism; they would as soon rob from one nationality as from another. The term Buccaneer fell into disuse; the men were simple pirates, and appear to have called themselves such. The slight excuse of patriotism, derived from the necessity of resisting the arrogant assumptions of Spain, no longer existed, and a lower class of sailors engaged in the traffic. They were mere vulgar ruffians, whose actions made them the common enemies of mankind. Englishmen, West Indians, and natives of the American continent, joined in the perilous trade of pirating, and the chief haunts of commerce were kept in terror by the extraordinary daring and ferocity of these men, who sometimes took fortified positions on shore, and pretended to a kind of sovereignty. The pirates, like their predecessors the Buccaneers, consorted a good deal with one another; yet they were under no general government, each ship's company being regulated by its own laws, independently of the rest. The authority of the captain was by no means absolute, for all concerns of moment were determined by the voice of the crew, though to the captain was given a double vote in elections. Prizes were divided amongst the men who took them, the captains receiving two shares, the officers a share and a half, and the private sailors a single share. On great occasions, the commanders would often give away an additional quarter or half-share to men who had specially distinguished themselves, deducting it from the profits of those who had been remiss in their duty.

The execution of Kidd, and of many other of these miscreants, seems to have had no effect in deterring the survivors. In 1717, the coasts of New England were kept in terror by a Captain Bellamy, who commanded a vessel carrying twenty-three guns, and a crew of one hundred and thirty men. It was a relief to the colonists, and to the merchants who traded with them, when this ship was wrecked on Cape Cod, with the loss of the captain and all his men save six, who were afterwards executed at Boston. Virginia also suffered much from the depredations of these robbers; and South Carolina, which had by this time broken off its friendly relations with the freebooters, was vexed by the piratical operations of Steed Bonnet and Richard Worley, the first of whom, a man of liberal education, had formerly been a major in the British army. An expedition was sent against these marauders, in 1718, by the then Governor of the colony, Robert Johnson, and they were forced to

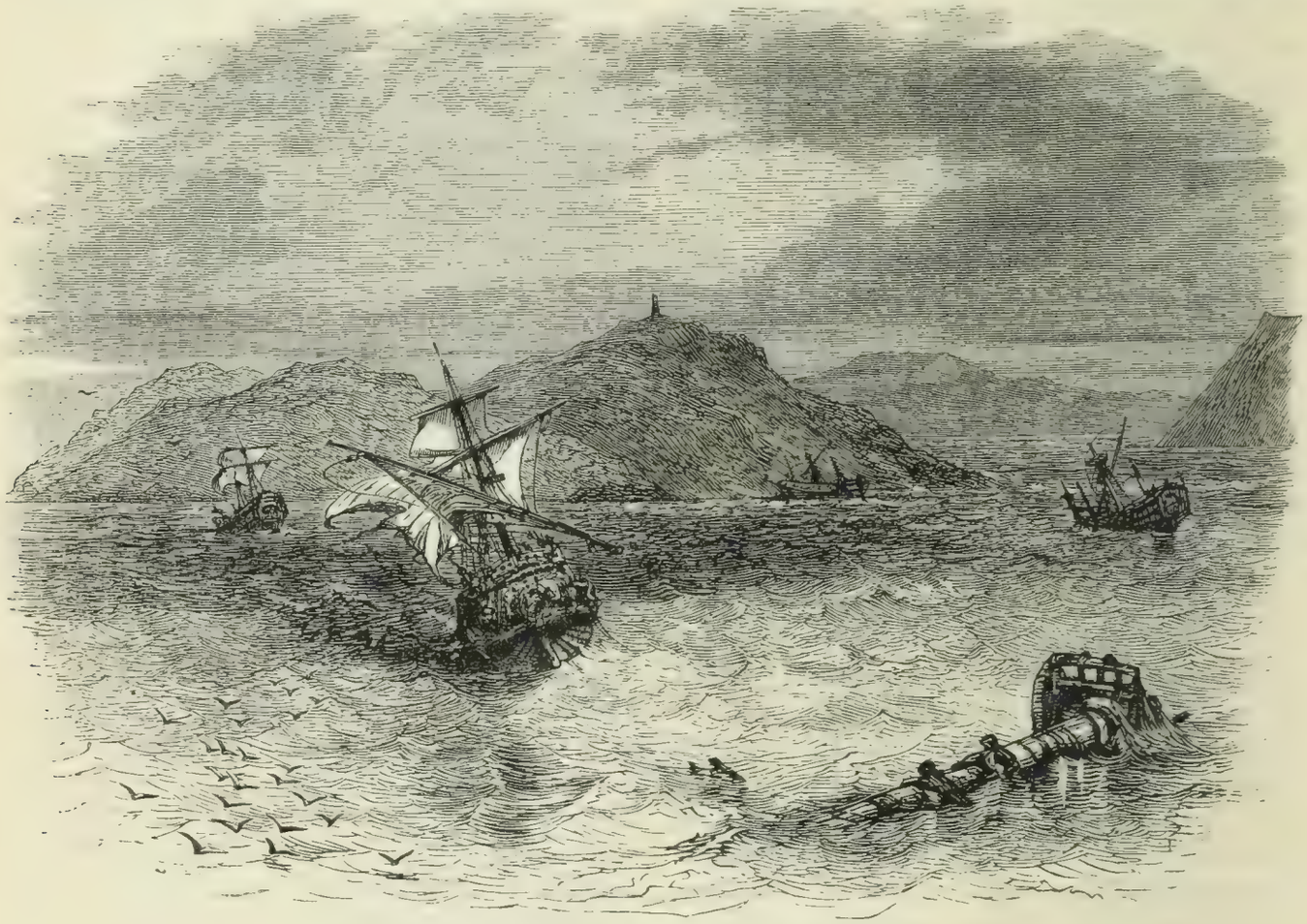
surrender, after a severe engagement. North Carolina was still more seriously devastated by marine banditti, the leader of whom was a West Indian named Edward Theach, commonly known by the designation of Black Beard, because, in an age when it was usual to shave the whole face, it was his humour to grow a portentous beard of very dark hue, which he twisted with ribbons into small tails, after the manner of a Ramilies wig. This man seems to have had a touch of actual madness in his composition. He would go into battle with lighted matches under his hat, which, says a somewhat admiring biographer, gave him the appearance of a fury from hell; and his conduct was of a nature to keep up the impression thus produced. His cruelties were often purely wanton. On one occasion, while drinking in his cabin, he blew out the lights, took a pistol in each hand, and fired right and left under the table among a number of his companions, one of whom was wounded for life. Another time, he exclaimed to his comrades, "Come, let us make a hell of our own, and try how long we can bear it." He then, with two or three more, went down into the hold, and closing up all the hatches, lighted a large quantity of brimstone and other combustible matter, in the suffocating air of which he continued until some of the men cried out for air, when he reopened the hatches, rejoicing greatly that he had held out the longest.

His habit was to drink to excess, and he encouraged his men to do the same, as a stimulant to their ferocity. A smack of grim and ferocious humour, not unfrequently dallying with the idea of infernal experiences in the life to come, gave a sort of pungent flavour to the speeches of this half-insane wretch, who for some years pursued a career of great prosperity. When he desired to refit his vessel, or to amuse himself on shore, he retired to the mouth of Pamlico Sound, and, ranging about the country, made the acquaintance of the gentry, and enjoyed the protection of Charles Eden, the Governor, and Tobias Knight, the Secretary, of North Carolina. After a brief submission to the King, and a short period of gambling and dissipation, he again took to his old trade of piracy, and at length drew down upon himself the active interference of Governor Spotswood, of Virginia. That energetic official despatched two small ships under Lieutenant Maynard, who discovered the robber in Pamlico Sound on the evening of November 21st, 1718. Black Beard prepared himself for action by a night of debauchery, and the fight next day was obstinate and bloody. Theach manœuvred about the narrow inlets with considerable skill, maintained the contest for some hours, and boarded Lieutenant Maynard's sloop under the smoke of hand grenades, but at length, finding the day turning against him, he made preparations for blowing up the magazine. His orders in this respect, however, were not carried out, and Black Beard, who had already been desperately wounded in many places, suddenly fell dead while in the act of cocking a pistol. The others surrendered, and the greater number were afterwards hanged.

The pirates found it convenient, as the Buccaneers had done, to have some place for their head-quarters, where they might store their gains, repair their ships, and concert fresh plans of action. They accordingly fixed on New Providence, the second of the Bahama Islands in point of size, the situation of which, to the east of Florida, was well adapted to their purposes. The Spanish convoys, carrying silver from the South American mines, were in the habit of passing that way in their homeward voyage; and the island presented many remarkable advantages for the objects in view. The Bahamas were taken from the English in the year 1700, when a combined force of French and Spaniards invaded them, seized the fort and Governor in New Providence, broke up the settlements, carried off half the blacks, and so dismayed the rest of the population that, after hiding for a time in the thick woods, they retired to the Carolinas. New Providence, therefore, lay waste when the pirates, in 1716, made it their place of resort. It is about thirty miles in length, and from eight to eleven in breadth, and has a harbour large enough to hold five hundred sail of ships. Before this harbour lies a small island, making two inlets from the outer sea; and each of these is protected by a bar, over which no vessel of five hundred tons' burden can pass. The pirates' craft were chiefly light brigantines, and, having once got into the harbour they felt secure against any large ships that might be pursuing them.

In the time of Captain Bartholomew Roberts, one of the most famous of these criminals, the pirates under his command agreed to certain general laws, by which they undertook to be bound. These laws provided that every man was to have a vote in affairs of moment, and an equal title to the fresh provisions or strong liquors at any time seized; that every man was to have his fair share of prizes; that any one who defrauded the ship's company to the value of a dollar was to be punished by marooning—that was, by being put on shore in some uninhabited part of the world, with a gun, a few shot, a flask of powder, and a bottle of water, to shift for himself, or starve, as might be; that no person was to gamble at cards or dice for

money; that all lights were to be put out at eight o'clock at night, and any of the crew who were still inclined for drinking after that hour were to do so on the open deck, and in the dark; that the men were to keep their pieces, pistols, and cutlasses clean and fit for service; that any one who should desert the ship or his proper quarters in battle should be punished with death or marooning; that every man's quarrels were to be settled on shore with sword and pistol; that no man was to think of giving up his way of living till he had shared a thousand pounds; and that any man who should lose a limb or become a cripple in the service was to have eight hundred dollars out of the general stock, and for lesser hurts proportionably. It would seem that these ordinances were not accepted by the whole body of pirates, but were made for the special government of Captain Roberts's crew. The sea-rovers of the eighteenth century were held together very loosely, and did not long retain possession of their island. A strong naval force was sent against them in 1718, and a Royal Proclamation was issued, promising pardon to those who surrendered by a certain date. Some of the freebooters were taken, some accepted the pardon, and others escaped. For many years the evil continued in full force; but on every opportunity the offenders were hunted down like wild beasts, and no criminal found less commiseration than the robber of the sea. Execution Dock, at Wapping, was the place where these wretches were commonly hung in chains; but many were executed in the colonies. The profession became desperate, and was pursued with all the more ferocity because of the perils by which it was encompassed. It is said that the pirates themselves did not desire the punishment to be less than death, for that, were it so, every cowardly fellow would turn freebooter, and the trade in time would be so depreciated as to be not worth following.* This might at a first glance seem to be mere bravado; but it is very possible that a certain aristocracy of crime may have been held to be preserved by the penalty of death. The Pirate fought with the rope about his neck, and it is not to be denied that he sometimes fought with signal courage. He held his position as a power on the seas through the greater part of last century, and was occasionally heard of even in later times.



ISLANDS AT THE MOUTH OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.

* An amusing but catchpenny work on this subject was published in 1724, under the title of "A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most Notorious Pyrates, and also their Policies, Discipline, and Government, from their First Rise and Settlement in the Island of Providence, in 1717, to the Present Year 1724," by Captain Charles Johnson.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Death of James II. in 1701 Resumption of the War with France in 1702 Effect of this on the Property of New England Hostilities between the English of South Carolina and the Spaniards of Florida Unsuccessful Attack by the English on St. Augustine Conquest of the Appalachian Indians, and Extension of the English Boundaries to the Borders of the Gulf of Mexico Desolation of the Northern Parts of New England by the Allied French and Indians Selfish Policy of New York Protest against the Barbarities of the War Attacks on Acadie Proposal of the English Government to effect the Conquest of Canada Disappointment of the Colonies at the Abandonment of the Design Visit of Indian Sachems to the English Court Final Conquest of Acadie Relative Position of the French and English in North America English and French Colonial Policy, and the Causes of its Distinctions Determination of the English Government to send an Expedition against Canada Preparations for the Attack Mismanagement of Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker Failure of the Expedition.

THE eighteenth century, though born in peace as between France and England, soon saw a resumption of that war which had desolated the latter years of the seventeenth, and had brought so much trouble on the American colonies. James II. died at St. Germain's on the 16th of September, 1701, and Louis XIV., contrary to a promise which he had given William III., immediately recognised as King of England the eldest surviving son of the deposed monarch by his second wife, Mary of Modena, although the succession had by the English Parliament been settled on Anne. This boy of thirteen—James Francis Edward, afterwards known as the First Pretender—was insolently flaunted in the face of the English people as their rightful king, in virtue of the mystical absurdity called divine right. The new King of Spain (grandson of the French sovereign, and first of the Spanish Bourbons), the Pope, and the Duke of Savoy, joined with Louis in the commission of this outrage; and William III., acting in harmony with the very general wishes of the English nation, determined once more to draw the sword against his old enemy. War, however, was not declared immediately. On the 8th of March, 1702, in the midst of his endeavours to form a powerful alliance against France and Spain, the great Dutchman at the head of affairs in England reached the termination of his career. But Anne found the country too much in earnest to hesitate as to her course; and within a few weeks from the date of her accession she signified the commencement of hostilities, in combination with Austria and Holland, against the offending Powers. The succession of a Bourbon Prince to the Spanish Crown, on the death of Charles II. of Spain in 1700, afforded another motive for the war which was now begun; for this alteration of the dynasty was held to upset one of the favourite political arrangements of that time, the balance of power, and was certainly a violation of treaty engagements on the part of the French King. The new direction of affairs was not without a very important influence on the condition and prospects of the English colonies in North America.



HARBOUR OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

The return to a state of war was particularly unfortunate for Massachusetts and the adjoining provinces—the part of English America most seriously affected by the change. The plantations were beginning to recover from the disastrous results of former struggles. Prosperity once more seemed to be within reach of the people. At a rather later period, the annual imports into New England from the mother country amounted, it was supposed, to about £100,000—a sum indicating the possession by the colonists of considerable means. The exports consisted of 100,000 quintals (each quintal weighing 112 pounds) of dried cod-fish, sold in Europe for £80,000; and of three thousand tons of naval stores. But this was not the whole of the export trade of the northern colonies. They sent out to the other American plantations, and to the West Indies, lumber, fish, and various provisions, to the value of £50,000 annually. These

figures will give some idea of the imports and exports of 1702. Skilled industry was also progressing in several directions. Irish Presbyterians from Ulster had established in New England the manufacture of linen cloth. Ship-building was carried on to a great extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. In New Hampshire, a large quantity of tar was manufactured every year, and this was encouraged by a law of that province which permitted the people to pay their taxes in tar, rated at twenty shillings per barrel. This paying of taxes in commodities was not unusual in the New England plantations, owing to the scarcity of money. The want of a sufficient circulating medium was inconvenient, but did not seriously hinder the industrial progress of the country. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the colonies which regarded Boston as their capital were attracting very general attention by the rapid development of their trade and of their social well-being. The witch-frenzy of a few years earlier is thought to have worked off a good deal of the bigotry and superstition of the people, to have taught them a more free and vigorous use of their reason, and to have resulted in a very desirable softening of manners. Religious intolerance was certainly much less than in previous generations. The community was on several accounts one to be envied, for there were few drawbacks from the many advantages which it enjoyed. The worst blot on its institutions was the existence of slavery; but this great offence against human nature never struck very deep root in New England. The law neither sanctioned nor prohibited the bondage of man to man. The custom grew up, as in other parts of America, from opportunity and supposed convenience; but slaves were not numerous, and were generally treated as well as white servants. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, they did not exceed a fiftieth part of the whole population; and in the first-named of those provinces their increase was discouraged by the imposition of a duty of £4 on every negro imported into the jurisdiction. The blacks were protected in life and limb by proper enactments, and the evil had at no time the same far-reaching and deadly influence in the northern that it exercised in the southern plantations.*

It will be readily understood that a country thus devoted to regular and peaceful industry must have been greatly affected by the resumption of colonial hostilities consequent on the renewed war between England and France. The central settlements — New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—were but slightly touched by the struggle; but South Carolina and New England, especially the latter, suffered severely. The colonial war began with South Carolina, the Governor of which, James Moore, led an expedition against St. Augustine, a Spanish settlement in Florida. This military operation was undertaken in the summer of 1702, at the wish of the Legislative Assembly, though there were some who saw its peril. While Moore proceeded with the main body of the forces by sea, Colonel Daniel marched overland at the head of a detachment. The harbour was speedily blocked by the Governor, and the town ravaged by his troops; but the Spaniards, taking with them their chief valuables and a large stock of provisions, retired into the castle. This fortification, it was evident, could not be reduced without heavy artillery. Daniel was therefore despatched in a sloop to Jamaica for cannon and mortars; but intelligence of the impending danger had already been conveyed to the Spanish Viceroy, who speedily sent two ships of war to the threatened stronghold. On the appearance of these vessels in the harbour, Moore, with discreditable precipitancy, abandoned his ships and stores, and hastily retreated by land. Colonel Daniel, standing in for the harbour on his return, was very nearly captured by the enemy. The conduct of the Governor was severely censured by the people of South Carolina, and it was certainly not without reason that they complained. This unfortunate expedition cost the colony a heavy sum of money, which could only be met by the issue of bills of credit to the amount of £6,000—the first paper money put forth in that part of America. But the disgrace of so signal a failure was to some extent redeemed, in December, 1703, by a successful attack on the Appalachian Indians in alliance with the Spaniards. These native tribes had been gathered into towns, and instructed in the Christian religion, by Franciscan priests, and their scattered habitations reached from St. Augustine to the French settlements of Louisiana.

A detachment of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore, accompanied by a thousand Indian allies, burst upon the native towns near the port of St. Mark, after a toilsome march across territories which were but slightly known to any European. The church was set on fire, and a large number of warriors, women, and children were seized, and kept as prisoners for the slave-market. On the following morning, the Spanish commander in the bay attacked the Carolinians with twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, but was

* Neal's History of New England, Vol. II., chap. 14. Grahame's History of the United States (1836), Book II., chap. 5.

defeated. The Spanish fort was too strong to be carried by storm; yet the situation seemed so desperate to the natives that the chief of one of the towns was glad to purchase peace with the plate of his church, and ten horses laden with provisions. In 1704, five other towns submitted; many of the natives were received into South Carolina as emigrants; and English jurisdiction was extended to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. A French squadron from the Havannah unsuccessfully attempted, in 1706, to invade Charleston, but met with so vigorous a resistance (in which the Huguenot emigrants joined with all the passion of remembered wrongs) that one French ship was captured, and, of eight hundred men who landed, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. The Spaniards claimed South Carolina as a part of Florida. The English frustrated all attempts at reprisals. One of the most tragic incidents of the war took place at Deerfield on the Connecticut River. In the winter of 1704, two hundred French, and a hundred and forty-two Indians, marched in snow-shoes over the white and freezing desert from Canada to the north west parts of Massachusetts. On the last night of February, they sheltered themselves in a pine-forest near the town they proposed to attack. Deerfield, which consisted of a few scattered dwelling-houses, was feebly protected by palisades, and a number of pickets kept watch every night. When these had retired in the early morning of March 1st, the savages burst with hideous cries out of the pine-forest, broke through the palisades, and set fire to the place. Forty-seven of the people were killed, and a hundred and twelve, including



THE HARBOUR OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.

had practically asserted their title to territory hitherto Spanish.

In the northern parts of New England, events did not move so favourably. The French in Canada succeeded in establishing a state of neutrality on the part of the Iroquois; the English, on the other hand, failed in securing even the negative friendship of the Abenakis, notwithstanding that those savages vowed, at the outbreak of hostilities between England and France, that the sun was not more distant from the earth than their thoughts from war. They had evidently come to a good understanding with their old colleagues, the French, and the territory of Maine, from Casco to Wells, together with Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was soon desolated by the ferocious tribes of the north, acting in concert with their civilised allies. The frightful atrocities of Sir William Phipps's time were renewed; neither infancy nor age was spared; men were carried into captivity, and the Indians, by the celerity of their movements, the minister and his family, were seized and hurried away. The horrors of the return march were extreme. Two men died of cold and hunger. Women who lagged with fatigue were slain by a blow of the tomahawk; children were cast out on to the snow to perish. Some of the younger women, however, were afterwards converted to Roman Catholicism, and became the wives of Christianised Indians; and it is a remarkable fact that, at the conclusion of the war, several of the English and French prisoners taken by the Indians refused to quit their barbarian life, while all the savages so captured returned with eagerness to their comrades. Owing to this circumstance, and to the alliances with Indian women formed by French traders, the Indians of Canada at the present day are in some degree of European descent.

Similar disasters to the attack on Deerfield were of frequent occurrence, and, although no collisions of a very important character, taken singly, occurred, the total loss of life was great, and the

disturbance to industry little short of ruinous. So little could the English colonists do against a foe who could scarcely ever be approached in open fight, that the Assemblies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered a bounty of £50 for every Indian scalp, and do not seem to have been called on for any large disbursements in this respect. What made the case worse for the New England colonies was the selfish and cruel policy of New York. The neutrality of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, by which the New Englanders were deprived of the active assistance of those martial tribes, was suggested by the Government of New York as a means of protecting their own territory; the French, in return, undertaking to direct no attacks against the province ruled over by Lord Cornbury. But this was not all. The Dutch merchants of Albany actually carried on a trade in arms with the Indian allies of the French, purchased of them the spoil which they took from the unfortunate people of Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire, and suffered marauding parties to march through the neighbourhood of their town in order to attack the New England frontiers. Very different was the conduct of Connecticut, which rendered valuable assistance to the devastated colonies by contributions of men and money.

Reprisals were resolved on in 1704, and Colonel Church, the veteran officer of Philip's war, was despatched at the head of six hundred men, with an auxiliary naval force, against the French in Acadie. The enemy was attacked with vigour, and suffered some sharp chastisement; but Joseph Dudley, at that time Governor of Massachusetts, forbade any attack on Port Royal, the capital of Acadie. To Church, who earnestly desired to make the assault, Dudley replied that he could not venture to undertake so important an operation without express instructions from England. Being an unpopular man, owing to his association with Andros, and his conduct as Chief Justice at New York, his refraining from the suggested attack on Port Royal was attributed to unworthy and treacherous designs. It is possible, however, that fear of failure, such as Phipps had encountered at Quebec, may have been the real motive. All parties grew weary of the struggle after awhile, and in 1705 the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, sent a commissioner to Boston, with proposals for a treaty of neutrality between his province and New England. Dudley favoured this suggestion, being, according to the representations of his enemies, interested in an illicit traffic in military stores carried on with the French by some Boston merchants. But the General Court of Massachusetts refused to entertain the project, and the war continued for some years in a succession of undecisive forays, in which the ferocity of the French and of their savage allies knew no abatement. In 1708, the town of Haverhill, Massachusetts, was the scene of a horrible massacre—a massacre so atrocious that Peter Schuyler, an officer from the province of New York, who had given his services to the New Englanders, and who frequently exercised a remarkable influence over the tribes of the Five Nations, sent a remonstrance on the subject to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. "I hold it my duty towards God and my neighbour," he wrote, "to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honour and generosity, which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war. Would that all the world thought with me on this subject!" It does not appear that this appeal to the humanity of the French Viceroy had any effect. The war was not one of pitched battles, but of petty surprises; and the unchecked barbarity of Indian hordes was the most powerful weapon of offence against the peaceful inhabitants of New England towns and villages.

During these eventful days, frequent but ineffectual attempts were made by the English to seize the French fortress on Newfoundland. In 1707 another expedition was sent against Acadie, and Port Royal was twice attacked, but without success. The addition to the public debt of Massachusetts resulting from this failure, caused great discontent among the people, who saw with alarm a large increase in the paper currency of the province. Nevertheless, when the English Government, in 1709, proposed to effect the conquest of Canada with the aid of the northern and middle colonies, New England, New York, and New Jersey supported the scheme with enthusiasm. It was at first proposed to send out a fleet and an army from England; but it was found impossible to spare any of the troops employed at that time in Europe. Before this change of intention was known in America, the colonists had made considerable preparations for the contemplated expedition. Pennsylvania, indeed, as a settlement of Quakers, refused to furnish the required contingent of men. The Assembly at Philadelphia urged that the object of the colonists in that part of America was to afford a place of refuge for the principles of

peace and philanthropy. They could not, therefore, be concerned in the slaying of men; but, cherishing a dutiful attachment to the Queen, they voted her Majesty two sums of £500 and £300. With the use of this money they did not concern themselves, and seem, with that casuistry which Quakers are not incapable of exhibiting, to have considered that their responsibility ended with the simple declaration that they would have nothing to do with the objects to which the contribution might be applied. The other colonies performed even more than was required. They raised independent companies in addition to the quotas that had been demanded. Thanks were voted to the Queen for the promised armament, and every disposition was manifested to support a design which promised to rid the plantations of a dangerous and deadly enemy. New York—now ruled over by Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor of Lord Lovelace, who succeeded to Lord Cornbury, and died suddenly after a very brief administration—exhibited especial zeal in the matter, as if to atone for its misconduct a few years before. The colony at once took measures which entailed an expenditure of £20,000. Negotiations were opened with the Five Nations, who were induced to violate their neutrality, and to provide an auxiliary force for the assault on Montreal. The army assigned to that particular feature of the campaign was commanded by Colonel Nicholson, and in May, 1709, marched to Wood Creek, there to await the arrival of the English forces. After remaining until October, and losing a large number of men by sickness, Nicholson, on the receipt of intelligence from England that the troops could not be sent, retreated to New York, where the utmost indignation was excited at the disappointment of the general hopes.

This feeling of indignation found expression at a congress of the Governors and delegates of the colonies concerned, which met at Rehoboth, in Massachusetts, and at which it was recommended that petitions to the mother country should be adopted by the several local Governments. Nicholson left for England, for the purpose of presenting these petitions, and aiding them by his own influence; and Colonel Schuyler, about the same time, also departed for London, taking with him five sachems of the confederated Iroquois, who were presented at court on the 19th of April, 1710, dressed in English court costume. These barbarian deputies were prepared with a speech, which was interpreted by one of the officers who came over with them, and which ran:—

"Great Queen,—We have undertaken a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed on to undertake, to see our great Queen, and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her, and of us her allies on the other side of the water. We doubt not but our great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war in conjunction with her children against her enemies the French, and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our great Queen had resolved to send an army to reduce Canada; and immediately, in token of our friendship, we hung up the kettle and took up the hatchet, and with one consent assisted Colonel Nicholson in making preparations on this side the lake; but at length we were told that our great Queen was by some important affairs prevented in her design at present; which made us sorrowful, lest the French, who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think us unable to make war against them. The reduction of Canada is of great weight to our free hunting; so that, if our great Queen should not be mindful of us, we must with our families forsake our country, and seek other habitations, or stand neuter; either of which will be much against our inclinations. In token of the sincerity of the Five Nations, we do, in their name, present our great Queen with the belts of *wampum*, and, in hopes of our great Queen's favour, leave it to her most gracious consideration."

These Indians were for a time the chief attractions of the London season. They were followed about the streets by wondering crowds. Their portraits were engraved, and exhibited in the shop-windows. The nobility invited them to their houses, and entertained them at sumptuous banquets. They were present at a review of the Guards in Hyde Park by the Duke of Ormonde, and were feasted on board the Admiral's ship in the fleet then riding at anchor off Southampton. The entreaties of the native envoys, and probably still more the representations of Nicholson, induced the English Government to reconsider its former plan for the conquest of Canada; but the project was still delayed. Later in the year, however, Nicholson returned to New England with six small ships of war. To these were added thirty colonial vessels, and the whole squadron, having on board four regiments raised by the plantations, sailed in September from Boston, and in six days anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The French garrison here was so weak in numbers, and so depressed in spirits, that the Governor perceived he could make no effectual resistance. After a few shots had been fired by the English, Subercase, to the great satisfaction of his soldiers, consented to a capitulation on the 13th of October, and the French troops,



THE COURSE OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE AS FAR AS QUEBEC. (*From Popple's Atlas*, 1730.)

numbering a hundred and fifty-six, marched out with the honours of war, and were glad to receive food from the hands of their conquerors. The place was then re-named Annapolis, in honour of the reigning Queen, and word was sent to Vaudreuil that if he should continue to despatch his Indian allies to murder the colonists of New England, reprisals would be inflicted on the French settlers of Acadie. The threat was disregarded by Vaudreuil, and, to the honour of the New England colonists, was never carried into effect. Acadie again received the name of Nova Scotia, and from that day to this has remained beneath the English flag.

Nicholson now returned to England, to urge the Government to carry into immediate effect its plans for the conquest of Canada. The success in Acadie was a powerful argument in his favour; and the Legislature of New York, in an address to the Queen, set forth with great emphasis the necessity of doing something to counteract the progress of the French in the northern and western parts of America. "It is well known," said this address, "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your Majesty's plantations on this continent, as far as



THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

Carolina; and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among those, they [the French] constantly send emissaries and priests, with toys and trifles, to insinuate themselves into their favour. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers, and at last build forts among them; and the garrisons are encouraged to intermarry, cohabit, and incorporate amongst them; and it may easily be concluded that, upon a peace, many of the disbanded soldiers will be sent thither for that purpose." The question was indeed one of the gravest importance to the interests, perhaps even to the existence, of the English race in America. The French, by an exhibition of energy and organisation to which it would be illiberal not to give the highest praise, had completely outflanked the English on the North American continent. Taking Canada as their base of operations, they pushed on in a south-westerly direction to the Mississippi, assumed possession (about 1698) of the whole vast country formed by the valley of that river, and, descending to the mouth of the stream, where it empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico, joined their colonies to those of the Spaniards, who by the commencement of the eighteenth century had become their intimate allies. The English, therefore, had the ocean in front, and a combination of vigorous enemies to the north, west, and south of their plantations. That this position of command might ultimately enable the French and Spaniards to engross the Indian trade, was but too obvious; and it was not less apparent that the independence of the English settlements might be threatened in time of war, while at all periods the spread of colonisation in any one direction would be effectually barred, unless the environment could at some point be broken through. Simultaneous with this vast expansion of the French towards the west and south, was an active renewal of their claim to the territory east of the Kennebec, and to the sole enjoyment of the fisheries on the adjoining coast. It had been supposed by the English Government that by the treaty of Ryswick all the country in question was admitted to be the property of England, as being included within the Massachusetts charter; but the French interpreted the treaty in a different sense, and, towards the close of the seventeenth century, even sent some of their Indian dependents to take possession of the lands thus claimed. These were the facts which excited the not unreasonable apprehensions of the people of New York and New England, and which made them eager for the subjugation of Canada.

The proceedings of the English and of the French in North America were in the main determined in each case by the political character of the mother country. The English went to the New World as private adventurers, sometimes helped and directed by a commercial company, sometimes by a lord-proprietary, sometimes only by their own wits. In no case did the monarch take any pains beyond granting a charter, and securing certain revenues for his private purse. Arrived on the spot, the emigrants were left to choose for themselves the locality where they would settle, the precise amount of ground they would reclaim from the desert, the directions in which they would move, the alliances they would form, and the political institutions they would establish. The authorities at home scarcely recognised their existence. They had all the honours of freedom, and all the perils. In New England there was not even an attempt to send a Royal Governor until after many years. Virginia, with all its loyalty, enjoyed for a long while something very nearly approaching complete independence; and, in all the colonies, the Governors, when at length they came, brought with them no definite policy. With France, on the other hand, colonisation was a branch of the State. The emigrants were governed by a Lieutenant of the King. They were sent out, not merely to promote their own interests, but to advance the interests of the monarchy. Their whole course was shaped and directed for them, and, with the vast Atlantic between, their lives were as much controlled by the ideas of Versailles as if they had remained in the fields and villages of their native land. A consistent scheme of action thus governed all the operations of the French planter, and the predominance of the nation was the great object in view, whether the settler built cities in the snows of Canada, or trapped beavers in the wilds of Hudson's Bay, or explored the great lakes of the interior, or floated down the Mississippi to the warmer and sunnier regions of the south. Each system had its advantages. That of the English trained a number of men in the habits of self-government and self-reliance. That of the French subordinated individual selfishness to Imperial aims, and enabled a few scattered pioneers of civilisation to do wonders in the way of concerted action and successful policy. Events have since shown that the English method was the best on the whole; yet in the meanwhile it led to many failures, provoked many perils, and was characterised by something pettifogging, parochial, and temporary. Whatever the faults of the French method, it cannot be said to have repressed

personal energy. A large part of North America has been revealed to Europe by the courage, daring, and vigour of Frenchmen, and nothing can be more admirable than the bright and cheerful heroism with which these emigrants from the old land, and their immediate posterity, invaded the prairies and forests of the West, examined mighty rivers and mysterious lakes, and carried civilisation into the heart of barbarism. It cannot be denied that, while the English still kept close to the Atlantic sea-board, the French plunged boldly into the interior. They managed, too, in general, to be on better terms with the natives, and to do more towards their conversion; for the Romish form of Christianity had greater attraction for savage minds than the gloomy strictness of the Puritans, or the decent formalism of the Church of England. The great fault of the French colonists was the unscrupulous readiness with which, in times of war, they directed the ferocity of Indian tribes against their English neighbours.

The prayer of the Anglo-Americans, that the French might be struck in Canada, received a favourable hearing from the Tory Ministry of 1711. One of the principal members of that Ministry was the celebrated Henry St. John, afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke—a man of brilliant gifts and varied powers, a politician, a statesman, an author, and a speculative philosopher, who at the period in question occupied the position of Foreign Secretary under the premiership of Harley, Earl of Oxford. He took up with much zeal the project for the conquest of Canada, and arranged all the details. A fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports was fitted out for Sir Hovenden Walker. Seven veteran regiments from the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines, were placed under the command of Brigadier-General Hill, a brother of Mrs. Masham, one of the Queen's favourites. Hill was a boon companion over the bottle; but, though in his needy youth he had been patronised by the Duchess of Marlborough, the great Duke, her husband, had subsequently refused to grant him a colonelcy, on the ground that he was totally unfitted for it. The departure of the fleet was delayed while contractors and other favoured parties were enriching themselves at the public expense; and when at length the vessels sailed, they were neither sufficiently victualled nor furnished with pilots. The Queen was uneasy at the stay which Sir Hovenden Walker made at Portsmouth, and it was probably the intimation of this fact by St. John that at last quickened his movements. On hearing of the arrival of the expedition at Boston, St. John wrote to the Earl of Orrery that there was now no doubt as to the English becoming masters of all northern America.

The people of Massachusetts were much disappointed and annoyed at the incomplete appointment of the ships. They were required to furnish a supply of provisions to the men for a period of ten weeks; and, although this was not considered fair, the stores were provided, and everything was done to ensure the success of the attempt. All the other colonies aided with a zeal which even outran what was demanded of them. Pennsylvania, again equivocating with its conscience in the matter of carnal warfare, voted the Queen a present of £2,000; and New York prevailed with the Five Nations to send six hundred warriors to the general armament. The necessary preparations were rapidly pushed forward; and on the 30th of July, little more than a month after the arrival of the English fleet in America, the ships left Boston for Canada. On the same day, Nicholson, now advanced to the rank of General, commenced his march from New York to Albany, at the head of four thousand provincial troops, which, in the event of all going well, were to be directed against Montreal. But the French authorities had received timely notice of the contemplated attack, and active measures were taken for repelling it. The friendly league between the colonists and the surrounding Indian tribes was renewed, and the influence of the Jesuits was again exercised, as on many former occasions, to sway the waverers to the side of France. Among the colonists themselves, even the women aided the preparations for defence, and parties of men watched from the heights of Quebec the approach of hostile vessels. They watched in vain. No sail was seen on the horizon, and people began to wonder what was intended by the enemy, or whether the danger had ceased before it had actually appeared.

The truth was, that the same dilatoriness which delayed the departure of the expedition had again made itself disastrously felt. The squadron, without any apparent reason, had loitered near the Bay of Gaspé before entering the St. Lawrence. The Admiral was considering what he should do with his ships during the rigours of a Quebec winter. He feared, according to the account which he himself has left of the enterprise, that the ice in the river would freeze to the bottom, though he knew the water to be a hundred fathoms deep; and in that case the vessels would be crushed as much as if they were squeezed between rocks. It would therefore, he thought, be advisable to dismantle his ships, and secure them on dry ground in frames

and cradles until the thaw should come. By thus too curiously speculating on a comparatively remote and doubtful future, he was compromising a future more immediate. On the evening of the 22nd of August, as the fleet was ascending the St. Lawrence, a fog came on, with an easterly breeze. The vessels lay to, with their heads to the south; nevertheless, all were carried towards the northern shore. There seems to have been a conflict of opinion among the pilots, some of whom were New England men, while others were Frenchmen supplied by Walker himself. It would appear, however, that the Admiral paid no great heed to either. As he was going to bed, the captain of the flag-ship entered his cabin, and reported that land could be seen to the north. The Admiral, without making any personal investigations, directed that the ships should head in that direction. This order was so manifestly absurd that Captain Goddard, of the land service, who was on deck at the time, went below, and begged the Admiral to go above. Walker refused. Goddard left, but immediately afterwards rushed into the cabin, exclaiming, "For the Lord's sake, come on deck, or we shall certainly be lost! I see breakers all around us." Walker put on his gown and slippers, and did as he was desired. The truth of what Goddard had asserted was not to be denied; yet the infatuated Admiral still doubted the existence of land to the leeward. He said he could see none; which was not at all surprising in the thick condition of the atmosphere. The presence of the breakers should have been evidence sufficient; but Walker was not satisfied unless he could actually behold what, as a seaman, he ought to have known must be there. The moon shortly afterwards broke through the mists, and showed that the fleet was close on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, among the Egg Islands. The Admiral now made sail for the middle of the river; but the movement came too late for eight of his ships, which, as the light of morning presently revealed, had been hopelessly wrecked. A terrible disaster had taken place in those hours of darkness and misdirection. Eight hundred and eighty-four men had been drowned, and the expedition was at one blow rendered abortive. The wind immediately afterwards shifted to a point which would have conveyed the fleet rapidly to Quebec; but the commanders, crippled in their operations by the serious loss they had sustained, had no choice but to retreat. Walker sailed to Spanish River Bay, where a council of war was held, at which it was unanimously resolved that nothing farther could be done. The fleet had but ten weeks' provisions on board, and no more supplies could be expected from the colonies.*

On the return of Walker to England, a disgraceful scene of recriminations ensued. The Admiral and his captains reproached the provincial authorities with delay in raising forces and victualling the fleet, and with supplying unskilful pilots—a charge for which there seems to be not the slightest justification. The colonists in due time retorted that they had been betrayed by the Queen and her officers, and that the disaster in the St. Lawrence had been purposely contrived. Harley, Earl of Oxford, accused his colleague, Henry St. John, of having so managed the whole affair as to defraud the public of £20,000. In a subsequent year (1717), Harley himself was taxed by the House of Commons, in the articles of impeachment then brought against him, with sanctioning an expedition which he knew had been formerly laid aside as dangerous and impracticable. The Whigs, glad of an opportunity of discrediting the Tories, suggested that the success of the expedition would have hindered the negotiations for peace at Utrecht, which the Government of the day was anxious to promote; and that Walker, who was deeply engaged in intrigues for the termination of the war, really desired the failure of the attempt on Canada. The strangest part of the business is that Walker himself regarded the loss of the eight vessels, and the drowning of nearly nine hundred men, as a kindly interposition of Providence for saving the lives of ten or twelve thousand soldiers and sailors, who would otherwise have perished of cold and hunger before the walls of Quebec. The official papers of this calamitous enterprise were destroyed on board a ship which blew up shortly after the return of the fleet to England; and there were those in America who did not scruple to say that the explosion was purposely caused, to get rid of compromising documents. The precise course of events is removed from our knowledge by the unfortunate, and no doubt accidental, loss of these papers; but it is certain that, whatever the motive, the mismanagement of Walker was extreme.

* Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Attack on the French Position of Detroit—Termination of the War by the Peace of Utrecht—Clauses of that Treaty as affecting America—Transfer from France to England of the Slave Trade with the Spanish Colonies—The French Position in America after the Treaty of Utrecht—Submission of Hostile Indians in the North eastern Parts of New England—Loss of Population in Massachusetts and New Hampshire consequent on the War—Domestic Legislation in Connecticut—Act of the English Parliament for the Importation of Naval Supplies from America—Insurrection of Indians in North Carolina—Restoration of Peace by the Aid of South Carolina—Addition of the revolted Tuscaroras to the Five Nations—Wise Government of Colonel Spotswood in Virginia—Discovery of a Passage over the Appalachian Mountains—Previous Attempt under the Governorship of Sir William Berkeley—Deaths of Queen Anne and Louis XIV.—Succession of the House of Hanover to the English Throne, and its Effects on the American Colonies—Removal of Dudley from the Government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire—Contemplated Abolition of the American Charters—Tyrannical Acts of the Deputy-Governor of New Hampshire—Results of the Peace between England and France.

The total failure of the expedition against Quebec necessitated the abandonment by Nicholson of his contemplated attack on Montreal, and before he had reached the frontiers of Canada he was compelled to return to New York. In the year 1713, the French position of Detroit was besieged by a party of the Ottagamies, or Foxes—a tribe remarkable for the military energies and savage ferocity of its members. The French stationed at this post numbered but twenty-one, including their commander, Du Buisson; but that officer put the fort into the best state of defence he could effect, and summoned to his assistance the Indian allies of France who were then hunting in the surrounding lands. The position was very important, for it commanded the great lines of intercourse with the Upper Indians, and the chief highway to the Mississippi. The settlement was claimed by the English; and had the Ottagamies succeeded in driving out the French, it would doubtless have passed into the possession of their rivals. But Detroit was saved by the devotion and active assistance of the Ottawas, Hurons, and other Indian tribes, who obeyed with alacrity the summons of Du Buisson. These nations had come under the influence of the Jesuit missionaries of France—an influence truly remarkable for its strength, depth, and extensive range; and they expressed to the French commander their determination to die, if need were, in defence of him and of his flag. The words were not idly spoken; for they presently attacked the hostile Indians with so much fury that the latter were compelled to surrender at discretion. All found in arms were massacred, and the rest were distributed as slaves among the conquerors. During the remainder of the war, the frontiers of New England were frequently ravaged by incursions of the Indian allies of the French. No action of special importance took place; but a great deal of misery was inflicted, for which the colonial authorities seemed quite incapable of finding a remedy.

This disastrous condition was brought to a close by the Peace of Utrecht, which was concluded on the 11th of April, 1713. That treaty, in the clauses relating to America, provided that Newfoundland, the Hudson's Bay Territories, and the conquered settlement of Annapolis (formerly Port Royal), with the whole province of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, to which Annapolis belonged, should remain in the possession of England; but the French were permitted to retain a settlement at Cape Breton. To the English also was assigned supremacy in the fisheries; and freedom of trade with Spanish America was amply secured. The Five Nations—now called the Six Nations, in consequence of the Tuscaroras having united with them—were recognised as subjects of the English monarch; and the French and English Governments mutually bound themselves not to molest or interfere with the other Indian tribes claimed as the subjects of either. The precise definition of the boundaries of Nova Scotia, and of the territories of the subject tribes, was deferred for future arrangement, and became the subject of many fruitless discussions and of much prolonged contention. One very disgraceful feature in this treaty had reference to the slave-trade. Since 1701, the Spanish settlements in South America had been supplied with negroes by a French mercantile corporation called the Assiento Company, or Royal Company of Guinea, the operations of which were sanctioned by a treaty between the Crowns of France and Spain. By the Treaty of Utrecht, the Assiento contract was transferred from the merchants of France to those of England, who were to enjoy a complete monopoly. The King of Spain now granted to the latter the exclusive privilege for thirty years of supplying his colonies with African slaves; and Queen Anne, on her part, engaged that her subjects should, during that period, transport to the Spanish Indies 144,000 negroes, on certain specified terms, at the rate of 4,800 of these unhappy creatures a year. It was stipulated that the English merchants

should have leave to erect a factory on the Rio de la Plata, and that, in case of war between England and Spain, eighteen months should be allowed them for the removal of their effects. But, on the breaking out of the next war, the persons and property of the traders were seized at once, in violation of this engagement, and the dealers in human cattle were entirely ruined—a result for which it is impossible to feel any but a lively satisfaction. What rendered this disgraceful compact still more disgraceful was that the sovereigns of England and Spain were themselves shareholders in the infamous traffic. Queen Anne (who had on a previous occasion interested herself in the slave-trade, by countenancing the operations of the Royal African Company for the transportation of negroes from Africa to America) was to receive one quarter of the common stock, and Philip V. another quarter: the remaining moiety was divided among the English merchants who cared to engage in the business.

The territorial gain to England from the Treaty of Utrecht, as far as America was concerned, was considerable; yet France was left in undisturbed possession of the valley of the Mississippi, to which the name of Louisiana had now been given. By means of their missionaries, their traders, and their energetic political and military leaders, the French had for several years, as previous Chapters have more fully shown, been appropriating this immense region; and both the English Government at home, and the English colonies in America, had passively seen that advance, with scarcely an effort to hinder it. Penn had expressed his opinion that the wild country in question should be included in the colonies of England; Spotswood, the energetic Governor of Virginia, had several times called the attention of the home authorities to the spread of French power towards the west; and Henry St. John viewed the same fact with apprehension. But nothing was done, and the peace of 1713 left matters, so far, where it found them. Even in the north, the position of France remained more favourable than might have been supposed, considering that, on the whole, the successes of the allies on the continent of Europe had been greater than those granted to the armies of Louis XIV. As already stated, the French were allowed to retain the island of Cape Breton, situated to the east of Nova Scotia, at the south-eastern limit of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and colonisation was at once prosecuted there with great vigour. In 1714, persons who had quitted Newfoundland and Acadie, in consequence of the change of masters, formed settlements along the coasts; and by 1720 a line of fortifications had arisen at Louisburg, to guard the entrance to the St. Lawrence. Canada remained to the countrymen of Jacques Cartier, who had been one of its principal discoverers; the valley of the Mississippi formed the western boundary of their possessions; and in the south they had planted themselves on the Gulf of Mexico, in close proximity to the Spaniards, who held the peninsula of Florida. Three great European nations had posted their advanced guards in the wilderness; and these were separated by the forest, the prairie, and the encampments of the yet-unsubdued barbarian.

The terms of peace were far from being completely satisfactory to the Anglo-Americans. They left the French in much too strong a position; and they gave no sufficient guarantee of the neutrality of the Indians in case of renewed hostilities. One effect of the peace, however, was to induce the Indians on the eastern frontier to seek a better understanding with the New Englanders than had existed for a long while, if we except a few brief and delusive periods of apparent amity. They sent a deputation to the Government of New Hampshire, to propose that friendship should be re-established between the English and themselves, and that to this end a conference should be held at Casco. Dudley, the Governor, preferred that the natives should attend the English commissioners at Portsmouth. At Portsmouth, accordingly, the chiefs assembled on the 13th of July, 1713, and there executed a formal treaty, in which they acknowledged their former breaches of faith, asked pardon of the Queen for their unprovoked rebellion, and promised to act for the future as faithful and obedient subjects of the English Crown. The provincial Governments of New England, hoping to prevent those causes of quarrel which arose from sordid and unscrupulous bargainings, forbade the colonists to conduct any private traffic with the Indians, and undertook to establish barter-houses, where public agents should superintend all commercial transactions; but the idea was not at that time carried out.

A period of repose was sorely needed by the colonies of New England, especially by Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which had suffered in the highest degree from the effects of the war. The population of the North American colonies generally doubled itself in five-and-twenty years by the natural process of increase; but Massachusetts had not doubled its inhabitants in twice that period, dating backwards from 1713. From the beginning of Philip's war to the close of the war terminated by the Peace of Utrecht—about eight-and-thirty years—a state of hostilities had existed, with but



TUSCARORAS INDIANS TRACKING FUGITIVES.

few and short intermissions. It is calculated that during that time six thousand young men perished in the field, or of diseases produced by warfare. The New Englanders married early, and had large families, as commonly happens in countries where the means of life are abundant; and their posterity, had they lived, would have added largely to the resources of the land. The colonies to the south were better protected, and therefore lost far fewer men; but all the plantations suffered more or less in their finances. In most instances, the local Governments had recklessly drawn on the future by a copious issue of paper money, which, soon becoming depreciated in its value, as such currency generally does, entailed a heavy loss on the community. The evil was carried to a greater extent in Massachusetts than in any of the other provinces, and a great deal of commercial fraud and gambling was the result. It was found necessary, in the course of a few years, to suppress the institution of lotteries by a special Act, and to revive a former law against idleness and immorality, which enacted that no single person of either sex, under the age of twenty-one years, should be permitted to live separately, but should be included in some orderly family government. Connecticut seems to have accepted the war as a special rebuke from heaven, according to the old Puritan idea that Providence, after a period of indolent acquiescence or of good-natured indulgence, is prone to sudden fits of anger at the wickedness of men, and requires some special legislative exertion for the appeasing of its wrath. One of the measures passed by the Connecticut Assembly towards the promotion of this object was an Act for exempting clergymen from all taxes, and for placing infant towns and settlements in a similarly favoured position, on their undertaking to establish institutions for religious education. The rulers of Connecticut, however, did not entirely confine their efforts for the public good to measures such as these. They did much for the spread of secular knowledge, and arranged for the equitable discharge of all obligations resulting from the issue of paper money, and for the creation of a stable currency, not liable to the fluctuations which attend a circulating medium of doubtful value.*

An Act of the English Parliament, passed in 1704, during the progress of the war with France and Spain, had been directed towards utilising some of the productions of the New England States, of New York, and of New Jersey. The chief supplies of pitch and tar employed by English shipbuilders had, up to 1703, been derived from Sweden. But in that year the Swedish Government granted to a mercantile corporation a monopoly in the sale of these productions; and this led to so great an increase in the price of the commodities, that English purchasers began to consider whether they could not get what they wanted elsewhere on more reasonable terms. The Queen's Ministers took up the question, and Parliament enacted a law by which premiums were to be tendered to all persons who should import (in vessels manned according to the requirements of the Navigation Act) into England from America masts, tar, hemp, and other naval stores. The colonists of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, were prohibited, under severe penalties, from cutting down any pitch, pine, or tar-trees, of certain dimensions, growing on lands not appropriated by private owners, and actually enclosed within their fences. A later Act, passed in 1710, threw on the surveyor-general of the Royal woods in those parts the duty of affixing a mark on such trees as he considered fit for naval purposes; and all persons presuming to cut down trees so marked were subjected to a heavy fine. The northern parts of Anglo-America were capable of supplying any requisite amount of naval stores of this nature; and it was certainly folly to continue to look to Sweden for supplies which an English colony could so amply furnish. Yet the restrictions with regard to the Royal trees led to a great deal of discontent among the colonists.

The province of North Carolina had enjoyed a perfect immunity from the state of war established between England and France; but in the course of that struggle she had to sustain a trouble of her own. The tribes of the Tuscaroras and Corees found their accustomed lands encroached upon by a number of German emigrants, fugitives from the Palatinate, which had been devastated and ruined by years of war. These emigrants were under the direction of one of their countrymen, Baron Graffenried, who, in September, 1711, ascended the river Neuse in a small boat, to examine the neighbouring country, and to discover how far the stream was navigable. He was accompanied by Lawson, the surveyor-general of North Carolina, and both were seized by a party of sixty armed Indians, and compelled to travel through the night until they reached a village of the Tuscaroras. A council of chieftains from several villages was held, and Lawson was accused as the chief agent in the greed and cruelty of the English. The discussion lasted two days, and at its close both prisoners were condemned to death. In the case of Lawson, this sentence was

* Grahame's History of the United States, Book VIII., chap. 1.

carried out; but on Graffenried representing that he belonged to a nation quite distinct from the English, and promising that no land should be occupied by his people except with the consent of the natives, his life was spared. After a captivity of five weeks he was released, and wearily made his way back through the woods to the infant settlement he had left. But in the meanwhile all had been destroyed. On the 22nd of September, a party of Tuscaroras and Corees crept noiselessly and secretly towards the small cabins of the Germans, situated along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound, and at nightfall burst like a hurricane on the doomed white people. A dreadful massacre followed, and the carnage did not stop there. The Huguenot refugees at Bath, and the settlers at other localities in the vicinity, were also murdered; and the savages pursued their victims into the obscurity of the surrounding forest by the glare of lighted pine-branches. The slaughter was prolonged three days, during which all the country lying on Albemarle Sound was visited by the vengeful Indians, who dealt death and misery wherever they appeared.

The blow was sudden and unexpected, and it might have been crushing but for the aid of South Carolina. A party of English and native allies, headed by one Barnwell, was sent by the southern province to the banks of the river Neuse in 1712, and attacked the Indians entrenched in a rude fort at the upper part of Craven county. The army, however, was not properly supported by the northern province, which was torn by internal dissensions consequent on the popular dislike of the proprietary. Barnwell, unable to punish the Indians, negotiated with them a treaty of peace, which the troops of South Carolina violated on their return home, by seizing as slaves the inhabitants of several villages. This led to a renewal of the massacres, and in the autumn of 1712 yellow fever broke out with great malignity, so that the country south of Pamlico Sound was nearly depopulated. The attitude of the Indians was so threatening that it became necessary to despatch another army against them. In 1713, an expedition was undertaken by the combined forces of the two provinces, under command of James Moore, the Governor of South Carolina; the insurgents were pursued to their fort on the Neuse, and defeated with great slaughter; and eight hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the English. The Assembly of South Carolina appropriated £4,000 to the service of the war, and that of North Carolina issued bills of credit to the amount of £8,000. The flying savages were hunted across the open country by the English forces, and in the defiles of the woods by their Indian allies, who received a money payment for as many scalps as they could bring, or as many captives as they could offer for slaves. In this way, peace was at length restored; but before the danger was quelled, the colonists of North Carolina had fled from the ravaged districts in such numbers that a law was passed, prohibiting any one from quitting the territory without a passport from the Governor; and the operation of this statute was aided by an edict of the Government of Virginia, commanding that all fugitives from the neighbouring province not so provided should be arrested and sent back. To meet the expenses of their military operations, and to encourage domestic trade, the Assembly of South Carolina established a public bank, which issued bills of credit, lent at interest on landed or personal security. The tribe chiefly concerned in the rebellion was expelled from North Carolina; and it was then that the Tuscaroras, uniting with the confederacy of the Iroquois, to which they were supposed to have some affinity, caused the designation of the Five Nations to be altered to that of the Six Nations. The Corees were subsequently permitted to establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Hyde.

Virginia, like North Carolina and Maryland, was perfectly untouched by the war between the monarchs of France and England. Thus left to the quiet development of its resources, the Old Dominion increased in riches and power, but did not escape being made the prey of rapacious politicians at home. When Nicholson quitted the post of Governor, in 1704, the office was conferred as a sinecure on George, Earl of Orkney, who held it for thirty-six years, and received in all £42,000 for doing nothing.* The annual salary of this fortunate peer was £2,000; but of this he had to set aside £800 for the Lieutenant-Governor, who was also appointed by the Crown. Sir William Keith thought this arrangement a very good one, because it gave to the Virginians a powerful courtier for the advocacy of their interests in England. But the historian Oldmixon very properly doubted the fitness of a home-staying nobleman to be the agent of a distant colony; and it does not appear that the large sum which Lord Orkney received for the use of his name as Governor ever produced the slightest good to Virginia. One of his representatives, however, was really serviceable to the colony by the vigour of his character, the strength of his understanding, and the honesty of his nature. This was Colonel

* Grahame, Book VIII., chap. 2.

Alexander Spotswood, a Scotch gentleman, favourably known, even before he left Europe, by scientific attainments and military skill. On arriving in Virginia, he promoted the formation of roads, and the construction of other public works of utility; he also took measures for the education of the Indians, and for the regulation of the trade carried on with them by the colonists. But one of the most important acts of his administration had reference to the growing power of the French in the western parts of the continent, which he saw the necessity of checking.

Before anything could be done for extending the limits of Virginia towards the Mississippi, it was necessary to find a practicable route over the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains, then, though not now, forming the western boundary of the plantation. This was a matter which had previously attracted the notice of Sir William Berkeley; but he had not accomplished much, and the long ridge of highlands still remained an obstacle to the expansion of the Virginians in that direction. The French were well acquainted with these mountains, and with what lay beyond them; but they took every means to keep other nations in ignorance, even to the extent of publishing false maps and false descriptions of the country, and of designating the Indian tribes of those parts by misleading names. To the Virginians the Appalachians had long seemed an insurmountable barrier—a savage and sterile region, full of prowling beasts and tameless Indians. Spotswood was not content that this should be for ever assumed as an incontestable fact. He suggested to the Assembly an expedition to the hilly country, and a sum of money for the purpose was voted by the popular representatives in 1714. A passage across the ridge was soon discovered, and from the summit of the highlands a vast stretch of beautiful country was beheld, spreading towards the dimness of the far horizon. Spotswood sent a memorial on the subject to the home Government, pointing out the threatening advances of the French, and urgently suggesting the construction of forts along the mountain line, the proper positions for which he indicated. He also counselled the English Government to repay the Virginians the expense of the Appalachian expedition; but on neither point was his advice taken. It was too often the policy of English Ministers to act towards the American colonists as if the interests of the plantations and the interests of the Empire were entirely distinct, if not actually antagonistic; and it should be added that American colonists were but too ready to reciprocate the sentiment. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the English race than the absence of the Imperial spirit. The habits of local self-government have fostered an inclination to sectional development, and the feeling of individual freedom has always been more or less opposed to central control, and even to central aid. In this respect, the people and their rulers have generally been at one; and it is possible that the Virginians were as little disposed to receive assistance from London as the Ministers were to grant it. So many valuable results have flowed from the English love of personal independence, and from the indisposition of English Governments to exaggerate their functions, that it would perhaps be unwise to quarrel seriously with either tendency; yet it can hardly be denied that the want of a larger and grander policy has been productive of special evils, which it would be folly to underrate. What added to the mischief in the case of America was the fact that the attempts at Imperial rule, which from time to time broke up the sluggishness of indifference, were generally made in a selfish and one-sided spirit; so that the principle was discredited by the methods of applying it. The ultimate independence of the United States was secured equally by the neglect and by the tyranny of the parent State.

Although Spotswood deserves credit for effecting a passage across the Appalachians, we must not magnify his claims in this respect. The conception was due to Sir William Berkeley, who, about the year 1674, despatched a small company of fourteen English and as many Indians, under the command of Captain Henry Batt, to explore the mountains. They started from Appomattox, and after a seven days' march reached the rising grounds. Passing the first ridge, they encountered other eminences that reached a very considerable height, and were so perpendicular and full of precipices that sometimes, in a whole day's march, they could not travel three miles in a direct line. In other places they found wide savannahs, where the solitude was broken by large numbers of turkeys, deer, elks, and buffaloes, so tame and gentle that they exhibited no fear of men, but suffered them to approach within a short distance. When they had traversed this region, and crossed one of the spurs of the great mountain range, they came to another level country, and then descended a rivulet till they found themselves in cultivated fields, dotted with uninhabited Indian cabins. Further on was a tract of marsh-country, where the native members of the party refused to proceed any further, saying that not far off was a tribe who always murdered strangers. Captain Batt was therefore com-

pelled to return, without accomplishing his design. It is not known how far he penetrated the mountains; but it seems probable that he never crossed the main ridge, which he apparently skirted to the south. Batt's report, however, encouraged Sir William Berkeley to form a plan for another expedition, under his own command; and preparations were already in a very forward state when the outbreak of Bacon's rebellion put an end to the project.*

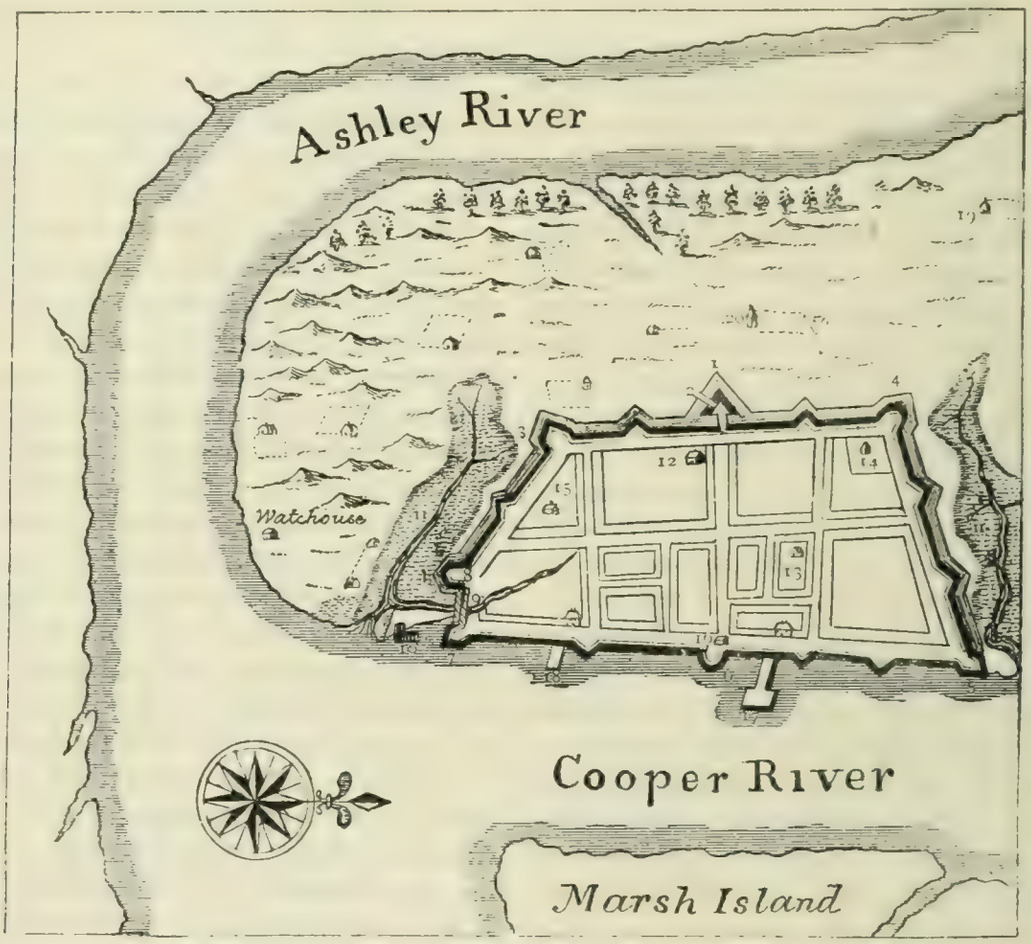
The two great monarchs whose subjects had contended for mastery on the soil of America, were now on the eve of passing away from this world. Queen Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714, and Louis XIV. on the 1st of September, 1715. The demise of Anne was followed by a momentary crisis, which, had it resulted in a different way from that which actually came to pass, might have had very serious consequences for the American colonies. The Whigs had been in power for the first eight years of the late reign; but in 1710 the Tories succeeded to office, and the Tories were secretly opposed to the Act of Parliament by which the succession to the Crown was vested in the House of Hanover. Their most cherished object was to restore the direct line of Stuarts in the person of James II.'s eldest surviving son, afterwards the First Pretender. With this view they had manœuvred and plotted for years, not without the connivance of the Queen herself, who would gladly have seen matters so arranged that her half-brother should succeed her on the throne, had he consented to renounce the Roman Catholic faith. The young Prince refused to accept any such condition, and, if accepted, it could hardly have possessed much value; but, though Harley, Earl of Oxford, equivocated in his allegiance, and seemed ready to serve either the Pretender or the Elector of Hanover (a piece of duplicity which caused his fall from power a few days before the death of Anne), Bolingbroke pursued with unswerving singleness of aim his plans for restoring the Jacobite line. The peace of 1713 had been brought about by him and his colleagues, to the end that France, the supporter of the Stuart Prince, might not be too much humbled; and there seems no room to doubt that the second Duke of Ormonde, who at the close of 1711 succeeded the great Duke of Marlborough in the command of the English troops in Flanders, betrayed the allies by a calculated inaction, to which Anne herself was privy, in order to force on a cessation of arms. But the intrigues of Bolingbroke and his party were defeated by the promptitude and decision of the Dukes of Argyll, Somerset, and Shrewsbury, aided by the mature wisdom and long-tried patriotism of Lord Somers, who re-entered the active field of politics to help in securing the future of liberal progress in England. With the accession of George I., the Whigs returned to power; and the late Ministers were impeached, and compelled to seek refuge in flight. Had the Jacobite plot succeeded, despotism would have been re-established in the old country, and have spread with the utmost rapidity to the new.

In Massachusetts and the other Puritan colonies, the quiet succession of the House of Hanover to the English throne was hailed with great satisfaction. It was the triumph of Protestantism, which would undoubtedly have been imperilled in the contrary case. The Government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was soon afterwards transferred from the hands of Dudley to those of Colonel Burgess, an English officer who had served with distinction in the continental campaigns. The administration of Dudley had not been popular—a fact which was to some extent owing to the ill-repute of this politician, consequent on the events of an earlier day. He had for a time voluntarily quitted America, and, settling in England, had sat in the House of Commons, and occupied the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight. But his greatest desire was to be Governor of his native colony, and, after some disappointments, he obtained the position at the death of Lord Bellamont, in 1701, owing, in a great degree, to the exertions of the English Dissenters, whose favour he had secured. Massachusetts and New Hampshire were now separated from New York and New Jersey, and the two former were placed under the rule of Dudley, who retained his power about thirteen years. They were years of almost perpetual contention with the Assembly; for Dudley sought on every occasion to enhance the Royal prerogative, and the popular party opposed him with a vehemence which was sometimes commendable, and sometimes simply factious. He was known to have expressed a wish that the province might again be deprived of its charter; and he joined Lord Cornbury, in 1704–5, in supporting a design of the English Government for taking away the charter of Connecticut—an attempt which that energetic and really well-governed colony successfully resisted.

The political life of Dudley ended in 1715. He was now old; he could hardly hope for a renewal of office; and he finally withdrew from public life. He connects the New England of the reign of Charles II. with the New England of the time of

* Moll's Modern History, or the Present State of all Nations (Dublin, 1739), Vol. V., Part II.: America.

George I.; but he cannot be reckoned among the fortunate traditions of Puritan America. He may not have been so bad a man as partisanship has made out; but he was a powerful ally of despotism, and did much to justify the dislike with which he was generally regarded in his own country. Yet towards the close of his rule he acted with a degree of mildness which showed that the better part of humane disposition. He also had acquired a deservedly high reputation for valour in the recent war; but what chiefly recommended him to the provinces were the facts that he was a Dissenter in religion, a member of a family long connected with Dissent, and a supporter in England of those views of colonial government which were most agreeable to the colonists themselves. He began his rule under very



A DRAUGHT OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR OF CHARLESTON.

(From "A Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on the Continent of North America," by H. Moll, 1715.)

1. Johnson's raveline.
2. Drawbridges.
3. Colleton's bastion.
4. Carteret's bastion.
5. Craven's bastion.
6. The half-moon.
7. Granville's bastion.
8. Ashley bastion
9. The palisados.
10. Blake's bastion.
11. The creek on both sides.
12. The English church.
13. The French church.
14. Presbyterian meeting-house.
15. Anabaptist meeting-house.
16. Court of guard.
17. Col. Rhett's bridge.
18. Anothea Kea.
19. The minister's house.
20. The Quakers' meeting-house.

his nature had not been wholly extinguished by years of ignoble warfare; and he was beginning to increase the number of his supporters when, in 1715, he was obliged to resign. He died in 1720, at the age of seventy-three. His successor in the Governorship of Massachusetts and the allied province did not long retain his position. The New England agents in London—Sir William Ashurst and Jeremiah Dummer—had some reason for supposing that Burgess would not be acceptable to the colonists. They induced him, for a consideration of £1,000, to relinquish his office, which was conferred on Colonel Shute, a man of liberal views and favourable circumstances; but it was not long ere the policy of the Government at home again led to a feeling of distrust and annoyance in America.

The question of the charters had once more arisen—that same question which had caused so much bitterness in the days of Charles II. and his brother, and which William III. had made an effort to arrange. At the very beginning of the reign of George I., in 1715, a Bill was introduced into Parliament for abolishing all the charters of the several colonies of New England. As soon as the fact was known in the plantations threatened, considerable agitation was excited, especially in Connecticut,

where, however, the measure was supported by a descendant of John Winthrop. The popular party was headed by Governor Saltonstall, another name famous in the annals of early English colonisation in America. This official placed his private fortune at the disposal of the agents in England, who were instructed to employ every possible means, at whatever expense, to defeat the Bill. Dummer was desired to write and publish a defence of the New England charters, which he did to the satisfaction of the Connecticut people. His contention was to the effect that the colonies had been made by the energy of the colonists themselves, who had relied on the charters as guarantees of their provincial privileges; and that, as far as property was concerned, the land belonged to the settlers and their descendants, who had purchased it of the Indians, and not to England, which had given nothing for it. The second of these arguments, when employed as a bar to political interference on the part of the mother country, was a manifest fallacy; for the possession of certain estates, however good the title may be as a matter of property, can never in itself annul the right of the Imperial Government to effect changes in the mode of ruling a colony. In this as in other cases, any proposed change is to be judged on its own merits; and, in the last resort, if the parent State persists in forcing an unjust measure on its dependencies, there is the indefeasible right of revolution, to which, some sixty years later, the Americans were driven by the attempt to tax them without their consent. But to base a claim



A RACE FOR LIFE.

to something very like legislative independence on the fact of lands having been purchased in a distant part of the realm, was an idle assumption, which in no respect strengthened the position of the New Englanders. The truth is, however much Dummer strove to deny it, that ideas of complete independence were beginning to form themselves in the minds of many of the American colonists. Colonel Nicholson wrote to the Board of Trade in 1698 that "a great many people of all the colonies, especially in those under proprietaries, think that no law of England ought to be binding on them without their own consent; for they foolishly say that they have no representatives sent from themselves to the Parliament of England, and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." Three years later, the Lords of Trade, writing to Lord Bellamont, instructed him to watch and curb this humour, and added that the independence which the colonies thirsted after was so notorious that it had been thought fit to lay the matter, together with other objections, before Parliament. A Bill for the withdrawal of the colonial charters, introduced in 1701, was the result of these views on the part of the home Government; but the measure was ultimately dropped. It was not prudent in the English Government to provoke a feeling of distinct nationality by repeated interferences; but in New England the feeling had originated at a very early date. Dummer's arguments, backed by the influence of the Dissenters, procured the withdrawal of the proposed Bill. The fact of its ever having been brought forward, however, left a disagreeable impression in America, which was not easily removed.

At the same period, a spirit of opposition was excited in New Hampshire by the conduct of one of her own citizens, George Vaughan, who had for some time acted as the agent of the colony at London. He seems to have turned his opportunities in this position to the disadvantage of the community which employed him. Apparently with a view to ingratiating himself with the court, he suggested a number of measures calculated to enhance the Royal authority, and, in a memorial to the King and his Ministers, recommended the extension of the land-tax of Great Britain to New England. Fortunately his advice in this respect was declined; but he was shortly afterwards made Deputy-Governor of New Hampshire, as the lieutenant of Colonel Shute. On arriving at the seat of his delegated power, he gave great offence to the Assembly by requiring it to establish a perpetual revenue for the Crown, and, when this was refused, by rebuking and threatening those who opposed his wishes. He plainly told the members that he was a superior match to them, as being armed with power from his prince, who could do execution at the utterance of a word. This was language entirely out of date; but Vaughan, an American of the eighteenth century, was desirous of acting over again, on a small scale, the tyrannical antics of a James I. or Charles I. He suspended councillors and dissolved the Assembly; then, flushed with his petty success, set himself in opposition to his superior, Colonel Shute, and resisted his orders in so insolent a manner that Shute suspended him. Vaughan probably thought he should have the support of the King against the Governor; but he was mistaken. He was removed from the position he had abused, and in 1717 John Wentworth, a wealthy native of New Hampshire, received the appointment. Wentworth's commission is countersigned by Addison, then Secretary of State.

A period of amity between England and France succeeded to the deaths of Queen Anne and Louis XIV. Sir Robert Walpole, the great Minister of George I., and Cardinal Fleury, who was called to the head of affairs under Louis XV., were both inclined to a pacific policy; and the exhaustion of France, from the long wars which she had lately passed through, formed a powerful argument in favour of quiescence. America for some time shared in the benefits of this peace. The old quarrel as to boundaries was far from settled; but for the present it was laid aside. The frontiers of the English colonies were no longer ravaged by parties of French and Indians, and the settlers were left to pursue in comparative quiet, save for a few native outbreaks, their great work of peopling the desert, and preparing the commonwealths of the future. During this interval, population largely increased; the feeling of American nationality grew stronger; and the foundations were laid—though perhaps unconsciously—for that great Federation which is now among the leading Powers of the world.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Rising of the Yamassees against the South Carolinians—Intimation of the Plot to a Trader—Massacre of English on Good Friday, 1715—A Race for Life—Devastation of a Large Extent of Country—Measures of Defence—Total Defeat of the Savages by Governor Craven—Dissensions between the South Carolinians and the Body of Proprietors—Despatch of Commissioners to England to remonstrate against the Conduct of Chief Justice Trott—Refusal of the Proprietors to interfere—The Proprietary Government upset by the People—James Moore elected by the Assembly to the Governorship, in place of Robert Johnson—Opposition of Governor Johnson to the Revolution—Success of the Popular Movement—Threatened Attack by the Spaniards—Forfeiture of their Charter by the Proprietaries—Government of Sir Francis Nicholson—Reforms in the Two Carolinas—English Opinion on the Subject—Interviews of Sir Alexander Cumming with Indian Chiefs—Visit of Cherokees to England, and Conclusion of a Treaty with George II.—Answer of the Chiefs—Progress of North and South Carolina after the Establishment of the Royal Government.

North Carolina, we have seen, suffered from an Indian insurrection from 1711 to 1715: in the latter of those years, South Carolina was visited by a similar trouble. The settlers had for some time been on very friendly terms with a tribe called the Yamassees, who occupied a large territory stretching along the north-east side of the river Savannah, in the vicinity of Port Royal Island. These savages, who were a branch of the Muscogees, had been originally planted in Florida, from which they fled in disgust at the persistent attempts of the Spaniards to convert them. They were regarded by the colonists as a people very well inclined to be friendly with Englishmen. At the same time, they nursed a furious hatred of the Spaniards, into whose dominions they made repeated incursions, for the purpose of waging war at once on the subjects of Philip V., and on the hostile tribes of their own race. On these occasions, they would carry off Spanish prisoners, and, conveying them to their towns in the midst of the thick forests, would put them to death with prolonged and hideous tortures. Such frequent atrocities moved the commiseration of the South Carolinians, and the Legislature generously passed a law offering a reward of five pounds for every Spanish prisoner whom the Indians should surrender alive and unhurt at Charleston. The then Governor of South Carolina, Charles Craven, sent back the captives thus ransomed to the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine, charging the authorities there with the amount of their redemption and the expenses of the journey. This led to an intercourse of a friendly nature between the Yamassees and the Spaniards, and at length a peace was concluded, which the Spanish Governor had not the courtesy to communicate to the South Carolinians, to whom his countrymen were indebted for the termination of the former state of animosity. The Yamassees now transferred to the Governor of St. Augustine the title of king, which they had previously bestowed on the Governor of the English province. The circumstance ought perhaps to have aroused suspicion; but the colonists, not intending any ill, anticipated none.

A distinct revelation of what was brooding was made, however, a short time afterwards. Among the traders to the Yamassees was a Scotch Highlander named Fraser, who had become very intimate with the leading men of the tribe, especially with a chief called Sanute. Fraser had a wife, to whom, after the Indian ceremony of washing her face, as a token of peculiar friendship and confidence, had been performed, Sanute communicated the fact that the Yamassees had placed themselves under the rule of Spain, had accepted the Roman Catholic faith, had been taught to regard the English as heretics doomed to eternal fire, and were afraid of sharing their fate if they hung back from exterminating all the Protestants they could reach. He added that the Spaniards had entered into a confederacy with the Yamassees, the Creeks, the Cherokees, and other Indian tribes, to commence a desolating war with South Carolina, and that they only awaited a particular signal from the Creeks to strike the first blow. That Fraser and his wife might escape the impending danger, Sanute urged them to fly at once, and offered them the use of his own boat for the purpose. If, however, they resolved on remaining, he promised that he would himself, when the crisis arrived, act as their executioner, and, by the infliction of instantaneous death, save them from the nameless agonies of torture.

Fraser at first discredited the story; but at length the terrors of his wife induced him to take flight to Charleston. For some reason—probably from a fear of being disbelieved and laughed at—he refrained from saying a word to any one as to what he had been told; yet the danger, despite his scepticism, was very real and very serious. Not only the Yamassees, but several other Indian tribes, were inflamed against the English. They were heavily in debt to the traders, and were being pressed for payment. Bienville, a

French settler in Louisiana, had persuaded the Choctaws to drive the English from their villages; and the natives over a large extent of country were in a state of manifest excitement. The Yamassees had sent round to the neighbouring communities the warlike symbol of a bloody stick, which, like the chupatties circulated in Hindostan a little before the rebellion of 1857, was understood as a call to arms, and an offer of alliance in the achievement of some notable enterprise. It was for the return of this stick from the Creeks that the Yamassees waited before beginning operations; and they had not to wait long. About a week after the appearance of Fraser in Charleston, Captain Nairne, the provincial agent for Indian affairs, residing, together with many traders, at Pocotaligo, the largest town of the Yamassees, observed a strange degree of agitation, mingled with gloomy reserve, amongst the savages by whom he was surrounded. He requested an explanation, and promised that they should receive ample satisfaction if they had any real cause of complaint against the people of South Carolina. The chiefs replied that they had nothing to allege, but that they were busy preparing for a great hunt on the following morning. The statement was believed in the simple sense which it seemed to convey, and the English at night went to sleep in their rude huts without taking any precautions. The next day, which was Good Friday, the well-known Indian war-cry was heard; the savages burst upon the unsuspecting white men, and a dreadful massacre ensued. Ninety persons were murdered in Pocotaligo and the surrounding country; but fortunately several escaped. A boy ran into the forest, and, after wandering nine days, at length reached a garrison. A captain of militia, named Seaman Burroughs, broke through the ranks of the Indians, and rushed off in the direction of Port Royal. The savages immediately started in hot pursuit, discharged their arrows at the fugitive, and wounded him in two places; but, being a man of great strength and endurance, gifted with a remarkable power of running, he held on, and baffled his pursuers. It is related that he ran ten miles, and swam one, ere he reached the town. But he gained it at length, and gave the first intimation of the Indian treason. An English ship happened to be in the harbour at the time; and the inhabitants of the place were at once removed on board this vessel, and in a number of canoes, to Charleston. The rebels, however, advanced towards the capital, carrying their prisoners with them, and at length halted at Stono, that they might torture the unhappy men, women, and children, without interruption.

The whole province was by this time in a flame. Every tribe from Florida to Cape Fear was in arms. Emissaries from the Yamassees had penetrated into the interior and to the extreme north, rousing the passions of their fellows, and drawing them into the conspiracy. A large extent of country was ravaged, and it was doubtful whether Charleston itself would escape attack. The muster-roll of the capital showed that there were only about twelve hundred white men fit to bear arms; but Craven, the Governor, determined to do the best he could with the small force at his disposal. Martial law was proclaimed. An embargo was laid on all ships, to prevent the transportation of anything that might be required for the defence of the city. An Act was passed by the Assembly empowering the Governor to impress men, to seize weapons, ammunition, and stores, and to arm negroes who could be trusted. Application was made for assistance from England; but the proprietors, who seldom thought of their colonial possessions except as a source of profit, sent neither men nor funds. North Carolina, however, remembering the help she had received in the period of her own trouble, despatched a body of troops to the assistance of her southern neighbour, who, but for the aid thus gratefully proffered, would probably have been overwhelmed. New England, likewise, sent a liberal contribution of arms and ammunition; and the South Carolinians soon presented a determined front to the enemy. Though worsted in two or three encounters, they succeeded, on the whole, in checking the advance of the Indians, and in delivering the capital from the immediate dread of assault.

The principal action in this war was fought under the personal command of Governor Craven. The savages had taken up their chief position at a place on the banks of the Salke-hachie, where a thick entanglement of trees and bushes afforded them convenient cover; and towards this spot Craven, at the head of a numerous body of militia, cautiously advanced, scattering before him on the road several straggling parties of the foe. When at length he reached the point of attack, he encountered a most formidable resistance. The Indians advanced again and again; hideous yells rent the air, and showers of arrows and bullets issued from behind the trees. But the forces under Craven displayed admirable firmness and discipline; and in the end the confederated barbarians were driven from their ambush, and pursued beyond the present limits of the province. The Yamassees, on retiring into Florida, were welcomed by the authorities of St. Augustine by the ringing of bells and the firing of guns; and it was now evident, beyond the possibility of doubt,

that the Spaniards had been privy to the rising, and desired its success. But the brilliant victory of Craven completely crushed the conspiracy, though not before the colony had lost at least four hundred of its population, and a large amount of property. The conqueror was received at Charleston with every demonstration of honour, and the name of Craven has always remained one of the most popular in the list of South Carolinian Governors. The lands that had belonged to the Yamassees were appropriated, by two Acts of the Assembly, to the use of such British subjects as cared to occupy them. Five hundred men from Ireland accordingly went out to Carolina; but shortly afterwards the proprietors, with that extreme selfishness which generally characterised their actions, caused the whole district to be converted into baronies. The unfortunate Irishmen, thus dispossessed of estates which they had left their own country to cultivate, died of want and misery in large numbers, while the rest emigrated to the northern colonies, where their labour insured them more considerate treatment.

The success of the South Carolinians in suppressing a formidable rebellion by their own unaided powers, seems to have encouraged them to the assertion of a greater degree of political independence than they had hitherto exhibited. Craven had now been succeeded in the Governorship by Robert Johnson, the son of a previous Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson. The new officer was a man of great integrity and of popular principles; but he was hampered by instructions from England, and a condition of social irritability was thus produced. The popular representatives set themselves in opposition to the grasping policy of the proprietaries; the proprietaries retorted by straining their influence to the utmost, so as to defeat the wishes of the colonists. In 1718, it was decreed by the ruling body in England that the Governor should not accept any law passed by the Assembly until after a draught of it had been submitted to themselves, and had received their sanction. Several laws, passed some time before, and now in actual operation, were repealed by these irresponsible legislators, and others which the Assembly desired to enact were disallowed. Amongst the latter was an Act for setting a distinct exchangeable value on country commodities, and declaring them a legal tender for the payment of debts. Some such arrangement had been rendered necessary by the great expenses of the war; but the proprietors, though they had contributed neither a man nor a shilling towards the prosecution of that war, and were indebted for the preservation of their estates and revenues to the unaided exertions and sacrifices of the colonists, refused to assent to the proposed edict. Desiring to have some agent in the plantation who should represent their interests, and act as a spy on the people, they chose for this purpose a lawyer named Nicholas Trott, who had previously been regarded by the South Carolinians as a man of liberal and popular ideas. On being appointed by the proprietaries Chief Justice of the province, Trott forgot his former principles, and supported his employers in their most despotic designs. He was accused by the Assembly of corruption in the discharge of his functions, and it was proposed to impeach him; but he assumed a tone of defiance, and declared that he was answerable only to those who had appointed him. Technically, he was right in this contention, and Governor Johnson and the Council found that they could do nothing more than send a commissioner to England, to solicit the removal of the Chief Justice. The effort was fruitless. After a delay of three months subsequent to the arrival of the commissioners in London, in 1719, they were told that the proprietaries had received letters from Trott, in which he said that the complaints against him originated solely in a political faction. The statement was accepted as conclusive; inquiry was denied; and the Governor of the province, the Council, and the Assembly were informed, through the colonial agents, that the proprietors had received their disloyal and presumptuous application with the highest displeasure and surprise. The same body likewise commanded the Governor to displace all the Councillors who had united with himself and the Assembly in demanding the removal of Trott, and to fill the vacant posts with certain persons recommended by the unpopular Chief Justice.

Johnson, on receiving these orders, felt assured that they would cause a serious commotion amongst the people; but, seeing clearly that his duty lay in executing the will of the proprietors, by whom he was himself appointed, he did as he was directed, though with a reluctance which his own political wisdom and liberal sympathies must have rendered doubly keen. The popular discontent declared itself very soon. A dread of invasion from Spain, consequent on the outbreak of hostilities between that Power and England, was seized on as a convenient opportunity for extorting reforms. Johnson summoned the Assembly, and required of it sufficient means for putting the colony in a state of defence. The Assembly refused to vote a penny, but, at the same time resolving not to leave the country without protection, took measures for organising and arming the people. The association

thus formed, to which the vast majority of the colonists acceded with enthusiasm, concerned itself as much with politics as with military arrangements, and the movement soon acquired a very threatening character. At the last general election, the supporters of the proprietaries had found themselves completely outvoted, and the elected members now declared, at private meetings, that they would have no more to do with their oppressors. The people were determined to stand by their rights and privileges, and recalled the fact that the Committee of Trade and Plantations had on a former occasion declared the charter forfeit. Finally, the Assembly resolved to disregard the officers of the proprietary, and begged Johnson to hold the reins of power for the King. Johnson, who seems to have been actuated throughout by a high sense of personal honour, refused the offer, and, after an altercation with the Assembly, dissolved it, and retired into the country, in the hope that his absence for a little while would have the effect of calming the storm. The Assembly, however, refused to accept the decree of dissolution; ordered the proclamation to be wrested from the marshal's hands; and proceeded to take special measures for meeting the crisis. The members voted themselves a convention delegated by the people, and elected James Moore to the post which Johnson was held to have forfeited. Moore had been their Governor in earlier years, and was popular as a military officer and a man of spirit, under whose rule the arms of England had been carried in triumph to the Gulf of Mexico. It was expressly declared that he was to exercise his powers in the name and on the behalf, not of the proprietaries, but of the sovereign. Twelve councillors were next appointed for carrying on the business of the State; and the presidency of this body was conferred on Sir Hovenden Walker, the unlucky hero of the expedition against Quebec in 1711, who had since emigrated to South Carolina. A considerable force of militia was now under arms; the country was in a good state of defence; and it was resolved to review the citizen soldiery on the 21st of December, 1719, and on the same day to proclaim the new chief magistrate, Colonel Moore. The revolution was completely successful, and for the present no attempt had been made to question its right, or to obstruct its progress.

Opposition, however, was now to be experienced at the hands of Johnson. That official, conceiving that his duty to the proprietors required that he should make an attempt to stay the revolution, reappeared at the capital, and exerted himself to the utmost to restore his authority. Previous to the muster of militia, he gave particular orders to Parris, the commanding officer, to delay the assembling of the companies, and not to allow a drum to beat in the town. But the orders were disregarded. The militia drew up in the public square; the colours flew from the fort. In the King's name, Johnson commanded Parris to disperse his men. Parris replied that he would only obey the Convention. The deposed Governor then induced the commanders of some English ships of war to bring their vessels in front of Charleston, and threatened to bombard the city unless immediate submission were made to the dominion of the proprietary body, as represented by himself. But the people were in possession of the fort, and made light of the ex-Governor's menaces. Unable to do anything more, and perhaps really unwilling to take active measures against the people, Johnson again withdrew, and the revolution went its way unchecked. Captain Rhett, of the Royal Navy, who had won a great name for courage and capacity in his operations against the pirates, acted with apparent friendliness to the popular cause, though there is reason to suppose that he so managed as to stand well with both sides, so as not in any case to be absolutely committed to the loser. Before the revolt, he was held to be a partizan of Trott; and he filled offices of emolument under the proprietors. After the rising of the people, he sided with them, and kept his offices; but at the same time he took care to represent to the governing body in England that he had allied himself with the populace in order that he might secretly counteract their designs. He blamed Johnson for needlessly provoking the malcontents by the inflexibility of his conduct; and, with a Machiavellian subtlety, argued that lenity must sometimes be shown, the better to re-establish power.

In the midst of these events, intelligence arrived that the Spaniards had despatched a fleet and a land force from the Savannah against South Carolina. The revolutionary Governor and the revolutionary Convention at once took measures of defence; proclaimed martial law, summoned all the inhabitants of the province to Charleston, and levied heavy taxes. Johnson in vain represented to the popular leaders that, as they would be conducting warlike operations under an illegal authority, they would be liable, in case of defeat, to the treatment of pirates. The Convention went on with its work, but, retaining a friendly feeling towards the former Governor, exempted his estates from the special taxes which had been voted. The anticipated attack by the Spaniards never took place. Fourteen ships, carrying an army of twelve hundred men, started on the expedition that was to subdue



MAP OF SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1730. (*By H. Moll.*)

South Carolina. But in the first instance they directed their operations against the island of New Providence, in the West Indies, the haunt, a few years before, of the pirates whose history has been traced. Here they were utterly defeated by Commodore Rogers; and shortly afterwards the greater portion of the fleet was lost in a storm.

The men at the head of affairs at Charleston were not unaware of the necessity of defending their exceptional power before the authorities of the parent State. They accordingly instructed their agent at London, in 1720, to plead their cause, and obtain, if possible, a recognition of their acts. At that time, George I. was absent in Hanover, and the supreme power was temporarily lodged in a Council of Regency. By this body, the arguments of the South Carolinian agent and of the proprietaries were heard with becoming impartiality, and the result was a decision that the latter had forfeited their charter. The Attorney-General was therefore ordered to institute legal proceedings for effecting the changes which it was proposed to carry out; and in the meanwhile Francis Nicholson, who had already been at the head of affairs in New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Nova Scotia, and who had since been made a knight, received a Royal commission as provisional Governor of South Carolina. Nicholson was a man inclined to despotic principles in government, with a temper somewhat irritable; yet he was not devoid of better qualities, and the people over whom he was now placed accepted his appointment as a pledge that the King's Government was desirous of promoting a higher social state in their colony than had prevailed under the proprietary rule. Their confidence proved not to be misplaced. Men are often influenced in their views by the prevalent feeling of the time; and this appears to have been the case with Nicholson. In the days of James II. he could declare that the people of New York were a conquered race, whom the sovereign might lawfully govern by his sole will in any way he pleased. Under George I. his ideas were more liberal, and his administration in South Carolina gave entire satisfaction. He arrived at Charleston early in 1721, and his first act was to confirm peace with the natives. The chiefs of thirty-seven villages were met by him in congress on the borders of the territory occupied by the Cherokees, a nation of a pacific disposition, though with warlike capabilities and resources. The boundaries that were to divide the domains of the white from those of the red men were marked out; and a treaty of commerce and peace was also concluded with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds, it was agreed, should extend to the Savannah. The friendship of the Cherokees, who numbered twenty thousand, was especially cultivated, as a protection against the Yamassees, whose remaining members were now permanently re-established on the soil of Florida, and were encouraged by the Spaniards to make frequent attacks on the frontier settlements of South Carolina. A fort with a small English garrison was established on the high grounds in the neighbourhood of the river Alatamaha, now included in the State of Georgia—a proceeding which led to unavailing remonstrances from Spain, which still asserted a title to that part of America. But Nicholson busied himself with internal improvements, as well as with questions of defence. He established schools, and gave not only his time, but his money, to the spread of education, which was certainly in a very backward state among the South Carolinians. Though personally rather a free liver, he seems to have been sincerely attached to the Church of England; and he induced the London Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts to send a number of clergymen to the province, with liberal salaries in addition to what they received from the colonists themselves. Nicholson did not retain his government more than four years; but he left behind him a high reputation for his intelligent and considerate administration of local affairs.

Although the proprietors of South Carolina were practically deprived of their governing powers in 1720, it was not until 1729 that they ceased to hold the land as a private estate, nor indeed was it until then that the question of jurisdiction was fully and legally settled. In the latter of those years, an Act of Parliament recognised and sanctioned a treaty, which had been concluded with all the proprietaries but one, for the surrender to the Crown of their territory, their title to exercise the functions of government there, and all arrears of quit-rents. For this transfer, the sum of £22,500 was paid; but Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, who possessed an eighth share, was allowed to retain his property in the soil. The treaty and the Act of Parliament affected the northern as well as the southern colony; and North Carolina now for the first time received a Royal Governor. The constitution of each province under the new arrangement consisted of a Governor and Council appointed by the King, and an Assembly elected by the people. The Carolinians were further gratified by an Act of Parliament which permitted their planters and merchants to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre, in vessels manned according to the requisitions of the Naviga-

tion Acts. The quiet and almost eventless history of the Carolinas, from this period to the epoch of the War of Independence, proves that the change in their condition consequent on the downfall of the proprietary body was a benefit of no slight degree. A monarchy may represent, protect, and develop the interests of a commonalty, with which, wisely considered, its own interests are bound up. An aristocracy seldom considers any interests but its own; and of all aristocracies the very worst is an absentee proprietary. The two Carolinas had from their first settlement suffered from this bad form of government; and they welcomed the representatives of the Crown as the guardians of colonial liberty, too long restricted by the deliberations of an irresponsible board, sitting in London, and having regard to little but immediate profit.

A geographical and historical writer, whose work was published ten years after the final settlement of the Carolinas, gave expression to the satisfaction at the change which was felt in the old country. His Majesty, he apprehended, was thus rendered sole proprietor or ground-landlord of those pleasant and fruitful regions, and was thereby possessed of the largest and fairest demesne of any prince in Europe. The two provinces, he remarked, were of much larger extent than any possession previously held by the greatest of the Kings of England; and posterity, if not the existing generation, might possibly see the Crown so much enriched by the purchase as to defray all the ordinary charges of government out of the revenues of the Crown-lands, as the English sovereigns anciently did, without depending on the contributions of the subject. This sanguine anticipation was a little dashed by the inability of the writer to determine whether his Majesty purchased the provinces as King of England, or only as a private gentleman. In either case, however, he begged leave to congratulate the King and the nation on what had occurred, since it had in that way become the joint interest of prince and people to encourage those plantations, which, if well managed, might in years to come furnish Great Britain with naval stores, silk, wine, oil, and other things for which she was beholden to foreigners, and would at the same time advance English manufactures by taking them in exchange for their own commodities.*

One of the earliest proceedings of the Royal Government, after the settlement of the proprietary question, was to enter into negotiations with the Indians on the frontiers, with a view to securing their submission as subjects, or at least their friendship as allies. This, as we have seen, was to some extent accomplished by Sir Francis Nicholson; but it was determined to make farther advances in the same direction. In 1730, a special envoy was sent out by George II., in the person of Sir Alexander Cumming, a Scotch baronet, who, starting from Charleston towards the latter end of March, with a few companions, was guided by Indian traders to Keowee, the first town of the Cherokees, about three hundred miles west of the capital. He had already been informed, at the plantation of a Mr. Russell, which was situated much nearer to Charleston, that the French had for two years been endeavouring to bring over the Lower Cherokees to their interests; that they had long ago built forts in the territory of the Creeks, and were steadily encroaching on grounds not before occupied by them. At Keowee, a trader named Barker told Sir Alexander that, a few weeks before, messengers had arrived from the Lower Creeks to the Cherokees, inviting them to form an alliance with the French, which the Cherokees, after the receipt of presents, had shown a disposition to do. Indeed, they had been so unruly that Barker expected they would ere then have risen against the English, and the traders at that time hardly dared speak to them. That very night, however, three hundred natives made their submission to King George on their knees, and Cumming summoned a general assembly of Cherokee chiefs at Nequassee, in the valley of the Tennessee. The goodwill of the Indians was forwarded by a circumstance which acted on their superstitious fears. One night, after Sir Alexander had arrived at a native settlement in the wilderness, a terrific storm of thunder and lightning came on, and struck so much dismay into the hearts of the savages that on the following morning their chief priest told the English envoy he knew he had come to govern their nation, and they must submit to whatever he commanded.

The chiefs and great men of all the tribes met at Nequassee in the course of April, where, with much ceremony, Sir Alexander Cumming was placed in a chair by Moytoy, the principal warrior of the Cherokees, and was stroked with thirteen eagles' tails. The minstrels sang from morning till night, and, as was usual with Indians on solemn occasions, all fasted the whole day. After a speech from Sir Alexander, in which he magnified the power of his sovereign, and required all the warriors to acknowledge themselves the dutiful subjects of George II., the chiefs made their submission by kneeling, and imprecating on their heads the most frightful consequences if they violated the promise of obedience. On the following day, the royal crown

* Moll's Modern History (Dublin, 1739), Vol. V., Part II.

of the Cherokee monarch was brought from one of the settlements, and, together with five eagles' tails and four scalps of enemies killed in battle, was presented to Sir Alexander, with a request that he would lay these trophies at the feet of King George. Seven of the chiefs shortly afterwards accompanied the envoy to England, where they had an audience of the King, and were so astounded at the splendour of the court that, with the hyperbole of their race, they compared the sovereign and his consort to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to invisible motes in a great ray of light. In September, 1730, they affixed their marks to a treaty of alliance, which recited that the great King had commanded his lords commissioners to inform the Cherokee ambassadors that the English everywhere, on all sides of the great mountains and lakes, were his people; that their friends were his friends, and their enemies his enemies; and that he took it kindly that the great nation of the Cherokees had sent them so far to brighten the chain of friendship between him and them, and between their people and his people. The treaty proceeded to observe that the chain of friendship between the great King and the Cherokee Indians was like the sun, which shone both in England and upon the great mountains where they lived, and equally warmed the hearts of the Indians and of the English; that as there were no spots or blackness in the sun, so was there no rust or foulness in the chain; and that, as the King had fastened one end of it to his own breast, he desired the envoys would carry the other end of the chain, and fasten it well to the breast of Moytoy, and to the breasts of their old wise men, their captains, and all their people, never more to be broken or made loose. Thereupon the Indians were presented with two pieces of blue cloth. The great King and the Cherokee Indians being thus fastened together (the treaty continued) by the chain of friendship, the King had ordered his people and children, the English in Carolina, to trade with the Indians, to furnish them with all manner of goods that they might want, and to make haste to build houses, and to plant corn from Charleston towards the town of the Cherokees behind the great mountains; for the King desired that the Indians and the English might live together as the children of one family, whereof the great King would be a kind, loving father; and as the King had granted his land on both sides of the great mountains to his own children, the English, so he now conferred on the Cherokee Indians the privilege of living where they pleased. Thereupon he gave them one piece of red cloth.

The treaty then went on to say that, the great nation of Cherokees being now the children of the King of Great Britain, and he their father, the Cherokees must treat the English as brethren of the same family, and must be always ready, at the Governor's command, to fight against any nation, whether they were white men or Indians, who should dare to molest or hurt the English; and thereupon the King gave them twenty guns. The nation of the Cherokees should on their part take care to keep the treading-path clean, so that there should be no blood on the path where the English white men trod, even though they should be accompanied by any other people with whom the Cherokees were at war; whereupon his Majesty gave four hundred pounds weight of gunpowder. It was also agreed that the Cherokees should not suffer their people to trade with the white men of any nation but the English, nor permit the white men of any other nation to build any forts or cabins, or plant corn amongst them, or near any of the Indian towns, or upon the lands which belonged to the great King; and if any such attempt should be made, the Cherokees were to acquaint the English Governor therewith, and to do whatever he might direct, in order to maintain and defend the great King's right to the country of Carolina. With this were given five hundred pounds weight of swan-shot, and five hundred pounds weight of bullets. Furthermore, it was stipulated that any negro slaves who should escape into the woods from their English masters were to be delivered up to the plantation to which they belonged; and for every negro so apprehended and brought back, the Indian so returning him should receive a gun and a watch-coat. In connection with this clause, the King gave a box of vermilion, ten thousand gun-flints, and six dozen hatchets. If by any accidental misfortune it should happen that an Englishman killed an Indian, the chief of the Cherokees should first complain to the English Governor, and the author of the fact should be punished by the English laws; and if an Indian killed an Englishman, the Indian also should be delivered up to the Governor, to be punished by the same English laws. Upon this were presented six dozen spring-knives, four dozen kettles, and ten dozen belts. The treaty concluded:—"You are to understand all that we [the commissioners] have now said to be the words of the great King whom you have seen; and, as a token that his heart is open and true to his children and friends, the Cherokees, and to all their people, he gives this belt, which he desires may be kept and shown to all your people, and to their children and children's children, to

confirm what is now spoken, and to bind this agreement of peace and friendship between the English and Cherokees as long as the mountains and rivers shall last, or the sun shine. Whereupon we give this belt of wampum."

It is a painful feature in this treaty of friendship and alliance that it should have included a clause for the return of runaway slaves. In order to recover their escaped negroes, the colonists were ready to reward the Indians with weapons which might at any time be used against themselves. The savages had a very poor opinion of English morality in this respect; yet they were willing to act as police to the slave-owners, for the sake of what they could get by it. While the seven Cherokees were in England, they were taken about London, and shown the public buildings; and, having received several presents from the court and private gentlemen, they returned to their own country in one of the King's ships. Their answer to the treaty of alliance, delivered on the day that document was dated, and addressed to the King's representative, was as follows:—

"We are come hither from a dark, mountainous place, where nothing but darkness is to be found, but are now in a place where there is light. There was a person in our country with us: he gave us a yellow token of warlike honour that is left with Moytoy of Telliquo, and as warriors we received it. He came to us like a warrior from you: a man he is; his talk is upright, and the token he left preserves his memory amongst us. We look upon you as if the great King George were present, and we love you as representing the great King, and shall die in the same way of thinking. The crown of our nation is different from that which the great King George wears, and from that which we saw in the Tower; but to us it is all one, and the chain of friendship shall be carried to our people. We look upon the great King George as the sun and as our father, and upon ourselves as his children; for, though we are red and you are white, yet our hands and hearts are joined together. When we have acquainted our people with what we have seen, our children, from generation to generation, will always remember it. In war we shall always be as one with you; the great King George's enemies shall be our enemies; his people and ours shall be always one, and shall die together. We came hither naked and poor as the worm of the earth; but you have everything, and we that have nothing must love you, and can never break the chain of friendship which is between us. Here stands the Governor of Carolina, whom we know. This small rope we show you is all we have to bind our slaves with, and may be broken; but you have iron chains for yours: however, if we catch your slaves, we shall bind them as well as we can, and deliver them to our friends again, and ask no pay for it. We have looked round for the person that was in our country; he is not here; however, we must say he talked uprightly to us, and we shall never forget him. Your white people may very safely build houses near us; we shall hurt nothing that belongs to them, for we are the children of one father, the great King, and shall live and die together." Then, laying down his feathers upon the table, the speaker added:—"This is our way of talking, which is the same thing to us as your letters in the book are to you; and to you, beloved men, we deliver these feathers in confirmation of all that we have said."

The good understanding thus established was maintained for several years, and it had the effect of interposing between the English and the French, in that part of America, a powerful nation of Indians pledged to support the interests of the former people. The native envoys were accompanied in their homeward voyage by Robert Johnson, the deposed Governor of South Carolina, who was again deputed to that post by the King. He took with him the welcome boon of a total remission of arrears of quit-rents, together with a gift from the sovereign of seventy pieces of cannon for the defence of the colony. South Carolina now advanced rapidly in wealth and population. An addition was made to the latter, about 1733, by the arrival of three hundred and seventy Swiss, who, upon a grant of land being made to them by the English Government, together with some money assistance, planted themselves in a part of the province not previously settled, and founded a town, to which, in recognition of their leader and countryman, John Peter Purry, they gave the name of Purrysburgh. In North Carolina, the Royal Government did not at first succeed so well, owing to an unfortunate selection of officials; but when these had been removed, and the conduct of affairs had been entrusted to more honourable hands, the colony underwent a natural and happy development. The Carolinas had been fairly started as members of the great Anglo-American family.



SIR ALEXANDER CUMMING ON HIS WAY TO VISIT THE CHEROKEES.



WILLIAM PENN (*Ætat.* 50).

CHAPTER L.

Pennsylvania in the latter part of the Seventeenth Century—Dissensions in the Province during Penn's Absence in England—Alterations in the Mode of Government—Rumour of an Indian Insurrection—Misgovernment of Captain Blackwell, Penn's Deputy—Resignation of Blackwell, and further Reforms in the Government—Separation of Delaware from Pennsylvania—Schism in the Quaker Body created by George Keith—Persecution of Keith and Others—Conversion of Keith to the English Church—Position of Penn in England—His Proprietary Government taken from him—Government of Colonel Fletcher, and Dissensions with the Assembly—Restoration of Penn's Powers—Renewed Reforms—In what way Pennsylvania contributed to the Expenses of the War with the French Colonists—Return of Penn to America—Bickerings with the Assembly—Slavery among the Quakers—Further Dissensions between Pennsylvania and Delaware after their Reunion—Penn's Loss of Popularity—His Final Scheme of Government, and Second Departure for England.

When tracing the early annals of Pennsylvania, in Chapter XXXII. of this History, we related the personal connection of William Penn with his Quaker colony down to the close of that great philanthropist's life, in 1718; but it will be necessary to consider more in detail the progress of events in the plantation itself after the departure of its founder in 1684. Penn had left his infant settlement with words of affection and blessing—with fond recollections of the past, and passionate aspirations for a future of grace, mercy, and peace. A very little while showed that those hopes were not to be fulfilled. He had been in England only a few months when a serious quarrel broke out amongst the colonists. Nicholas Moore, the Chief Justice of the province, and Robinson, the clerk of the local Court, were regarded with dislike by the community generally, partly because they were not Quakers, partly also because they were believed to be guilty of various improprieties which do not

seem to have been proved against them. Penn, writing from England, in vain endeavoured to compose these discords. "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he said in one of his letters, written in 1685, "be not so *governmentish*, so noisy, and open in your dissatisfactions." But the spirit of disputatiousness had got possession of the people. They complained of abuses and extortions committed by the officers whom Penn had appointed to conduct the sale of his lands, and exhibited the utmost reluctance to pay the arrears of quit-rent due to the proprietary. The councillors to whom Penn had delegated his powers took no steps towards the collection of these sums of money; and the remonstrances addressed to them were entirely unheeded. In 1686, the mild Quaker was moved to write a letter of sharp reproach to his people, whom he taxed with ingratitude and disregard of his just claims. He had been tempted more than once to annul the charter he had bestowed on them; but from this he forbore, while giving free vent to his sense of injury. His detention in England he attributed to the failure of remittances from America, which had caused him much embarrassment; and he averred that he was more than £6,000 out of pocket by his connection with the colony, to say nothing of his labour, care, and hazard of life itself. The letter in which he made these statements produced no better effect than those which had preceded it. The people complained of the hardship of having to pay rents to an absentee proprietor, when they were already at a great charge for cultivating the land; and, as there was no power to compel them to pay, the founder's demands remained unsatisfied.

Annoyed at the conduct of the provincial councillors, Penn appointed in their place, in December, 1686, five Commissioners of State, of whom the unpopular Nicholas Moore was one. To these Commissioners he issued his commands that they were, at their first sitting, to abrogate every act that had been passed in his absence. They were to do their utmost to check any tendency to disorder, dispute, or collision of powers between the several departments of government, and, to this end, were to confine the Council to its function of proposing laws, and the Assembly to its privilege of accepting or rejecting them. They were to have a diligent care for the proprietor's interests, and to be regardful of their own dignity. "I beseech you," he wrote, "draw not several ways; have no cabals apart, nor reserves from one another; treat with a mutual simplicity, an entire confidence in one another; and if at any time you mistake, or misapprehend, or dissent from one another, let not that appear to the people: show your virtues, but conceal your infirmities; this will make you awful and reverent with the people." The advice was good; but, like all similar exhortations, it took little account of the varied elements of human nature. The province, however, enjoyed a period of repose during which the moral power of the Quakers in dealing with the Indians was shown in a remarkable way. It was rumoured in 1688 that the savages were preparing a general massacre of the colonists. Dismay seized on the people; but Caleb Pusey volunteered to go to the spot where the conspirators were said to have assembled, on condition that five others, deputed by the Council, should accompany him, and that all should be unarmed. The six set out on their perilous mission into the wilderness, and at some distance from the English settlements found an Indian chief at the head of a small retinue. The chief confessed that his countrymen had been disappointed at finding that the price of a recent occupation of land had not by that time been fully paid them; but he added that they had complete faith in the honesty of the English, and were quite willing to wait. The story of the projected massacre he characterised as a wicked falsehood; and he told the colonists to get their corn in without fear, as the Indians intended them no harm. The dealings of the Pennsylvanian settlers with the native tribes contrasted very favourably with the bearing and policy of other colonists; and the fruit of this was seen in the freedom of the Quaker plantation from sanguinary wars and insurrections. It is said that the Friends never converted a single Indian to Christianity, though some efforts were made by them in that direction. At any rate, they gave the red men a practical example of benevolence and justice, which was not without results.

Penn did not get much more satisfaction out of his Commissioners than out of his Council. The quit-rents were not paid; the colonists were either really or apparently forgetful of the services of their benefactor. He described himself as "one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people." The truth is that he had established a little democratic republic, while retaining for himself the position of a species of feudal lord. The people did not hesitate to use the freedom he had given them, and this led to collisions. The members of the Assembly, in the course of 1685–6, originated Bills on their own account, without waiting to receive them from the Council; refused to vote taxes when they considered them unnecessary; and introduced a variety of reforms into the constitution which Penn had devised. It cannot be doubted that

Penn was sincerely desirous to see his commonwealth self governing; but he not unnaturally wished to retain some share in the direction of a scheme which had originated in his own mind. In July, 1688, another change in the form of government took place, and Captain John Blackwell, one of Cromwell's officers, and a son-in-law of the Parliamentarian General, Lambert, received from Penn the rank of Deputy-Governor of his province. Blackwell, who was at the time a resident in New England, speedily went to his seat of government, and as quickly got into angry disputes with the settlers. He seems to have taken his old chief, the great Protector, as his model in affairs of state as well as in affairs of war. In order to exclude from the Assembly a man named White, who was regarded as an opponent of Penn, he caused him to be imprisoned on a frivolous pretext, and then obstructed the execution of the writ of *habeas corpus* which had been procured on behalf of the accused. After the commission of other acts of a similar nature, he deferred the convocation of the Assembly as long as he could, and, when at length the members came together, in March, 1689, he opened the session with a speech of a very imperious character. The Assembly remonstrated, and Blackwell, to weaken the opposition, persuaded some of the members to absent themselves. Exasperated by such attempts at coercion, the popular representatives declared the secession of all such members a treacherous desertion of the public service, and passed a series of resolutions setting forth that the proprietary's absence might be a disappointment to him, but was certainly a prejudice to the people; that he had no right to decree the abrogation of all laws passed in his absence; that even with the consent of the freemen the proprietary could make no laws to bind the province, except in the way prescribed in the charter; and that it was both desirable and to be hoped that no laws of any other kind would be imposed on the people. Blackwell found that he could not stem the tide that had set in against him, and, resigning his office, he left the province in December, 1689. The executive power again passed into the hands of the Council, the president of which was Thomas Lloyd, a gentleman from North Wales, formerly a scholar of Oxford, and a person of the highest character for learning and moral goodness.

Penn now resolved to reform the government of his plantation in a more popular spirit than he had hitherto shown. "Friends," he wrote to the colonists in 1690, "I heartily wish you all well, and beseech God to guide you in the ways of righteousness and peace. I have thought fit, upon my further stop in these parts, to throw all into your hands, that you may see the confidence I have in you, and the desire I have to give you all possible contentment." A Council chosen by the people was made collectively his deputy, and for a little while all seemed to go fairly. But a new disturbance speedily arose, owing to jealousy of the superior position enjoyed by the upper counties, or Pennsylvania proper, felt by the lower counties, now Delaware, which had recently been united with the territory of Penn. After much contention, the lower counties assumed to themselves distinct executive powers, and proceeded to act on that assumption in a way which the others declared to be illegal. Penn was greatly annoyed at the rupture when he heard of it. He desired the contending parties to make choice of any one of the three forms of executive government which had been successively tried in the Quaker plantation. The people of Delaware, however, would accept nothing which did not recognise at least a partial severance from Pennsylvania, and in 1691 they were placed under the government of Colonel Markham, Penn's relative. At the same time, the supreme charge of Pennsylvania proper was put into the hands of Thomas Lloyd; but the work of legislation in the two colonies was still performed by a single Council and Assembly. Such an arrangement did not, on the face of it, seem very likely to be successful; but the friendly co-operation of Lloyd and Markham smoothed away difficulties, and the two colonies were more friendly after their qualified divorce than during their brief union.

Political troubles were soon succeeded by religious strife. Amongst the Quakers of Pennsylvania was a certain Scotchman named George Keith, who to the disputatiousness of his countrymen generally added the particular pugnacity of a Friend. He was a man of ability and of strong convictions, but of an irritable temper, an aggressive disposition, and a mental habit that delighted in nothing so much as theological warfare. He had travelled in New England as a Quaker preacher, and had engaged in many controversies with the Puritanical divines of that part of America, between whom and the followers of George Fox a feeling of bitter animosity still subsisted. His hatred of the New England form of Christianity was shown in several publications, in which he denounced the people of Massachusetts with all the resources of a vituperative genius; and his performances in this respect recommended him to the favour of those who shared his views. Quitting the northern colonies, Keith was appointed surveyor-general of East Jersey, and was afterwards made president of the Friends'

Public School of Philadelphia, established in 1689. He had not been in this position very long when his old love of argument and censure again declared itself. He could agree no better with his fellow-Quakers than with the Independents who followed the teachings of the Mathers. In 1692 he discovered that Quakerism in Pennsylvania had become much depreciated. He maintained that loose and erroneous doctrines were taught by the preachers, and that the discipline of the body had of late been grievously relaxed. No Quaker, he said, should be concerned in the compelling part of government; and on this ground alone he condemned the holding of negroes in a state of bondage. His objections to slavery were strongly reinforced by the German colonists, who had always been very decidedly opposed to the principles which that detestable institution embodies. Such a view, however, did not suit the majority of Quakers in the province of William Penn. They replied with bitterness: Keith responded with all the vehemence of his controversial nature. The dispute having gone on for some time, the opponents of Keith published what they called a declaration or testimony of denial against him. They stated herein that Keith had brought upon them a "tedious exercise and vexatious perplexity;" had assailed them with "such unsavoury words and abusive language as a person of common civility would loathe;" and had exercised his talents that way by by calling them "fools, ignorant heathens, silly souls, rotten ranters, and Muggletonians." Amongst his other sins they set down a statement of his opinion that Quakerism was too often a cloak for heresy and hypocrisy, and that more diabolical doctrine passed current among the Quakers than among any other description of Protestants. When the objects of all this reviling rebuked the reviler for his uncharitableness, he answered that he trampled their judgment under his feet as dirt; and shortly afterwards he started a separate meeting, the proceedings of which, in the estimation of the majority, rendered Quakerism "a scorn to the profane, and the song of the drunkard." The unsavoury language of Keith had doubtless as much to do with exciting the ire of other Quakers as the vexatious principles which he vaunted; but it must be recollected that this kind of language was natural to the sect, and had been frequently employed by George Fox. About the time of Keith's schism, a Quaker named Bugg, whose unfortunate appellation certainly laid him open to numerous and effective assaults, deserted the society, and was plentifully bespattered by his former associates. Whether there was anything particularly unsavoury about Bugg does not clearly appear, but may perhaps be inferred from general probabilities.

Though in the minority, Keith had a good many followers, whom he designated Christian Quakers, of course implying that the others were Quakers without being Christians. He answered the declaration of his enemies in an address which contained particular charges of apostasy against those from whom he had separated, and which indicated, in a very pungent and exasperating way, the strong contrasts existing between the professions and the practice of the majority. This provoked the holders of power to such a degree that they determined on a prosecution—a thing until that time unknown in the Quaker community in connection with the expression of opinion. They now discovered—what they would not concede to others when they were a persecuted sect in England and New England—that, however much they were bound, as Quakers, to bear with meekness all offences committed against themselves individually, it was their duty as magistrates to visit with sternness anything which tended to lessen "the lawful authority of the magistracy in the view of the baser sort of the people." Keith was accordingly sent to prison; so was Bradford, the printer of the address, whose presses were seized; and both Keith and Bradford were denounced by proclamation as seditious persons, and enemies of the Royal authority in Pennsylvania. The printer, not choosing to submit to an arbitrary exercise of power when he could appeal to the principles of English law, demanded a trial, and obtained a verdict which set him free; yet he felt obliged shortly afterwards to quit Pennsylvania, where the petty persecutions of his enemies deprived him of all chance of gaining a peaceful livelihood. Keith and one Francis Budd were then tried for being the joint authors of a little book in which they described a certain Quaker magistrate as "too high and imperious in worldly courts." It was a part of the general argument of Keith, who in this respect strictly followed the principles of Fox, that a true Quaker could not act either as a lawgiver or as a magistrate. Such employments implied a resort to carnal weapons, and were therefore an abandonment of the most essential theory of Quakerism, which taught that evil was to be passively resisted and meekly borne. On their trial, the grand jury found Keith and Budd guilty, and they were sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds, which, however, was afterwards remitted as an act of grace. It was altogether an unfortunate affair, and, according to a letter from Penn to a friend in America, excited so much disgust in England that many persons doubted

the fitness of Quakers to administer municipal authority. Keith was heartily sick of Pennsylvania, and, taking ship for England, he published there an account of the proceedings against him, in a pamphlet entitled "New England Spirit of Persecution transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the Pretended Quaker found persecuting the True Quaker." Some of the weak points of Quakerism had undoubtedly been hit by this vigorous controversialist, who might have effected considerable good, had he proceeded with less acrimony and venom. He soon acquired a large number of adherents on both sides of the Atlantic; but his experiences of Quaker ways, and his minute discussion of the whole body of Quaker doctrine, gradually created in his mind so great a dissatisfaction with the sect that he abandoned the communion altogether, and declared himself a convert to the Church of England, in which capacity he went back to America as a missionary to the Indians.* He subsequently returned to England, became rector of Edburton, in Sussex, and died about 1710.

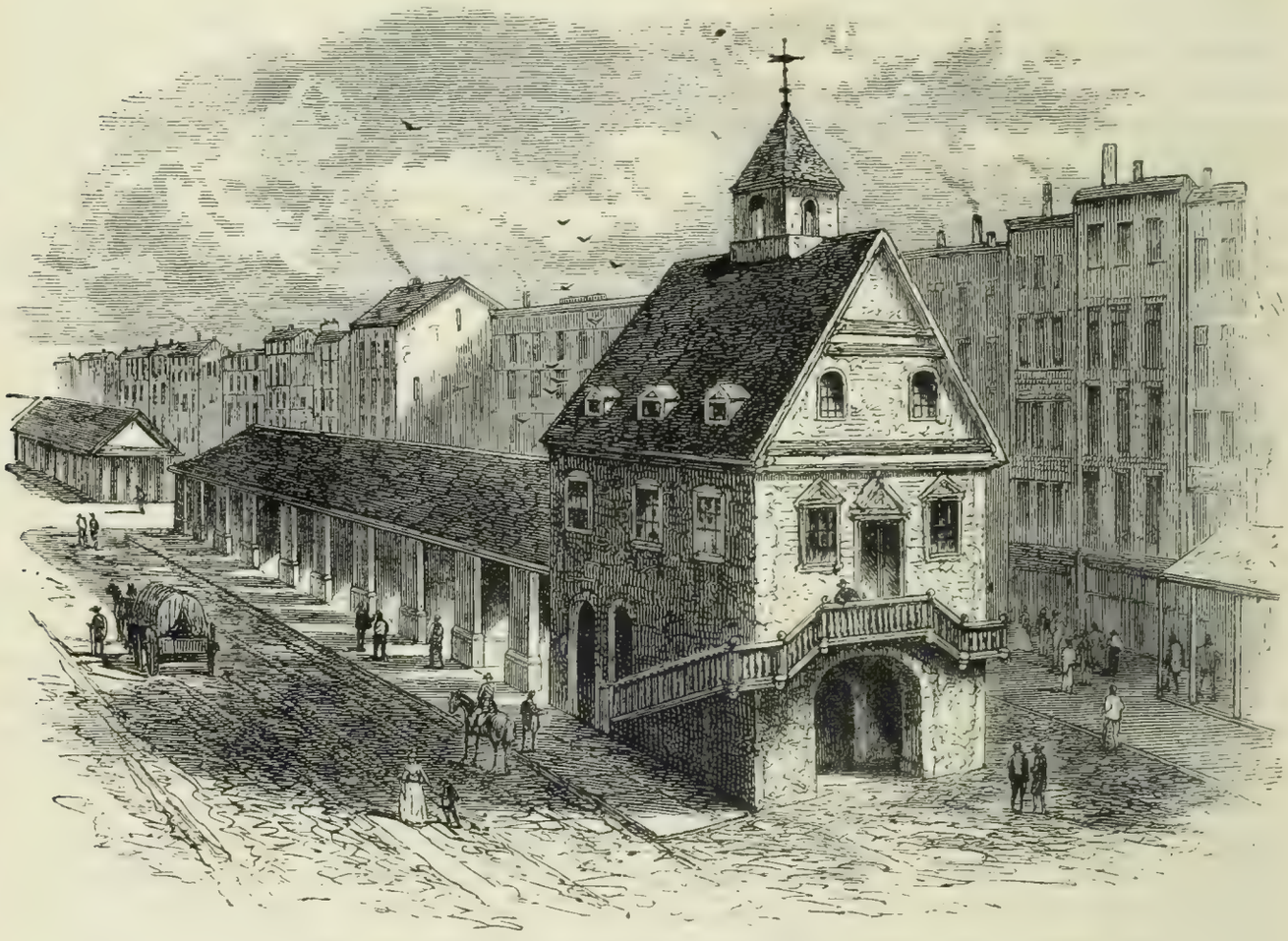
The controversy in which Keith involved the Quaker settlement led to consequences which probably none of the parties to the dispute ever anticipated. King William was not well disposed to the proprietary governments of America, and was probably glad of any opportunity of putting an end to them. Pennsylvania had given but too clear a proof that its political state required some species of reform, and the prolonged absence of Penn himself placed him almost out of view as an active agent in the conduct of affairs. Besides, the Quaker chief had fallen into great discredit with the court. His friendly relations with James II., before the flight of that monarch, had laid him open to the suspicion of being a Papist in disguise; and he was three times arrested on charges of this nature, from which, however, he was always able to clear himself. But in 1690 he was accused of being concerned in a plot to restore the deposed sovereign; and, being afraid of meeting a charge which he had good reason to believe would be supported by perjured testimony, he got out of the way, and lived in retirement until 1693, when, through the mediation of friends, he was admitted to plead his cause before the King and Council, and was honourably acquitted. Before his acquittal, Penn was an object of great dislike to the monarchy of the Revolution. He was entirely out of harmony with the aristocratical ideas in politics, and the Episcopalian ideas in religion, which guided the great Whig movement of 1688-9; and, with all respect for his honest and benevolent character, it must be added that his championship of James II., under a most mistaken idea that he was thereby promoting the interests of religious freedom, had not unnaturally created in the minds of many Englishmen a distrust of his designs—a distrust really ill founded, but having at the time a considerable show of justification. In Pennsylvania, the laws had been administered in the name of James long after the Government of William and Mary had been proclaimed in the other colonies; and it may fairly have seemed to the politicians now at the head of the State in England, that the Deputies of Penn were not fit persons to exercise power in a British colony. For these reasons, William III., on the 31st of October, 1692, issued a warrant by which he deprived Penn of all authority in America, and conferred the administration of his territories on Colonel Fletcher, who had shortly before been appointed Governor of New York.

Penn, considering himself aggrieved, wrote to Fletcher, beseeching him, on the score of private friendship (which, however, could never have been very earnest between men of such different minds), to disregard the King's commands; but the request was of course unheeded, and Fletcher appointed, first Lloyd, and afterwards Markham, to act as his deputy while he conducted in person the government of New York. Among the other features of his rule was a decree by which he reunited Delaware to Pennsylvania. Fletcher was frequently at issue with the people of the Quaker settlement, whose disinclination to contribute to the defence of the English colonies, when threatened by the French and their Indian allies, seemed to him unreasonable, and whose resolution to maintain their privileges he regarded as disloyal. When the Royal commission was first published, in April, 1693, some of the officials who held commissions from Penn withdrew in silence, and others refused to act under the power newly created. At a later date, the popular representatives seemed inclined to withhold supplies, as a means of enforcing compliance with their wishes. They asserted that the laws founded on the charter of Penn were yet in force, and they desired that the same might be confirmed to them as their right. Fletcher replied, "If the laws made by virtue of Mr. Penn's charter be of force to you, and can be brought into competition with the great seal which commands me hither, I have no business here." The Royal prerogative, he added, was inalienable. But John Growdon, the Speaker of the Assembly, considered

* Grahame's History of the United States, Book VII., chap. 2.

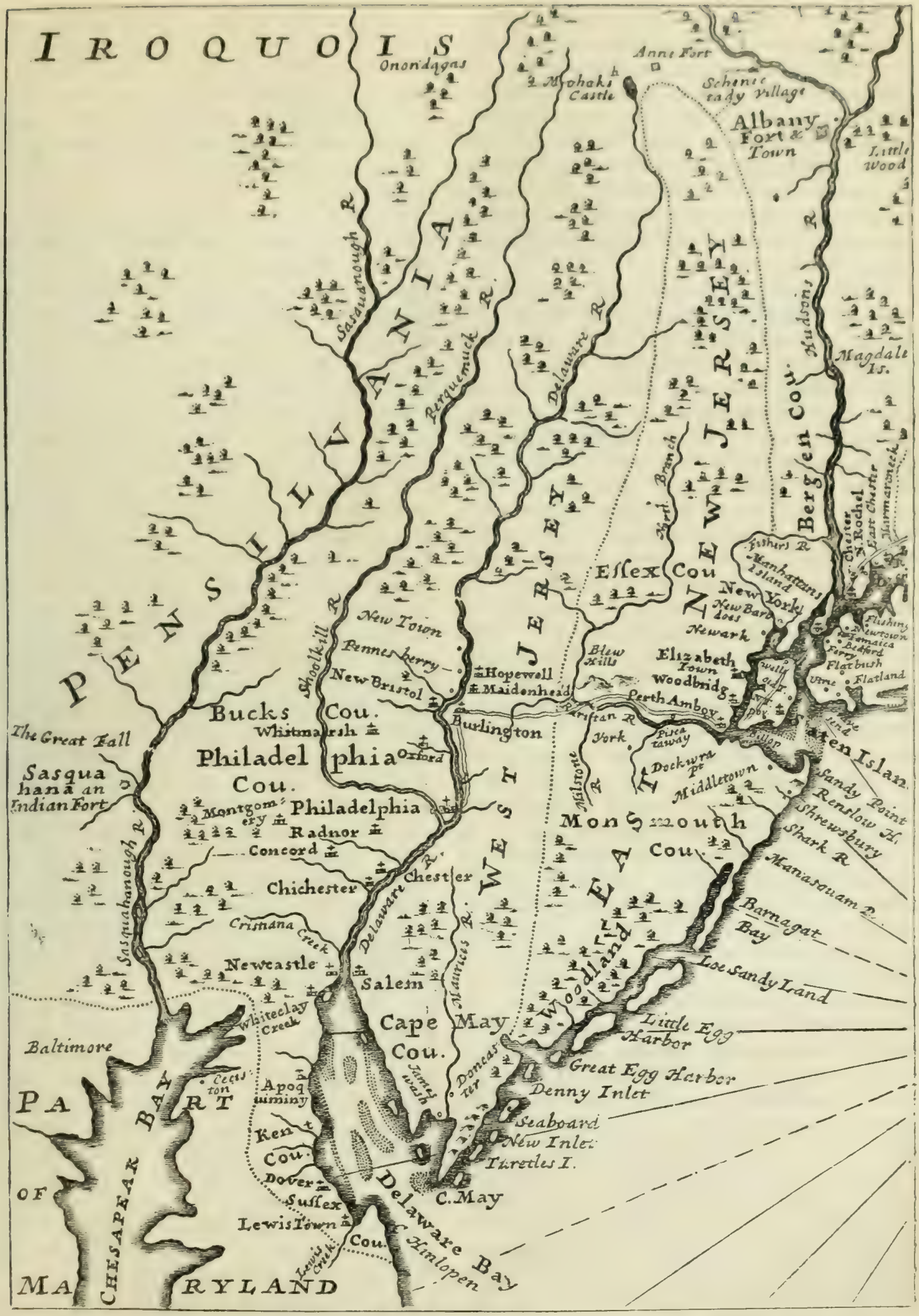
him that the grant of King Charles was itself under the great seal, and Growdon asked whether that charter had been legally annulled. Fletcher thought to reconcile the representatives to his rule by proposing to re-enact the greater number of the former laws; but he was answered that, if they passed one Bill for the re-enacting of laws already in force, they would by so doing declare the rest void. It was then hinted by the Governor that the old laws were invalid, because they did not bear the great seal of the proprietary; but this was denied as strongly as the preceding representations. The independence of the Assembly was fully maintained, and its legislative rights were ultimately recognised by Fletcher. It also obtained the privilege of originating Bills, a power which was never afterwards lost.* On the other hand, the Assembly thought it prudent to acknowledge that the liberty of conscience then existing in the province was due to the grace and favour of the King.

Altogether, Pennsylvania lost nothing by the appointment of Fletcher to the Governorship, however willing that official may have been to bring about a more courtly conduct of affairs. In the following year (1694), the contention was renewed. Fletcher wanted a contribution towards the expenses of the war with the French colonists, and the Pennsylvanians would only grant it under certain conditions, which were disagreeable to the Royal representative. It was not unknown to Fletcher, as he admitted, that Quakers declined to make, not only offensive, but even defensive war; and that they would never grant money for any such purposes. Still, he urged, they could hardly refuse to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, which were eminently Christian virtues; and the Indian allies of New York were then in a condition to require such help. The members of the Assembly saw the real drift of this argument, and refused to be blindly led by it. They said they were very willing to give alms to the sufferers round Albany, but must retain in their own hands the specific appropriation of such alms. This demand was rejected, as an infringement of prerogative, and, after a fortnight's altercation, the



OLD MARKET-HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA.

* Bancroft, Vol. II., chap. 19.



PENNSYLVANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From Humphreys' Account of the Missions.*)

Assembly was dissolved. At a subsequent date, Penn reproached the representatives of the people with their refusal to contribute towards the common defence of the northern and middle colonies, and desired that a sum of money should at once be levied, and sent to New York. Yet it is difficult to see how the Quakers were to be blamed, from the Quaker point of view, for declining to vote money in connection with the war until they had obtained an absolute assurance that it should be applied in none but works of charity.

Still remaining in England, and lying concealed from the plots of his enemies, Penn had the mortification to find that he was losing credit among the members of his own sect, who reproached him with meddling more with politics, and with the concerns of the English Government, than became one of their body. He was shortly, however, to regain the position he had lost. The friendship of Locke, of Somers, and of other eminent men, enabled him to remove the suspicion under which he had lain, as regards the alleged plot to restore James II., and to show that the charge rested on the evidence of an impostor. His acquittal was followed, in August, 1694, by the restoration of his proprietary functions and authority. William III. spoke of him with kindness; the Quakers once more rallied to their old leader, and the fortunes of Penn were again in the ascendant. He was so poor, however, that he was not at first able to rejoin his people in America; and he therefore appointed Markham to the post of Deputy-Governor to the whole of the territories, including Delaware. But affairs did not go on smoothly. The Assembly, in 1695, framed a Democratic Constitution, and refused to vote any money until the desired privileges had been granted. Markham, not knowing whether such a change would be approved by his kinsman, dissolved the Assembly; but in 1696 the Legislature again voted the reforms of the previous year. It was determined that the Governor should be nothing more than the chairman of the Council; that the entire functions of government should be placed beyond the power of the Executive, and be at the sole disposal of the popular representatives; and that even the judiciary should depend on the Legislature. Agreement with this new constitution was made by the members a condition of their granting to Markham the sums in aid of the Indians which Penn, writing from England, insisted on being voted, as, in case of a refusal, he feared that the proprietary government would again be imperilled. Markham was obliged to give way, and, on the opening of the session of 1697, he said to the assembled legislators, "You are met, not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves." The times of assembling and adjournment were among the many powers which, by the new constitution, the representatives of the people retained in their own hands. The popular cause had triumphed, and Markham made no further attempts at resistance.

The sum of £300 which the members voted when, at the close of the session of 1696, they found that Markham was no longer bent on opposing their wishes, was applied by Fletcher (who still occupied the post of Governor of New York) to the relief of the Indians then suffering from the inroads of hostile tribes and of the French. At least, such was Fletcher's report in 1697; but the Assembly, in expressing its thanks to Fletcher for his "regard and candour" in applying the subsidy to the use designed for it, refused to send the additional sum for which he asked. Nevertheless, the legislators assured him, they would always be ready to observe the King's further commands, "according to their religious persuasions and abilities." It is to be feared that the Quakers of Pennsylvania were not unwilling to cheat their consciences by granting, under a variety of easy subterfuges, the warlike contributions which were occasionally demanded of them. They would refuse the money for the alleged purpose, but vote it for some other, though they might have every reason to believe that it would in reality be applied to the ends for which it was wanted. Several instances of this subtle casuistry are on record; and in the revolutionary struggle a sect of American Quakers even went so far as to assert the lawfulness of defensive hostilities, and to take up arms against the English soldiers sent to put down the movement for independence. Such equivocations are inevitable when men array their principles in opposition to the hard facts of life. The conditions of existence cannot be altogether escaped. They may be defied for a little while in the first warmth and enthusiasm of a new sect; but when the sect is once established—when it has passed out of the stage of reverie into that of practical action—the necessity of either frankly and openly submitting to the nature of things, or of conforming under some colourable pretence of evasion, is seen to be imperative. Theorists, when they become responsible rulers, are always compelled to make many concessions to the mere stress and rigour of the world.

At length Penn returned to his province. He arrived there, accompanied by his family, in the latter part of 1699, and found the land prosperous

in a political sense, but afflicted by a terrible outbreak of yellow fever—the first of a long series of visitations of the like character, which from time to time desolated the Quaker colony. "Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord," wrote Thomas Story, a distinguished preacher of the community of Friends, and afterwards Recorder of Philadelphia; "great was the fear that fell upon all flesh. I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor extravagant feasting to excite above measure the lusts of the flesh: but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar." The prevalence of this dreadful disease, however, did not put a stop to public life. Penn, on arriving in his colony, considered it necessary to renew a complaint which he had already made in writing during his stay in England. The citizens of Pennsylvania, like those of some of the other American settlements, were suspected of being favourably inclined to the pirates who infested the seas of that continent. While protesting earnestly against the truth of this accusation, the Assembly passed laws against the imputed offence; but Penn, after he had again reached the seat of government, expressed himself not fully satisfied with what had been done, and his remonstrances resulted in the expulsion from the legislative body of a son-in-law of Colonel Markham, who was thought to be unduly interested in the proceedings of the freebooters. Another source of dissension was found in the demands for pecuniary assistance, in support of a military establishment at New York, which Penn was compelled by the English Government to address to the Assembly, but which the representatives of the people were certainly unwilling, and perhaps unable, to meet. A still more serious subject for discussion was presented by the institution of slavery.

That the Quakers had no insuperable objection to slavery is certain. George Fox, on visiting Barbadoes in 1671, exhorted his followers to bring up their negroes in a religious way, to use them mildly, and, after certain years of servitude, to set them free. They appear to have acted conscientiously on this advice; but their considerate treatment of the poor Africans raised against them so violent a feeling on the part of the less humane, who did not desire that their slaves should be educated or accustomed to gentle usage, that several of the Quakers left the West India islands for the mainland, and settled there. Still, they did not renounce slavery itself; and, although the Pennsylvanians may have acted with more kindness to their black labourers than the people of other plantations, the institution was not suppressed. The German settlers, as already stated, opposed themselves to its continued existence; and in 1688, owing to their representations, a resolution declaring the unlawfulness of slavery was passed at the annual meeting of the Quakers of that province. This declaration was repeated in 1696, with the addition of an earnest exhortation to the whole body of Friends in that part of the world to refrain from all further importation of negroes. Yet the fact of slavery remained, though the blacks were treated with still greater care, and were sometimes allowed to attend worship in the same meeting-houses with their owners. If slavery in Pennsylvania was not so revoltingly cruel as slavery in the more southern plantations, that was the most that could be said of it. Corrupt in its nature, it abounded in abuses even under the shadow, or rather in the light, of Penn's universal benevolence. To Penn himself, the fact was most distressing; and he was still further pained by discovering that many of the colonists had been guilty of numerous frauds in their transactions with the Indians. He therefore presented to the Assembly, in 1700, three Bills which he had prepared on these subjects: the first, for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes; the second, for regulating their trials and punishments; and the third, for preventing abuses in the intercourse between the Indians and the colonists. The Assembly would only adopt the second of these measures; and Penn had the grief of seeing a peremptory negative given to his proposals for rendering more tolerable the condition of the Africans and aborigines. The attempt, however, bore fruit in time. Some regard was paid to the religious and moral training of the former, and regular conferences were established with the latter, in the hope of winning them to civilisation. Penn himself concluded a treaty with the Indians, into which he introduced certain regulations for their protection against fraudulent bargains, and which also contained an acknowledgment on the part of the natives that they were subjects of the English monarch, and amenable to the provincial laws.*

The old disagreement of Delaware with Pennsylvania gave renewed trouble in 1700. The counties embraced under the former designation feared that they would be overwhelmed by the greater numbers of Pennsylvania. In the Assembly, the representatives of Pennsylvania were almost invariably opposed, in whatever they desired to do, by the

* Oldmixon, Book VII., chap. 2.

representatives of Delaware; and at length Penn, after vainly endeavouring to satisfy the weaker party by various concessions, convoked at Newcastle, the capital of Delaware, a separate Assembly, which met towards the close of the year. But harmony was not re-established; on the contrary, great irritation resulted from the proprietary's demand of a subsidy amounting to £2,000, in the proportion of £1,573 for Pennsylvania, and £427 for Delaware. It was openly asserted that Penn was taking advantage of the public distractions to tax the people for his own enrichment, and for the increase of his political power; and although he obtained the money, it was at a considerable loss of popularity. The purity of his motives cannot be questioned. So far was he from making a profit out of the colonists that he was obliged, in 1708, to mortgage the province for £6,600. He was subsequently disposed to sell all his rights to the English Government for £12,000, and would have completed the bargain but for a series of apoplectic fits which impaired his business faculty. But it was certainly unfortunate that he should have required a subsidy at the very time when both his colonies were in a state of irritation and discontent.

Another visit to England now engaged the thoughts of Penn. He had heard of the project of the English Ministry for converting all the proprietary governments of America into regal governments; and he determined to oppose in person a scheme which might injuriously affect his property. Previous to his departure, he summoned an Assembly in September, 1701, but found its members in no very tractable mood. He had great difficulty in preventing their assuming a control over his interests in the sale and lease of vacant lands; but, on the other hand, he persuaded them to accept a new constitution, by which it was provided that a Legislative Assembly should be annually elected by the freemen, and should consist of four persons from each county, or of a greater number if that should be found desirable; that this Assembly should nominate its own officers, and decide absolutely all questions relating to the qualifications and election of its members; that it should possess complete legislative powers, and be competent to redress grievances; that the Governor should convoke, prorogue, and dissolve the provincial Legislature, should nominate his Council, and should discharge singly the whole executive functions of government; and that to the same officer should be reserved the right of affirming or rejecting the Bills of the Assembly. It will be seen that this constitution was less popular than some of those which had preceded it; that it left more power in the hands of the Governor; and that it substituted a Council of nominees for an elected Council. It presented, however, greater guarantees of solidity and permanence, and it was well received by the colonists. Liberty of conscience was to be the right of all, and Christians of every denomination were to be qualified for office. Sheriffs and coroners were to be chosen by the people, and the appointment of judges was vested in the Legislature. No act or ordinance was ever to be made, to diminish the form or effect of the charter, without the consent of the Governor for the time being, and of six parts in seven of the Assembly. Pennsylvania and Delaware were to be allowed to separate within three years of the date of the charter; and, in the event of such separation taking place, each was to enjoy the same privileges as when the two were united.

Having thus re-settled the constitution of his province, and appointed Colonel Andrew Hamilton (formerly at the head of affairs in New Jersey) his Deputy-Governor, Penn started for England, where he arrived in December, 1701, and where his opposition, and that of others, procured the abandonment of the Bill by which the proprietary governments had been threatened.

CHAPTER LI.

Penn's Disappointment with the Results of his Experiments—Second Dissolution of the Union between Pennsylvania and Delaware—Government of John Evans—Conflicts with the Quaker People on the subject of Military Measures—Resistance to an Obnoxious Impost—Unpopularity of Penn—Charges brought against him by the Assembly—Government of Charles Gookin, and renewed Dissensions—Votes of Money to the Queen—Penn's Letter of Reproach to his Colonists—His Defence of his own Conduct, and Counter-charges against the Pennsylvanians—Failing Health and Death of Penn—Progress of the Settlement after his Decease—Condition of Pennsylvania in the early part of the Eighteenth Century—Quaker Government and Quaker Usages—Humane Treatment of the Indians—Interview of Sir William Keith with the Five Nations—Speech of an Indian Sachem—Politics and Literature in Pennsylvania—Social Condition of the Colony—Large Immigration—Visit of the Younger Penns to Philadelphia—Trade of the Province—The "Tunkers."

After his second return to England, Penn never again went to America. He was received with great favour by Queen Anne, and apparently had no desire to exchange a comparatively easy life in the old country for the continual troubles which beset him in his distant possessions. The personal embarrassments into which he afterwards fell, owing to the bad faith of a steward, may to some extent explain his remaining in England; but the explanation covers only a rather brief period. Altogether, he lived sixteen years after his second quitting of the colony he had founded; yet he made no attempt to visit it again. The most natural explanation of the neglect is that he was somewhat disappointed with the results of his experiment. It was not that he had ceased to believe in the people, or that he regretted having commenced a government on the broadest principles of humanity and justice. But he had discovered that new social conditions are not established without a great deal of fretfulness and heart-burning; he had found amongst his own sect as many jealousies and ignoble suspicions as among men of more worldly profession; he had himself been regarded with distrust, and treated with ingratitude; and some of his highest designs had been thwarted, at least in part, by the selfishness of his followers. Reviewing all these facts in the quiet of his English home, Penn may have felt disinclined, now that he had past the middle time of life, to encounter the fatigue and perils of a long sea-voyage, in order that he might once more be plunged into an abyss of petty vexations. He had created a political system which was sufficient for all the needs of a self-managing community; and it was perhaps better that he should not be on the spot, to bring his personal authority into collision with popular powers. He retained his interest in the young plantation to the end of his days; but after 1701 he saw it no more.

The second dissolution of the union between Pennsylvania and Delaware, which Penn had anticipated and provided for in his last constitution, was speedily brought about. The Delaware representatives, in 1702, protested against the charter, refused to sit in the same Assembly with the Pennsylvanians, and met separately in another part of Philadelphia. Hamilton, the Deputy-Governor, made strenuous but unavailing efforts to effect a union of the two colonies; but he died in about a year after the departure of Penn. His successor, John Evans, who was not appointed until December, 1703 (the Council in the meanwhile exercising the chief executive power), was very favourably received by the Delaware members, and was able to persuade them to propose a reunion with the Pennsylvanian Assembly. But the latter body was by this time so irritated by the frowardness of its old coadjutors that a return to the former condition was refused, and in 1704 the separate Legislature of Delaware was permanently established at Newcastle, though the two colonies still continued under the same Governor. In many respects Evans was unsuccessful in his rule. He was soon at issue with the Pennsylvanians on the question of establishing a militia. The war with the French was going on in the north, and Evans conceived that it was the duty even of a Quaker community to arm itself in view of possible invasion. Finding that the people refused to adopt his ideas on this subject, he resorted, in 1706, to a stratagem. According to Proud, the Quaker historian of Pennsylvania, and other writers of the same creed, he contrived that a messenger should hastily arrive in Philadelphia from Newcastle, with information that the French were coming up the river Delaware. Then, putting on an appearance of the greatest alarm, he rode through the city with his sword drawn, calling on the inhabitants to arm themselves, and follow him. The people seem really to have believed the truth of what they were told, and the utmost consternation fell upon the town. Some burned their goods, many fled into the neighbouring forest, and about three hundred seized on such weapons as they could find, and placed themselves under the command of the Deputy-Governor. But it is said that

those who so acted were not Quakers. The Friends indeed gathered together, but it was in their meeting-house. Only four persons who had any pretence to be considered members of that body appeared under arms. Evans had gained nothing by his stratagem, except a more certain knowledge of the determination of Quakers not to fight with swords and muskets.

With the people of Delaware, the Deputy-Governor got on much better. He persuaded them to erect a fort at Newcastle, and to provide funds for its maintenance by levying a tax on all inward-bound vessels passing its walls, while all vessels sailing down the Delaware were, under certain penalties, to drop anchor, and ask permission to proceed. The Pennsylvanians protested against this as a direct violation of their charter; but their remonstrances were unheeded. Three Quaker merchants of Philadelphia—Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and Samuel Preston—accordingly determined to sail past the fort without paying the required impost, let the consequences be what they might. They informed Evans of their intention, and orders were given by him to the commandant of the fort to keep watch for the ship. On nearing the fort, the vessel cast anchor, when Preston and Norris, going on shore, demanded as their right the liberty of proceeding without interruption. This was refused; upon which Richard Hill took the helm, and, in spite of the cannon, which opened fire from the walls, passed down the river. The only shot which took effect was one through the mainsail; but the vessel was pursued by the commandant in an armed boat. As he came alongside, the crew assisted him on board, and then cut the rope, so that the boat fell astern, leaving the commandant helpless on board the merchant-vessel. Evans, who had watched the proceedings from the fort, now gave chase in another boat, but could not overtake the Quakers, who, on arriving at Salem, in New Jersey, presented their prisoner to Lord Cornbury, then the Governor of that colony. Cornbury was not usually inclined to support popular resistance to the exactions of power; but he claimed to be vice-admiral of the river, and therefore regarded the action of the commandant as an invasion of his prerogative. For this reason he severely reprimanded the officer, but, on receiving a promise that he would act differently for the future, dismissed him. The obnoxious impost was never again demanded of Philadelphian



PENN'S HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

vessels.* Such were the contentions in which the Quaker opposition to physical force embroiled the Pennsylvanians and their acting Governor.

The fraud with respect to the alarm of invasion was soon discovered, and popular indignation was so great that Evans was impeached, together with James Logan, the secretary of the province, a man of perfect integrity, in no respect connected with the plot, but who had given offence by endeavouring to palliate the wrong-doing of his principal. Though not a Quaker, Evans had been appointed by Penn to the office he held, and was now supported by his patron. This increased the feeling of antagonism towards the proprietary which had been growing up in his colony for a long while. Returning to that old subject of disagreement, the quit-rents, the Assembly demanded that those payments, instead of being made over to him, should be appropriated to the support of the local government; and a remonstrance was addressed to Penn, under the title of "Heads of Complaint," in which the members of the Legislature affirmed that it was by his "artifices" that the constitution of the province had been subjected to so many alterations; that, in violation of the original compact, he had augmented his powers to a very serious extent; and that, on his second visit to the settlement, he had received large sums of money in consideration of his procuring from the English Government certain benefits which had never been obtained. In the same document, Penn was also blamed for the annexation of Delaware to Pennsylvania, and for allowing the privilege originally granted to the latter to perish by association with the institutions of the former. It was evident that the City of Brotherly Love was in a very bad temper.



SOURCE OF THE JUNIATA, PENNSYLVANIA.

Penn supported Evans as long as he could; but after the affair on the Delaware he instituted an inquiry into his conduct, and found that the colonists had real cause of offence. Evans was therefore superseded by Charles Gookin, who arrived in 1709, carrying with him a letter from Penn to the Assembly, in which, without any particular allusion to the late differences, its members were reminded of the duty of charitable construction. It would have been more satisfactory if, instead of these generalities, Penn had given a specific answer to

* History of the Society of Friends in America, by James Bowden (1854), Vol. II., chap. 6.

the specific complaints that had been made; but this he made not the slightest approach towards doing, and the Assembly, not unnaturally, considered itself still more aggrieved. The former charges were reiterated, and Gookin was almost as unpopular as Evans. He had been a soldier, and perhaps was not disinclined to make demands on the Legislature for money in aid of the war with France; at any rate, he was compelled to submit those requisitions to the representatives of the people, and to support them to the utmost of his power. He was even commanded by the English Government to provide a hundred and fifty men, together with officers, to join in the expedition against Canada; but feeling certain that the men could not be obtained, he proposed, as a compromise, that the Legislature should vote £4,000 instead. This was refused; but the Assembly, as related in a previous Chapter, gave £500, afterwards £300, and again £2,000, as presents to the Queen, apart from military purposes. The easy argument of the Quakers was that they were not responsible for the ultimate application of the money after they had declared that they did not give it for a certain purpose; but the evasion is transparent.* The man who lends another a bludgeon, when he has every reason to believe that it will be used to knock out the brains of a third person, might as fairly say he was free from blame because, in giving the weapon, he distinctly stated that it was not to be used for the purpose of murder. The question of war-supplies led to considerable disagreement between Gookin and the Assembly; but the difference of opinion did not, as in the case of Evans, end in an absolute rupture.

At length, in 1710, Penn thought it right and necessary to take some notice of the accusations repeatedly made against him. In a letter which bore date the 29th of April in that year, he repudiated the injurious charges of the Pennsylvanians; and in a very touching strain reproached them for their ingratitude. "I cannot but think it hard measure," he wrote, "that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty." Penn was now in the sixty-sixth year of his life; old age, with its infirmities, was pressing upon him; and the assaults of those whom he had a right to regard as in some degree his children, weighed heavily on his spirit. The attacks on his reputation; the many indignities put upon him in papers sent over to England, and circulated among those who could not be expected to make the most discreet or charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against his justice; the attempt made on his estate; the determination of the Assembly to turn his quit-rents to the support of the government; his lands entered upon and his manors invaded by professed enemies; a right to his overplus land unjustly claimed; his private estate continually exhausted for the support of Pennsylvania; and, lastly, the violence shown to his secretary, James Logan, who had been impeached for an alleged endeavour to deprive the people of their political rights;—these were the matters of which William Penn more particularly complained. "I must desire you all," he said, "in a serious and true weightiness of mind to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given on any side for that opposition to me and my interest which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done. I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted anything of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand." He added that he could not but mourn the unhappiness of his portion at the hands of those from whom he had reason to expect much better things; and he lamented the misery which the colonists were bringing on themselves by forsaking the principles of peace, love, and unity, for a spirit of contention and opposition. "Friends!" he exclaimed, "the eyes of many are upon you. The people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy; but to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise."

With regard to the alterations in the constitution, Penn argued that each had arisen out of inconveniences which at the time no one had disputed, and which all had united in correcting. The proprietor of the province being responsible to the Crown for establishing an administration in harmony with the provincial charter, it was but right, he contended, that he should retain the executive power in his own hands. This was certainly true, and the jealousy of Penn's just authority was one of the most ignoble features in the conduct of the

* "We did not see it to be inconsistent with our principles," said Isaac Norris, "to give the Queen money, *notwithstanding any use she might put it to;* that not being our part, but hers." When the pocket of Isaac Norris was more immediately touched, as in the case of the fort to which passing vessels were to pay toll for the maintenance of a warlike establishment, his principles were not so flexible.

Pennsylvanians. There was nothing to show that he had even the desire to use that authority in a despotic manner; and if he had, despotism is impossible under a representative Assembly elected on a broad suffrage, without any powerful aristocratic or military body to over rule its decisions by physical violence. The executive and legislative functions should always be distinct: it is the mistake of sham democracy to confound them. Summing up his whole case at the close of his letter, Penn said that the opposition of the colonists had compelled him to consider more closely his relations to the province. He was willing to continue as of old, if the people still thought him deserving of regard. If the majority thought otherwise, he desired them frankly to say so, and he should then understand his position; though even in that case the hope would remain to him that, by the special direction of God, they might once more meet good friends, and so remain to the last.

The founder of Pennsylvania did not appeal in vain to the consciences of those whom he had benefited. Even before the arrival of his letter, a reaction in his favour had commenced. His friends warmly took up his cause, and represented the injustice of the treatment he had received. Their expostulations had a marked effect, and the impression was deepened when Penn's address reached the colony. The next elections took place in October, and not one of the proprietary's enemies was returned to the Assembly. The event must have been most gratifying to Penn; but he had now nearly reached the limits of his active career. He was attacked shortly afterwards by a succession of apoplectic or paralytic seizures, which so greatly impaired the powers of his mind that he was never again equal to the discharge of business matters. Thomas Story, a Quaker who had emigrated from the north of England to Pennsylvania, and who visited his own country in 1713, gives a sad yet sweet account of this excellent man in his declining years. His memory was almost entirely gone, his speech affected, and his understanding weakened; yet he seemed wrapped in a tranquil happiness. "Wherein," writes Story, "appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks. For, though to some this accident might look like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet as sensible of the enjoyment of truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions from want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected, and acts during this present mode of being." But "that he had still a good sense of truth was plain by some very clear sentences he spoke on the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."

Gookin was recalled in 1717, in consequence of some disagreements with the Assembly, and was succeeded by Sir William Keith. In the following year, the life of Penn came to a close, and the government of his province was then claimed by his eldest son, William, and, on his death, in 1720, by the second son, Springett Penn. This, however, was contrary to the founder's will; for, the eldest son being provided for by a settlement of his mother's, Penn devised the whole of his property in America, with the exception of twenty thousand acres of land, to the children of his second wife, who was appointed sole executrix. By a decision in Chancery, the will was confirmed, and the government of Pennsylvania was vested in the widow and other trustees, for the benefit of his children. The province thus became the property of John, Thomas, and Richard Penn; but they were represented on the spot by Deputy-Governors, and the affairs of Pennsylvania went on for a long while without many events of note. The attempts of former years to create a military establishment in the colony of William Penn were renewed with great persistency, but were opposed with so much resolution, both in the province itself, and by its agents in England, that in 1744 the law-officers of the Crown gave it as their opinion that the matter could only be determined by the local Legislature, unless a special law on the subject were made by the English Parliament. This put an end to all such attempts; and the Church of England was equally unsuccessful in its endeavours to establish a privileged Episcopalian body in the head-quarters of Quakerism. The principles of Fox and Penn triumphed in their chosen home.

At the death of Penn, the European population

of his province is supposed to have amounted to about 40,000, a quarter of whom were inhabitants of Philadelphia. Those who were not concentrated in the city, cultivated the soil over a territory extending a hundred miles along the banks of the Delaware, and from twenty to thirty miles west of that river. According to Proud, about one-half the community were Quakers; the rest were for the most part Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Episcopalians. A Quaker historian says that these differences in religious belief did not interfere with the concord of society, as the colonists, without distinction of sect, appeared to delight in being kind and helpful to each other.* But the statement is much too favourable. Law-suits were so frequent and so virulent as to move the special regret of the less quarrelsome. The unjust and impolitic attempt of the Church of England to obtain predominance in the colony, roused, as might fairly have been expected, a bitter sentiment against Episcopalians; and the compulsory substitution, from 1705 to 1725, of the usual oath in courts of justice for the simple affirmation which is all that the Quaker conscience allows—a substitution arbitrarily imposed on the people by the English Government—produced much ill-feeling towards those whose religious views were in favour of the oath. On the other hand, the Episcopalians complained of despotic treatment at the hands of the ruling sect. A great riot was at one time occasioned by the trial before Quaker judges of a clergyman charged with immorality. His alleged offence was described in the indictment as having been committed "against the King's peace and the law of this province;" but the King's peace was broken much more at the trial. The rioters, who must have belonged to the Church of England, endeavoured to prevent the judicial proceedings, on the ground that Quakers had no right to convert a charge which in England was reserved exclusively for ecclesiastical inquiry and censure into an ordinary felony and misdemeanour. The argument was absurd; for, even if the excellence of ecclesiastical courts be granted, they did not exist in Pennsylvania, where the position of the Church of England and of its ministers was totally different from that which it enjoyed in the mother country. The disturbance occurred during the governorship of Gookin, who promptly put it down; yet such was the irritation of Quaker feeling at the incident that Gookin was accused of being in some way instrumental to its occurrence. The administration of this gentleman was so continually vexed by the peevishness of the Assembly that, in his parting address before leaving the province, he spoke of his spirits being quite broken. Amongst other things, he was charged with unduly favouring, in the distribution of offices, the recent settlers and poorer classes of people, in preference to the more sober and substantial Quakers. Of these new settlers, some were persons of very lax morals; but the Friends themselves did not always come up to their own high ideal. Colonel Quarry, an Admiralty officer, stated, in a Memorial to the Lords of Trade in the year 1703, that the gaol of Philadelphia was then crowded with felons, and that justice was greatly obstructed by the refusal of Quaker judges, jurymen, and witnesses to administer or take an oath, the result of which was seen in the discharge of numerous persons, Quakers and others, who were accused of serious crimes. This, however, may be objected to as the testimony of an opponent, for Quarry was an Episcopalian, and not at all well affected towards the Pennsylvanians; but Thomas Chalkeley, a Friend, mentions in his journal that Governor Lloyd was in the habit, before going to rest, of visiting the taverns in Philadelphia, and ordering the people he found there to their own houses; by which means, it is added, he did in a great measure suppress vice and immorality in the city.

The rigid social laws observed in New England were also observed in Pennsylvania. The Sabbath was very strictly kept, and all who laboured on that day were liable to fines. Theatres and dancing-schools were disallowed; lotteries were forbidden; horse-racing and all brutal sports were suppressed; and drunkenness and profane swearing were punishable by law. Some of these restrictions were excellent; yet preciseness was carried too far. On the whole, it must have been a monotonous and colourless state of society; and universal experience shows that a community bound by so many restrictions, and based on so much repression of ordinary human instincts, never maintains its original characteristics for many generations. Pennsylvania no longer proscribes dancing-schools, and Philadelphia has its theatres and its concert-halls. But in the early part of the eighteenth century the province of William Penn and the City of Brotherly Love were strongly imbued with the Quaker spirit. The dominant sect was much scandalised by the proposal of the Episcopalians to erect an organ in their place of worship. As the members of other religious bodies joined the community, this exclusive spirit was obliged to give way. The religious freedom guaranteed by

* Bowden's History of the Society of Friends, &c., Vol. II., chap. 6.

the institutions of Penn attracted a large number of sectaries from various parts of Europe; and the natural result of so wide a comparison of principles was to create a greater practical charity than at first existed.

The frequency of law-suits, to which allusion has been made, led to the appointment in every county-court of three functionaries called Peace-makers, whose duty it was to mediate between contending parties, and to accommodate their differences, if possible, by the friendly process of arbitration. Twice a year, an orphan's court was held in every county, for the inspection and regulation of the affairs of widows and orphans. In the courts of law, oaths would seem to have been administered to those who did not object to take them, though the statement of Colonel Quarry is to the contrary effect; but the followers of George Fox had their privileges. It was determined by the provincial Government, after solemn debate, that Quaker lawyers should not be obliged to uncover their heads in addressing the judges. Although the establishment of a militia was successfully resisted, all who considered the use of arms lawful were permitted to train themselves, and to adopt every military precaution for their defence that was not inconsistent with the general peace and order of the province. However much Quaker writers have exaggerated the excellency of the social state established in Pennsylvania, it was certainly successful in many respects, and did honour to the principles of William Penn. The greatest triumph of Penn's policy is to be seen in the dealings of the colonists with the Indians, the justice, humanity, and consideration of which established so perfect a feeling of confidence and good will between the natives and the settlers that no serious rupture ever took place, and the province was spared those frightful scenes of barbarian warfare which occurred in other plantations. The Six Nations, it is true, were a superior race to the tribes of other localities; but their higher spirit and greater resources would have made them all the more formidable, had they been provoked. They were always, however, very accommodating, because they were treated in a spirit of fairness and brotherhood. In 1722, they agreed with Sir William Keith to remove farther into the woods with their families, and to leave a tract of 100,000 acres of land to be cultivated by the English. They likewise assented to a perpetual peace and friendship between themselves and the colonists, and, referring to the accidental killing of an Indian by an Englishman, expressed a hope that the unwitting offender would be released from prison by his countrymen, and not be subjected to any punishment whatever. This, they added, they would esteem a mark of regard and friendship for the Six Nations, and as a further confirmation of the treaty. The chief sachem, addressing Sir William Keith, is reported to have said:—

"You have told us how William Penn, that good man, did, on the first settlement of the province of Pennsylvania, make leagues of friendship with the Indians, and treated them like brethren; and that, like the same good man, he left it in charge to all his Governors who should succeed him, and to all the people of Pennsylvania, that they should always keep the covenant and treaties he had made with the Six Nations, and treat them with love and kindness. We acknowledge that his Governors and people have always kept the same honestly and truly to this day. So we, on our part, always have kept, and for ever shall keep, firm peace and friendship with a good heart to all the people of Pennsylvania. We thankfully receive and approve of all the articles in your proposition to us, and acknowledge them to be good, and full of love. We receive and approve of the same with our whole hearts, because we are not only made one people by the covenant chain, but we also are people united in one head, one body, and one heart, by the strongest ties of love and friendship." The whole course of Pennsylvanian history shows that these words were not the mere rhetoric of an Indian orator, but the calm expression of actual truth. The reliance of William Penn on simple justice had been admirably vindicated by the testimony of events.

Politics occupied no small part of the attention of Pennsylvanians, and their ideas on this subject were very democratic. The Assembly maintained its control over the Governor by the system of paying him in sums of money voted from time to time, instead of granting a regular salary, which would have set him above the necessity of pleasing the provincial legislators. The members of the Assembly received a salary, consisting of six shillings a day for attendance, and threepence a mile for travelling charges. The Speaker had a daily allowance of ten shillings. Any member entering the chamber half an hour after the time appointed for the commencement of business, was fined tenpence. Learning was not forgotten in this land of Quakers. A printing-press was established at Philadelphia as early as 1686, under the direction of the unfortunate Bradford, who was afterwards so sharply treated for printing one of George Keith's productions. James Logan, the secretary of the province, gave much attention to scientific literature, was a good writer in Latin, corresponded

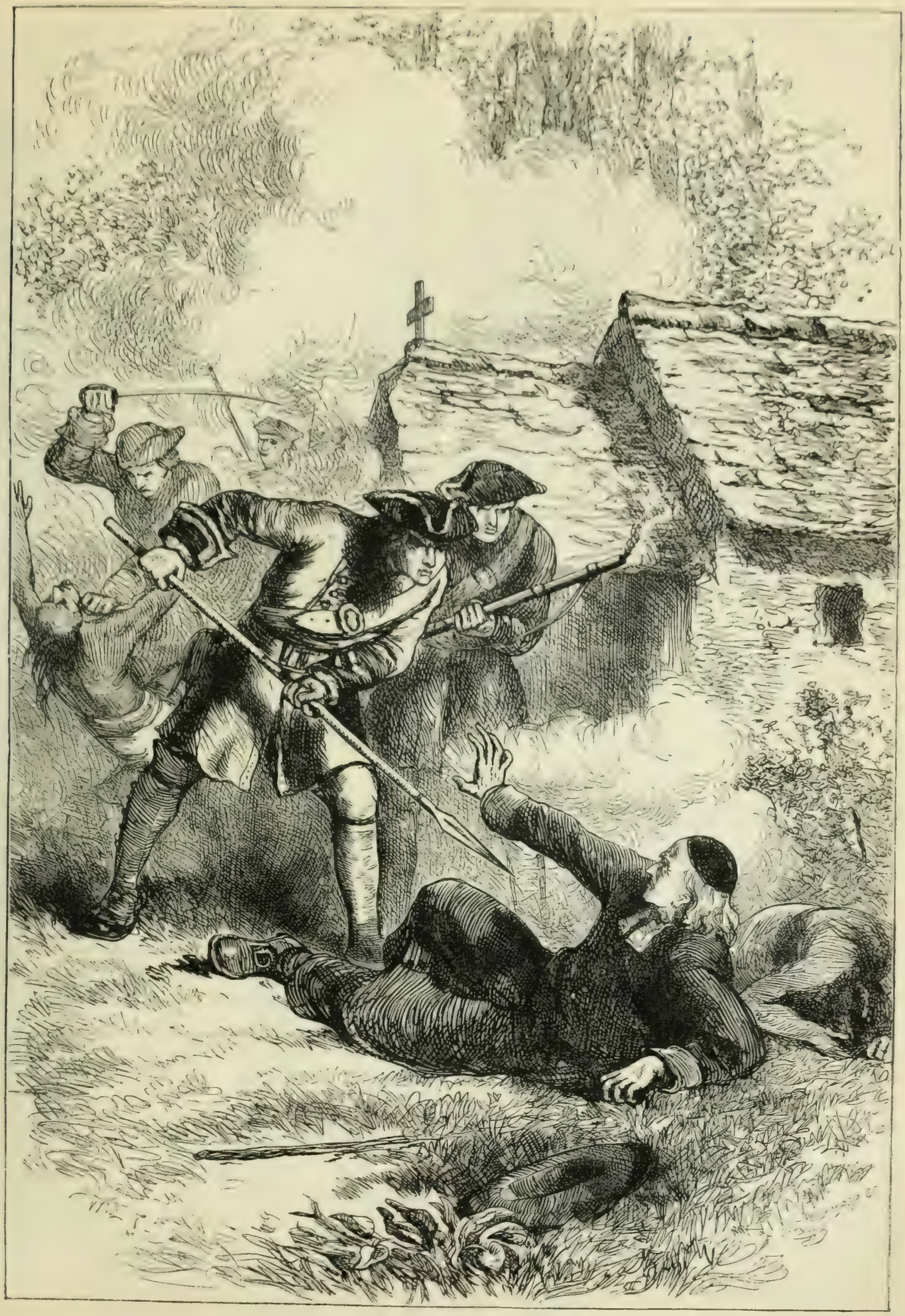
with the chief scholars and philosophers of Europe, and bestowed on Philadelphia a valuable library. Another Quaker scholar was Thomas Makin, one of the original settlers, who wrote a descriptive and historical account of the province in a Latin poem. Many of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania were persons of ancient family, and they tempered the severity of Quaker manners by the grace of culture. The hospitality of these high-born members of the body was so great that it was their custom every night, after supper, to make a large fire in the hall, and to set out a table with refreshments for such travellers as might pass during the night; and it is said they generally found in the morning that their kindness had not been in vain. The people of Delaware were rougher and less refined, but possessed of many sterling virtues. The Swedes and Dutch of that region were a hardy race of agriculturists, who passed their lives in labour and simplicity, varied, it must be said, by no little wrangling with the Pennsylvanians.

To the working people of those days, Pennsylvania was a Paradise of high wages. Both men and women could earn three times as much there as in England, and the cost of living was not great. Gabriel Thomas, one of the early settlers, who wrote a book on the subject in 1698, says that, if they were refused those large stipends, they would quickly set up for themselves, as they could obtain land for a very small sum, and provisions were cheap. The same authority speaks with admiration of the wharfs of Philadelphia, and of the large and fine timber-yards, where ships of considerable burden were built. At that time, more than a thousand houses had been erected in the city, most of which were substantial structures; and the number was constantly increasing. When we recollect that the colony had then been established only seventeen years, it must be allowed that the rate of progress had been very rapid. Several manufactures were already established, and druggets, crapes, camlets, and serges were produced in large quantities. A few years later, the resources and productions of Pennsylvania were largely augmented. Immigration was constant from all parts of Europe, and the natural increase of the population, irrespective of these extraneous additions, is believed to have been greater than any other society of the modern world has ever exhibited. The women, with scarcely an exception, married young, and had large families; and the infants born in Penn's colony were, according to the enthusiastic Gabriel Thomas, remarkably beautiful and well-made, and were generally observed to be "better-natured, milder, and more tender-hearted, than those born in England."* Pennsylvania established a prosperous colony sooner and with less cost than the other American settlements.

In 1729, as many as 6,208 European emigrants settled in Pennsylvania. The alluring accounts put forth by Thomas, and his exhortations to the poor of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to seek such golden shores, instead of idling about or thieving, had had their effect. Of these emigrants, by far the largest number were Irish; the rest were English, Welsh, Scotch, and German. The Pennsylvanians were not disposed to receive such numerous hordes, and the Assembly passed an act "to prevent poor and impotent persons from being imported into the province," which was to be accomplished by the imposition of a tax of five shillings per head on all new-comers. The consequence of this measure was to divert emigrants bound for Pennsylvania to other parts of America; but the Pennsylvanians soon perceived the mistake they had made. The practice of negro slavery was confirmed by the difficulty of obtaining free labour, the wages for which ran up to so great a height that it was found necessary to repeal the act, and once more encourage immigration. The German settlers at New York being about the same time treated with injustice by the local Legislature, many transferred themselves to the Quaker province, and proved a very useful element in the population. It is curious to find that, even at that rather early period, as at the present day, Germany and Ireland supplied a large proportion of the emigrant population of America.

Thomas Penn, a son of the great founder of the plantation, arrived on a visit to his dependency in 1732, and was received with the honour and affection due to his ancestry. He entered Philadelphia at the head of a cavalcade of eight hundred horsemen, and was presented with an address from the Assembly, expressing the utmost reverence for the memory of William Penn. The Indian tribes were equally emphatic in their congratulations; and it might at first have seemed probable that the presence of one of the proprietaries at the seat of government would have had a beneficial effect. But his disposition was illiberal, and his manners were so reserved and cold that he failed to make friends, even among his own sect. His elder brother, John Penn, followed him in 1734, and, being a man of a more genial nature, was generally liked; but his return to England was hastened by the

* An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and of West New Jersey, in America, by Gabriel Thomas, who resided there about fifteen years. London, 1698.



DEATH OF RASLES.

renewed attempts of Lord Baltimore to obtain from the English Government the annulment of the decree by which the Delaware territory had been transferred from his ancestor to William Penn. The province, however, was now so thoroughly established that it did not need the support of any one man. In 1731, Philadelphia was at least double the size it had been at the time when Gabriel Thomas wrote; and in 1736 its custom-house books contained entries of two hundred and eleven vessels arriving with cargoes at the port, and of two hundred and fifteen departing with cargoes from it. The goods imported from Great Britain at the same period are said to have reached the annual value of £150,000. But it must always be borne in mind that most of these statements are only approximate or inferential. The age of accurate statistics had not yet come.

Among the numerous Germans who helped to swell the population of Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century, were certain religious sectaries who arrived in the year 1724, and who obtained great notoriety under the name of "Tunkers." They dressed after the fashion of the monks and nuns of the order of White Friars, and the men generally wore their beards. Their tenets were similar in some respects to those of the Anabaptists; in some others, to the views or practices of the Quakers themselves. Community of goods was strictly observed by them; the sexes were kept separate; and although marriage was not absolutely forbidden, it was discouraged. These singular enthusiasts set great store by the practice of non-resistance to oppression; refrained from litigation under any circumstances whatever; and endured insult and injury without complaint. They at first settled at a place called Ephrata, but they had their followers elsewhere, even in Philadelphia. After a time, their original austerities, and some of their peculiar tenets, were softened, and they gradually vanished in the mass of the population; but the sect appears to have been in some degree revived at the present day in the community called Shakers. That they might not be bound by formal rules, but be free to advance without hindrance in the development of truth, the Tunkers always refused to commit their principles to writing. If other sects had been equally discreet, the world might have been saved much irritating controversy.

CHAPTER LII.

Progress of England in North America—Jealousy of France and Spain—Sebastian Rasles, the French Missionary to the Indians—His Incitement of the Natives in their Opposition to the English—Renewed War with the Indians—Attack by the English on Norridgewock—Death of Rasles—Conclusion of a Peace—Establishment of Trading Houses on the North-eastern Frontier—Territorial Disputes—The Red Man always the Loser—Supremacy of the French on the St. Lawrence—The Shawnees and the French—Advance of the French Westward—Establishment of their Rule in Louisiana—Visions of a Boundless Empire.

The progress of the English in North America was not viewed with favour, or even with quiescence, by the maritime Powers of Europe. Spain saw in the multiplication of English settlements in the south a menace to her influence and prosperity; and France, though more compliant under the pressure of the Treaty of Utrecht, still raised serious questions of frontier right, which were not compromised until after long and elaborate negotiations. In the meanwhile, a fresh pretender appeared to the rich tract of country extending from the Kennebec to the St. Croix. This was no other than the Abenaki nation, which appealed to the Great Spirit and to natural right in vindication of its claims. Yet the whites never slackened their advance; the General Court of Massachusetts declared itself supreme over the province; the fishermen rebuilt their hamlets on the coast and rivers; the traders restored their stations in the forests, and protected them by forts; and the men of the red race were in a state of partial panic. The Indian chiefs who gathered at Quebec in 1720 inquired whether their lands had been made over to England by an arbitrary convention, and were answered that they had not. They were thus indirectly encouraged and guided to resistance; and they were not slow to act on the suggestions they received. The lands had long before been purchased of the natives by the people of New England; but they had to a great extent lain unoccupied, and the Indians had been allowed, as a matter of kindness and courtesy, to hunt and fish over the parts not actually in cultivation. This at length created a confused sense of right to the regions in question, the limits

of which, as between the English and the Indians, were not clearly defined, or had been forgotten.

It is at this point that we have a glimpse of missionary life in the woods of the New World, which is singularly picturesque. The veteran Sebastian Rasles, a native of Franche Compte, had at an early age carried his learning and piety across the Atlantic, and devoted himself to the teaching and conversion of the dwellers in the valley of the Kennebec. His first appointment was to the Abenakis, and his own account of his work among them is a narrative of surpassing interest.* The community was small, but it increased; the church was in the wilderness, but it was a structure not unworthy of its use; and here Rasles (whose name is variously spelt) built his own little house, lived chiefly on bruised Indian corn, touched no wine - as a rule, but the rule was not invariable†—cultivated his plot of garden, studied the aboriginal language, and became the pastor of a people already to some extent Christianised. A constant companion of the savage in his wigwam, he was his own hewer of wood and drawer of water, his own cook, and the almoner rather than the official of the Society which commissioned him. He studied, to great purpose, the Indian tongues and the Indian nature; he could write poetry in the red man's language; he painted his shrine in the forest to satisfy the barbaric love of colour; he attired his neophytes in surplice and capote, thus ministering to their love of ceremony; he organised processions, erected chapels of bark, and excited the rivalry of the Massachusetts missionaries. It may be doubted whether he owed his influence so much to his religious instructions as to his pure manner of life, skill in the use of snow-shoes and canoes, and compliance with customs that were slightly repugnant to him at first. He had now been in the wilderness forty years, and the Indians regarded him with so much love and veneration that they were prepared at all times to execute his commands, even at the hazard of their lives. There cannot be a question that this fanatical priest excited the barbarians over whom he had gained ascendency to make war on the New Englanders, who, he constantly alleged, had systematically cheated them, and were destroying their morals by selling them spirituous liquors—an offence, however, of which it is certain that his own countrymen were equally guilty. "We have found, by more than three-score years' experience," wrote Governor Shute to Rasles, on the 21st of February, 1719, "that we had always lived in perfect peace with our neighbouring Indians, had it not been for the instigation, protection, supply, and even personal assistance, of the French; so that, in case any unjust war or breach should happen (which God forbid!), we shall look upon the French, and principally the Popish missionaries among them, as the main cause thereof."‡ Hoping to neutralise the influence of this Romanist missionary, Shute held a conference with the chiefs of the Eastern Indians, and requested them to receive the ministrations of a resident New England pastor. Rasles was present at this interview, and warmly declared that the French King, in ceding Acadie, had never intended to include any territory which the Indians might justly claim. The tone adopted by the tribes on this occasion was at first angry and threatening. Encouraged in their truculence by the countenance of their Jesuit friend, they reclaimed a great part of the territory with which they had formerly parted; but the older chiefs afterwards apologised for the language used by the younger ones, and the reclamation was abandoned, in spite of all that Rasles could do to prevent such an issue.

Thus this Frenchman lived, the virtual chief of Norridgewock; but in 1721, when the New England Government had, with questionable faith, seized several warriors as hostages, extorting a ransom without setting them free, and further continuing to occupy the hunting and fishing grounds of the Abenakis, the quarrel came to a head, and broke out in a threat of reprisals. The Indians, however, would probably have remained quiet but for the continual incitements of Rasles, and of Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada. The former mingled warlike symbols and martial exhortations with the religious services he conducted among the Indian converts; and the latter prevailed on some of the Canadian tribes to offer their support to the malcontent natives of the New England frontier settlements. Instead of conciliating the tribe, the English captured a young half-breed nobleman, son of the Baron de Castine, who gave some trouble in the time of Andros, and proceeded to attack Rasles in his isolated stronghold. The fighting men were absent; the priest escaped, with the infirm and the children, leaving behind him a number of highly compromising papers; and war burst forth with fury. The hatchet along the border was everywhere dug up; the war-song was sounded far and wide; vengeance was attempted, and some settlements were destroyed by fire. But

* Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Vol. XXIII.

† Massachusetts Historical Collection, 2nd Series, Vol. VIII.

‡ Massachusetts Historical Collection.

the English were impregnable in their forts; Rasles could obtain no alliance from the French; at Norridgewock, he foresaw the doom of the settlement, and sent away into Canada those who would go, refusing to abandon the place himself, and awaiting at his post the final conflict.

The spirit of that age, and the passions evoked by the implacable warfare of those regions and races, were fitly illustrated by an English proclamation denouncing the Eastern Indians as outlaws (which some American writers consider them to have been), and setting prices upon their scalps. The Massachusetts people were aided, both with men and money, by Connecticut, though that colony was not immediately concerned in the struggle; and thenceforth the banks of the Kennebec added another to the sanguinary records of Indian strife. The contest, however, lasted during three years, at the end of which, in the autumn of 1723, the Abenaki defences, dwellings, church, and chapels, were assailed and burnt to the ground; a quiet and secret march brought the invaders to Norridgewock itself; its slender Indian garrison came out with the courage of despair to protect the flight of their families; numbers and superiority of arms prevailed; and Sebastian Rasles, refusing to surrender, was slain by a soldier (although orders had been given by the officers that he should be spared), and, after lying among the ashes and the ruins, scalped and mutilated, was buried by the savages at the foot of the altar whence, from his point of view, he had taught them to worship. His chapel was stripped of its plate, and his images and crucifixes were destroyed, by the infuriated conquerors, whose actions moved the converted Indians to the utmost horror. Nevertheless, although this had been clearly a struggle for ascendency between France and England, England and France were still ostensibly at peace. As for the Indians, a strong opinion existed that they had been averse from hostilities, and were only goaded into them by the influences operating from Canada. Rasles died in his sixty-seventh year, after nearly forty years of missionary life, and to the last loved the work he had undertaken. "The Governor," he wrote, "has set a thousand pounds upon my head; but I shall not part with it, nevertheless, for all the sterling money in England." His death, coincident with a final overthrow of the missions, went far to reduce the power of France in the New World, though efforts were still made to adjust the boundary question, complicated as it was by egregious pretensions on both sides.

The complicity of the French, at a time when England and France were at peace, was so flagitious a fact that in 1726 the New Englanders determined, in spite of a previous failure, to send a mission to Vaudreuil, to remonstrate with him on the policy which had been adopted. The Canadian Governor at first denied his alleged connection with the war; but the envoys produced such overwhelming and unexpected documentary evidence of the fact—some of it in his own handwriting, addressed to Rasles—that he seemed struck with shame, and at length promised that he would do all in his power to bring the Indians to an accommodation. In this pacific disposition he was much discouraged by the Jesuit priests, who possessed great influence over Vaudreuil; but the revolted Indians were persuaded to make terms, and a treaty of peace with them was soon after signed by Dummer and Wentworth (the Deputy-Governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire), and by a Government officer of Nova Scotia. The treaty was followed by the passing of a law, long considered to be necessary, for restraining private traffic with the natives, and by the establishment of trading-houses on the frontier, where the Indians could exchange their furs and skins for European goods, which were supplied to them at the same price at which they were sold in Boston. The measure was an expensive one, for the cost of trading-houses, truck-masters, garrisons, and other matters, was found to be much greater than the profit derived by the Government from making wholesale purchases of goods, and selling them to the Indians at the retail price. It was thought, however, that the arrangement promoted a pacific disposition among the savages, and the expense was not objected to. But for a long while the people of New Hampshire, remembering all they had been made to suffer, retained a passionate hatred of the red man, which was exasperated by the Indians frequently entering the houses of settlers, and boasting of the tortures they had inflicted on their relatives. These wandering barbarians were sometimes killed by those whom they had taunted, and the offenders, if apprehended, were either rescued by their friends from the hands of the officers, or acquitted at their trial, it being (as Belknap relates) impossible to impanel a jury, some of whom had not suffered by the Indians, either in their persons or families.

After this, the Eastern Indians no longer sought the war-path. The treaty of peace signed by them in 1726 included all territories as far as the St. John. The missionary was replaced by the trader; and the eastern boundary of New England was formally and authoritatively traced on the political map. Beyond it, no collisions had occurred; yet, from the Kennebec to Nova Scotia, the French supremacy was

maintained, though under no distinct treaty right, and, indeed, in spite of a clause in the Treaty of Utrecht. France asserted her claim to the entire basin of the St. Lawrence; and the principal hope of peace between the champions of these rival pretensions consisted in the wild and difficult country that divided them. Nevertheless, the debateable ground did not prevent a commerce being carried forward between Albany and Montreal, through the agency of the converted Iroquois Indians; but this had been arbitrarily interrupted, in 1722, and advantage was taken of the circumstance, by the enterprising traders of New York, to advance their outposts, and to establish a station at Oswego, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Ontario—thus approaching the borders of Michigan, and opening a way into the great North-west. The Iroquois were angry; the French warmly protested; but the red man had long commenced his retreat before English power, and France could not adopt his cause. Against both, a few years later (in 1727) fortifications were raised at the young port, destined, at a future day, to absorb nearly one-half of the trade of the United States with Canada. The white men pushed westward; the Miamis and the Hurons, from the west, found their way in a south-easterly direction to Albany; and still the two dominions of Europe in America were separated by an uncertain line. Canada was by the French understood to comprise the whole valley and region of the St. Lawrence, and a part of the water-shed of New York and Vermont, as being tributary to the great river. Hudson had ascended the North River, and Champlain had navigated the lake bearing his name; and here the Dutch had never ousted the French. Consequently, when New Netherland was subdued and ceded, the settlement so called carried with it none of this enormous territory. But the Treaty of Utrecht was interpreted by England as a partial renunciation by France of the regions in dispute. The tribes were to some extent wanderers, whose territories had no geographical extension or limit; and certainly neither disputant took much heed, except for purposes of political stratagem, of the red man or his rights. The English represented themselves as patrons and protectors of the Six Nations—a term which, ten years after the peace was signed, had its meaning disputed; the French, on the other hand, stood upon discovery, early possession, historical grants, and their State Calendars. The Indians, however, had in some degree settled the point for themselves at the time of the Treaty of Ryswick, when the French occupation became disturbed, and the English claim enlarged, in Upper Canada. The Mohawks and Oneidas, if not other native tribes, had been registered twelve years before the Peace of Utrecht, under an English protectorate at Albany, though no signatures, or ratifications in any form, were exchanged.

By the Treaty of Falmouth, between the Eastern Indians and Massachusetts—sometimes praised as the most judicious convention ever made by the white with the red man*—a long tranquillity was established on that border. It was followed by an agreement with the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, on the same terms as with the Oneidas and the Mohawks;† the Iroquois lands west and north of Erie, and north of Ontario, were acquired in 1726; other cessions came in the train of these; and, in the confusion of claims asserted and surrenders made, only one truth was evident—that the red men were sacrificing the region of their birth, and their own existence, piecemeal. The episode of the Five Nations (ultimately the Six Nations) does not read, in fact, like a very honest page in history; but it is a mistake to suppose that the Federation was originally suggested in the interest of any European power. It had existed, on the contrary, from an unknown date. To the French, this Federation, with the Protectorate accepted by it, was always a source of jealousy; but it was too late in 1726 to attempt stemming the tide of English aggrandisement, either by establishing flotillas and fortresses on Lake Champlain, erecting batteries on the water-route to Montreal, or mounting cannon at Niagara. The Six Nations constituted the real barrier between the two dominions, and through them English influence spread among the Indians.

At the same time, the French were not without agents and supporters of great ability. Joncaire, with twenty years of Indian experience, adopted by a tribe, a dweller among the wigwams, and a man with a keen appreciation of what might be possible in the future, had built a blockhouse at Lewiston, obtained an influence over the Iroquois, and was endeavouring with all his energies to create a monopoly of the fur-trade. The fort at Niagara materially aided this plan; but the challenge was immediately answered by a new fort at Oswego, rapidly becoming an emporium and point of strength. Still, the peltry furnished by the Ottawas found its market at Montreal, while that coming by the lakes was conveyed by way of the Falls; so that the

* Abiel Holmes: Annals of America, Vol. I.

† Pownall: Administration of the Colonies. Copy of Agreement with the Sachems, 169—174.

French had really, for a period, locked against all rivals the gates of that gigantic fur-bearing region. Their skiffs, and theirs only, glanced along its waters; their missionaries taught, and morally controlled, the hunting-tribes at all the outposts; those which proved beyond the reach of conciliation were decimated or driven away; and the French had made good their pretensions, so far. They were lords over the splendid region of the St. Lawrence. This had been one of their projects, and had prospered exceedingly within their traditional borders. Another was the creation of similar privileges, from the Gulf of Mexico, across a wide area from east and west, to an indefinite frontier to the north-west, inland. Here was a problem which no treaties, commissions, or mutual understanding had solved; but none the less was the Hudson's Bay Company prompt to resent any aggressions by a power which had already evinced so egotistic a disposition beyond the valley of the St. Lawrence. The assumptions of France, upon maps of her own delineation, were, indeed, so extensive as to possess a certain grandeur. Louisiana was held to embrace the whole valley of the Mississippi. Not a fountain bubbled on the west of the Alleghanies, but it was claimed as being within the French Empire. It was French water that people drank at Herbert's spring, half a mile from the southern arm of the Savannah river; it was all-but French water that they tasted at the head-fountains of the Ohio.

But though still geographically far apart, at many points, with a wilderness between them, the interests of the two colonial and conquering dominions clashed frequently, and it was invariably the red man in whose name the torch of war was kindled.



VIEW IN PENNSYLVANIA (ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS IN THE DISTANCE).

The martial and powerful nation of the Shawnees had, for a considerable time, and in large numbers, been neighbours, and almost subjects, of the French; but in 1698 they struck their tents, and went to settle at Conestogo, a creek of the Susquehannah, where Lancaster is now situated. Two years later, William Penn welcomed them into his province when he had only just returned from England, and they planted themselves in the valleys of the Quaker State. But, with the restlessness of their race, they followed, before long, the Indians of the Delaware to the banks of the Ohio, where the French thought the opportunity a favourable one for tempting them back to their allegiance, deputing Joncaire, the astute half-breed already spoken of,

to visit their sachems, and invite them to Montreal. They accepted the invitation, crowded to the Canadian city, acknowledged the Protectorate of the Bourbon flag under Louis XV., and were ostentatiously flattered as makeweights to those tribes which had concluded English alliances. They were to that of the Ohio, and mastered the three main approaches from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, with only a few tribes of uncertain temper in their way. Their positions upon the lines of the Fox and Wisconsin, of Chicago, Wabash, and the Ohio, were not, indeed, entirely new; but the dangers



JOHN LAW.

offered assistance in strengthening their positions wherever, inside the French frontier or its borderland, they chose to settle; they were loaded with gifts, including arms, and were gradually won over from their former English sympathies. The episode, although not of grand dimensions, is important, as opening a distinct chapter in the history of the races concerned.

At a somewhat later date, the French had pushed their influence along the valley of the Alleghany they ill-concealed were the offspring of a fresh ambition, and one which foreshadowed another strenuous effort, on each side, to preponderate on the American continent. At home, however, the energetic remonstrances of the Pennsylvanian colonists met with little attention from a Government just then too deeply engaged in manipulating its majority in Parliament to bestow much thought upon the merchants and settlers of the New World. It is difficult, amid the contradictions of the local

archives, to determine exactly what were the grievances alleged, since the dates are confused, and the authorities not unanimous,—as, for example, with respect to the town of Vincens, or Vincennes, at the gateway and seed-plot of the future State of Indiana. Not there, however, did the ambition of the French adventurers contemplate creating more than a link in the great chain they were eager to forge from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. It was to Louisiana that their most brilliant anticipations were turned, and it was upon the history of La Salle that their principal hopes were grounded. That intrepid Norman had fired the imaginations of his countrymen by his descriptions of a paradise compared with which Canada was little better than a desert, and of a river which, commencing in a rivulet running out of a pool, gathered force and volume until, four thousand three hundred miles from its source—if geography be a reasonable science—it rolled its mighty waters into the Gulf of Mexico. His ultimate fate is involved in obscurity; but there can be no doubt as to the influence exercised by him over the fortunes of the indefinite territory then known as Louisiana. The trade of this, in complete monopoly, had been assigned by Louis XIV. to a wealthy merchant, Anthony Crozat, whose subsequent partner, La Motte Cadillac, led him into dreams of gold-mines and silver-mines, and of a success which would exasperate the rival monopolists of Spain. The Spaniards were indeed indignant at the French usurpations, as they considered them, in the valley of the Mississippi; but they avenged themselves by closing every port along the shores of the Mexican Gulf against the flag of France; and when it was sought, in compensation for this, to penetrate by a land or river route to the forbidden markets, repulse and imprisonment encountered the adventurers everywhere. Still, the alluring vision continued to gleam before the eyes of the traders and settlers. They had heard of rich ores from Illinois, which were, in reality, specimens from the mines of Mexico; they sought the localities reputed to be thus favoured, but discovered only that which, in itself, was very valuable—ample quantities of pure lead; and the enterprise of Crozat and his coadjutors was thus wasted upon similar futilities to those that so often and so long disappointed the early explorers of India. Worse than this, their patent trade destroyed the humbler enterprises of the old settlers, whose barterings with the Indians and the small neighbouring communities of Europeans had hitherto been successful enough. The Indians, in fact, too strong to be coerced, transferred their custom to the English, and disaffection was thus bred against the privileges of France in her own territories. Louisiana, comparatively flourishing in 1714, was impoverished and thinned of its French population by the year 1717, when, in all that immense land, more than tropically fertile, including persons of every age, and of both sexes and colours, there were barely seven hundred inhabitants, scattered from the Creeks to the Natchitoches, on the Red River. At the spot, however, where now stands the city of Natchez, which ranks in antiquity beyond every other settlement in the valley south of Illinois, the Indians had helped the French to construct a fort, which protected their establishment, and became the handsome and opulent capital of Adams county. But there was a tragedy to be enacted there before long, a notice of which must be deferred, in order that the narrative may follow, in proper sequence, the vicissitudes of one among the most extraordinary delusions that ever captivated the human mind, — the Mississippi Scheme.

CHAPTER LIII.

John Law, the Originator of the Mississippi Scheme—His Early Life and Travels—Visit to Paris, and Gambling Speculations there—Financial State of France at the Death of Louis XIV.—Law's Plan for Paying off the National Debt—Gigantic Financial Operations—The Mississippi Scheme—Fabulous Narratives, and General Delusion of the French People—Incidents of the Frenzy at Paris—Forced Colonisation of Louisiana—Decline in the Fortunes of Law—His Final Struggles—Louisiana as affected by the Bubble Speculation—Enormous Fortunes, and Consequent Ruin—France and the Natchez—Dispersion of that Tribe—Later Annals of Louisiana.

JOHN LAW, sometimes called Law of Lauriston, was a Scotchman, born at Edinburgh in 1671. He claimed descent from the ancient family of Argyll; but his father was a wealthy goldsmith at a time when goldsmiths were often bankers also; and he bequeathed to him, with the estate of Lauriston, a genius for that form of speculation, early pointed to, perhaps, by his precocious skill in

all games requiring powers of combination. At twenty three years of age he appeared in London, where the Bank of England had just been projected, with the reputation of a man rich, highly cultivated, and foppish in dress and manner, who soon acquired the title of "Beau Law," a circumstance which brought him into rivalry with "Beau Wilson," with whom, as might have been expected, he quarrelled and fought, killing him. That incident closed his career, for awhile, in the English metropolis, and, escaping to the continent, he visited in succession Paris, Amsterdam, Genoa, Venice, Naples, and Rome, returning to Edinburgh in 1700, with a full knowledge of banking principles as they were developed in the great country of bankers, Holland. This he turned to account by contriving a grand system of credit to supply the deficiency of coin by an establishment authorised to issue a paper currency equivalent to the whole landed estate of the kingdom. The commercial classes in Scotland were astounded; and though his ideas were not absolutely refuted, neither were they adopted. In effect, he proposed to unite the profits of discount, carried on by a bank, with those of an administration, carried on by farmers of the public revenue, and those of trade, carried on by a chartered company.* The Scottish Parliament rejected his plans, as did the Parliament of England, where, moreover, he had not obtained a pardon for the affair of the duel; so that he once more set up his standard in the French capital, playing high at the green tables, courted by the Academies and in circles of Royalty, and astonishing everybody by the magnificence of his ventures in gambling.

The story runs that one day he had two sacks of gold carried to the Hôtel de Soissons, threw down memoranda instead of money, because his hand could not hold the coins he staked, and won a hundred thousand pounds. This success coming to the ear of M. D'Argenson — that celebrated Lieutenant of Police, who made so many subjects of the Great King uncomfortable — he politely ordered the lucky Scot out of Paris, telling him that he knew too much of the science of hazard.† The faro bank had therefore to be given up; but Law had not abandoned his greater schemes, and the situation of France was precisely such as to encourage them. Not while the Fourteenth Louis lived, however. That veteran monarch, who, what with his magnificence, his profusion, and his persecution of the most industrious, and at the same time the most religious, classes in the country, had created a stupendous debt, would not retrench, drove his Finance Minister to despair, and yet had not a word of favour for John Law, notwithstanding that the Scotchman's offers were sufficiently alluring. He suspected him, indeed, of belonging to the Huguenot party. On the other hand, his son-in-law, the Duke of Orleans, listened with delight to schemes of limitless wealth to flow from a National Bank, though Demarets, the Comptroller-General, did his utmost to check this enthusiasm. In vain. Law, after trying his chance with the King of Sardinia (who said, "I am not sufficiently powerful to ruin myself"), and after being, on account of his happy fortune at play, expelled from Venice and Genoa, had his opportunity at last. The Fourteenth Louis died; the Fifteenth—a mere child—succeeded him; the Duke of Orleans assumed the Regency, and, to quote Washington Irving, "Law had found his man." The dead King had left a debt at which all ordinary financiers stood aghast. To the lord of Lauriston it appeared a trifle, and, still enormously rich, he returned to Paris. The Regent, now despondent, now sanguine, welcomed him eagerly. The fairies present at the birth of this prince, his



INDIAN PIPE. (*From Schoolcraft's "History of the Indian Tribes."*)

* Histoire du Système de Law, par Duhautchamp, Vol. I.

† Thiers, Revue Progressive.

mother had said, conferred upon him all the talents, except the one by which he would have been enabled to make a good use of the rest. The pupil of Dubois, fond of pleasure and indolence, was no match for the Edinburgh economist. He had tried some old arts of finance, and they had failed; he had tampered with the coinage, calling in the metal currency, re-stamping and re-issuing it, with a loss to the nation of twenty per cent. of its capital; he had even thought of a State Bankruptcy; but, in a golden moment, John Law came forward with his incomparable projects and prospects, and the Duke was dazzled out of his senses. So much it has been necessary to relate by way of preface to a most extraordinary interlude in the annals of America.

The scheme was that of a bank, to pay off the National Debt, augment the revenue, and simultaneously diminish taxes. There were to be no loans, burdened by interest; no fresh imposts, to distress the people; but a process which should concentrate in the hands of the Government all the money in France, on deposit. The currency of a country, Law argued, is simply the representative of its moving wealth, and it mattered nothing whether this was in gold, silver, shells, or paper. He therefore proposed, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Duc de Noailles and the Chancellor D'Aguesseau, and with the assistance of the supple priest, Dubois, to establish a bank of deposit, discount, and circulation, with an original capital of six millions of livres, the notes of which, at first, should be exchangeable for cash, and bear a reasonable premium. For awhile all ran smoothly. The artificial currency was not in excess of the specie in the vaults; public confidence was established; and there was a run on the bank, not, however, to draw out money, but to put in money, and draw out notes. The basis of action was, at that date, stock in two hundred thousand shares, of five hundred livres each—the livre, however, being a very different coin from the pound sterling. Thus, an immense amount of the paper representing the public debt was practically absorbed by the public treasury; the interest, at starting, was punctually paid; the value of securities rose, and then the Charter of Crozat, for the commerce of Louisiana, was transferred to "John Law and Company's" Bank, afterwards styled the Royal Bank and, ultimately, the Bank of France, which had its branches everywhere. Gradually, three sets of bills were issued, the first nicknamed "mothers," the second "daughters," the third "grand-daughters." So far, however, all had gone well, and might possibly have continued to go well, had it not been for the amazing Mississippi Scheme.

Where La Salle, Iberville, and Crozat had seen their illusions vanish, it was still believed that El Dorado existed. The English had speculated on the fanciful wealth of the South Seas: why not the French on the trade of the Mississippi region? The mines of St. Barbe might yet be discovered; and, by some sleight-of-hand, ingots of gold from Louisiana were exhibited to the incredulous at Paris. The perspective opened up had a fascination for every class: Law had redeemed credit at home, and was about to create boundless wealth on the other side of the ocean. The Western Company obtained its grant for colonising Louisiana, with a monopoly of its commerce and resources, and of the beaver and fur trade with Canada, in September, 1717. These privileges were to last twenty-four years; and, in the following August, the first emigrants, eight hundred in number, in three ships, landed in Louisiana. Never were settlers more favoured. They might sell the entire region, if they liked; they might launch ships of war for its defence, if they pleased; in fact, a more splendid prospectus it would be impossible to find in the chronicles of speculation. Nothing was wanting to stimulate the enthusiasm of the future founders of New Orleans, of others who cast their bread upon the inland waters, and of others, again, who undertook to clear the forests. Among these last a considerable number were convicts, while, of the rest, many, undeterred by the knowledge they acquired, persisted in neglecting the true riches of the country, and in following fantastic visions.

The wanderers who came from Canada knew better, and acted more wisely. They were not the dupes of tales that had been told in France, and illustrated by florid pictures, of an enchanting region, peopled by picturesque savages crowding impatiently to greet their new masters—an ideal which had its commentary, before long, in the tragedy of the Natchez. They had not been misled by descriptions setting forth that "there are to be seen mountains full of gold and silver, copper, lead, and quicksilver;" and that, "as the metals are very common, and the savages know nothing of their value, they exchange lumps of gold and silver for European manufactures, such as knives, cooking-utensils, spindles, small looking-glasses, and even a little brandy." La Motte Cadillac, already mentioned, was bold enough to denounce these stories as false, and expiated his candour in a dungeon of the Bastile. Europe heard of fleets on the way laden with merchandise, of ships bearing bullion, of Indian factories with a

thousand women engaged in making silk. There was said to be a rock of emerald in Arkansas, of which Captain de Laharpe, with twenty-two settlers, was about to take possession; while, in reality, the facts were that half the region was a scarcely habitable desert; that the foundations of New Orleans were hardly laid; that agriculture was despised, while mines were sought; and that the prospects of the Mississippi Company, and in consequence of Louisiana, were undergoing a calamitous change. Yet up to September, 1719, the Company's shares had been allotted with something like principle and order.

The southern valley of the Mississippi having been conceded to the great Company, or to individuals who sought estates, or even principalities, in the New World, Law himself took a prairie, whereupon he designed to erect a city surrounded by clusters of villages, and to carry on an extensive slave-trade, buying hundreds of negroes, attracting mechanics from France, bribing the Indians, and keeping up the false appearances with which his entire career was vitiated. It was, nevertheless, not in Louisiana, but in France—in Paris itself—that the crisis arrived and the dissolution took place. The sordid passion of that time has been made familiar by vivid pens and graphic pencils. The temporary madness of the Rue Vivienne has passed into a proverb. We may see once more the Paris of that day, with its struggling crowds, its hungry schemers bending under bags of gold, its plethora of pocket-books, and its eternal rush to "the street" — the Rue Quincampoix, where the market of money was held; where a kind of financial exchange improvised itself; where all classes mingled in their riotous greed of gain; and where the Mississippi bonds were fought over with frantic rage. Those were the days in which ten square feet of ground brought in the rent of an old patrimony; when wooden boxes, erected above the garrets, were let for startling sums, and when a cooked partridge was sold by auction for two hundred francs. While all this went on, the bubble burst, even sooner than was feared, in Louisiana. The bank at home, by depreciating every kind of specie value, had given to Mississippi shares the equivalent, for the time, of actual money. The sale of tobacco, the trade of the Indian seas, the trade in Africa, the profits of the Royal Mint, the profits of farming the entire revenues of France, promised a splendid per-centage on the stock; but the sham had grown too colossal. "New Orleans," as Mr. Bancroft phrases it, "was famous at Paris as a beautiful city before the cane-brakes began to be cut down;" and, to sustain the falsehood, an artificial colonisation of the unpeopled country was attempted. An edict was issued for the gathering and transport of emigrants to the Mississippi. The police gave their assistance. The streets of Paris and the provincial cities were swept of mendicants and vagabonds of all descriptions, who were dragged to Havre-de-Grace, forced—six thousand of them—on board pestiferous vessels, and shipped off, with an ostentatious parade of mining implements, to El Dorado, which many of them reached to find in it only their graves.*

A violent end to this financial frenzy was inevitable. The Chancellor, D'Aguesseau, had never ceased his protest against both the paper plans of Law and his colonising system; and there were found honest voices to tell the public that he was paying tenfold the value of his stock. That of the Duc de Noailles, among others, reached the very foot of the throne, where it deeply offended the Regent; and yet, for another twelve months, the imposition gave few outward signs of collapse. In the course of less than a year and a half, two thousand millions of bills, and upwards, had been put in circulation. As suspicion grew up, indeed, the mania became more feverish; in fact, at an even earlier date, Law had been driven to his last desperation of ingenuity to keep up the tremendous deception. For, notwithstanding that D'Aguesseau and De Noailles had been dismissed from office, the hostility of the Parliament was implacable. It hated Law as a religious reformer. Law turned aside the blow by declaring himself, forthwith, a faithful son of the Church. The Parliament, not to be deterred, threatened to hang him for deceiving the nation. Flying to the Palais Royal, he besought the protection of the Regent, which was granted. Affairs went on swimmingly again; the Regent's mother wrote that "all the King's debts were paid;" but still the imperative necessity remained of stifling the public doubts. Law, appointed Comptroller-General, prohibited the holding of specie by any individual or corporation beyond a particular, and that a small, amount; its exchange for paper was made compulsory; the bank coffers were filled; but the crash could not much longer be postponed. The shadow of the Chancellor D'Aguesseau once more alarmed the adventurous financier, who in vain resorted to new artifices, splitting his fifty millions of stock into a hundred shares each, like the tickets in a lottery; stirring up the very humblest and poorest of society to support him;

* Washington Irving; Cochut.

creating the class known as "Mississippi Lords," who did not disdain to haggle in a market now made unutterably common; and, before the year 1722, precipitating all in one grand ruin, which left France poorer, more discredited, more hopeless, than she was when the Fourteenth Louis lay dying, but with the result of having enriched a few, and reduced Louisiana to a very inferior rank among the colonies of Europe.

waiting for hours in the ante-chamber of John Law, exulted when they saw his wife, who had "collected all the duchesses around her" at one time, pining in poverty at Brussels. Such is the close put by history to a time of unexampled prosperity. Nevertheless, two Mississippians at least caught the contagion, and, while it lasted, revelled in its results. The one was Denis Léroche; the other, a man mentioned by Duhautchamp, the pitiless historian of Law and his



INDIAN BURIAL-GROUND ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

Still, it *was* a colony. Its scanty population had not been altogether extirpated; and its fortunes were destined to no more than a temporary eclipse, due to the exorbitant frauds of the Mississippi schemers. The anecdotes of that period, in the transactions of which this noble American territory was so deeply concerned, may in part be apocryphal, but, in all likelihood, were generally illustrative of the truth. There were men who mounted behind their own carriages, from habit; who slept in the attics of their own houses, for the same reason; who deferentially took their seats at the tables of their own lacqueys; and who, after

scheme, who lived the life of an Aladdin at Paris, leaving his Louisianian property to be cared for by slaves and thieves, and of whom a single jeweller declared that he sold him three millions' worth of jewels, besides the diamond of the Count de Nocé, for which he paid 500,000 livres, and a girdle-buckle which he bought of a Jew for the same sum. He had eighty horses and ninety servants, and, when the bubble burst, was glad to work on one of his own farms in the valley of the Mississippi. Another Louisianian, a young lady two years old, was betrothed by her father to a French Marquis, for a consideration in stock. St. Simon



THE COURSE OF THE MISSISSIPPI. (*From the Map of North America by De Lisle*, 1703.)

observes in his Memoirs that "by turning and hoisting this Mississippi scheme about in all ways, not to say by playing all sorts of jugglcries under its name, they wished, after the example of the English, to make effectual establishments in those vast countries." It was to people them that they sent off male and female convicts, chained two and two as husbands and wives, many of whom were shipwrecked on the passage. Fifteen hundred French of both sexes, landing in Louisiana, were immediately attacked and slaughtered by the natives. The voyage was popularly called "the pilgrimage;" but the reaction, unquestionably, produced its crop of exaggerations. Still, the "bandoliers of the Mississippi," as they were termed, undoubtedly carried on a nefarious business, though St. Simon may have gone too far when he affirmed that "it was only necessary to slip a purse into an archer's hand, and whisper a word in his ear, to get any enemy of whom you wished to be rid carried off." One further incident must be mentioned as occurring in the strange chronicles of John Law's audacious project. It was a part of that project to make the public in the Old World believe in the people of the New. Therefore, ten men were brought to Paris, with one woman, a "daughter of the Sun;" and it was determined to marry her. Unfortunately, the end of the romance seems apocryphal. She did marry, according to good evidence, a sergeant of the Royal Guards; but the testimony is weak which asserts that she killed and helped to eat him, upon returning to her own country.*

The tide of encroachment upon the hunting-grounds of the red men continued. It flowed until, as at a turning-point, it reached the villages of the Natchez, at that time scattered along the Mississippi. These savages were among the most ancient, in their traditions, of the red tribes; their manners still bore a reverential character; their abodes and their burial-grounds were alike, in a special sense, sacred. In the sight of other than their own tribes, their chief, surnamed the Great Sun from his temple erected on an artificial mound of earth, dispensed prophecies and interpretations, established a kind of friendly confessional, or listened to stories of love-sickness, boasts of warriors returning from battle, rejoicings over plentiful harvests, mournings for the dead, and the songs which silenced the despair of human victims. There alone, almost. except through distinctions conferred by prowess in war, the red noble stood apart from the red plebeian. The chief was the master; but the French hankered after the soil possessed by these warriors, and a bloody plot was laid by the aborigines against the stranger. France, in 1729, was ripe for an aggression upon the Natchez; the Natchez, in the November of that year, rose, and assassinated nearly every Frenchman in the colony. The act only provoked a terrific retribution. The Great Sun smoked in confidence, while the heads of the Frenchmen were laid at his feet, and their bodies thrown to birds and beasts of prey. He and his young men, visiting the whites at New Orleans, two or three years previously, had been hospitably treated by them; their fires had been kindled, their meals had been eaten, together; together they had built their houses, and planned the settlement of Natchez. Yet now the Great Sun himself was headless in his grave; the envoy of his nation was insulted and slain; the French had suffered retribution, and they, in their turn, were resolved upon vengeance. It was not difficult to excite the passions of the emulous tribes. To give a gun and a pouch of ammunition to a red man, was to propose to him a campaign. A terrible and not unjustifiable alarm was spread; the Choctaws and Cherokees were put under arms; the streets of New Orleans were barricaded; measures were taken to quell an apparent spirit of disaffection among the negroes; and then the work of retaliation was undertaken. An expedition, secretly planned, and as secretly conducted, reached the Natchez in the noontide of their triumph. They had caroused over their victory, or massacre, and were asleep in their bark-built hamlets. At daybreak one morning in January, 1730, their old foes, the Choctaws, fell upon them, liberated the prisoners, took sixty scalps, and retired with a nominal loss. A few days afterwards, the assault was renewed; the Natchez were desolated in their own abiding-place; some took refuge with their neighbours; others fled across the Mississippi to the ill-omened vicinity of Natchitoches, whither they were followed, and where they were exterminated. A few fled still further west; another few, harbouring themselves in alien wigwams, submitted to be tolerated where they had been accustomed to conquer; their chief and their captive warriors were sold into servitude, and the nation of the Natchez was at an end. When we consider how fallen is the Indian race, computed to number, at the date of the first European contact with the continent of America, sixteen millions, but since reduced, by a civilisation that too often put forth its power without its mercy, to less than a million and a half, the tale is a melancholy one indeed. Perhaps it was inevitable. The red men occupied a vast soil, for the possession of

* Cochut.

which great nations of Europe have contended; and if their doom be among the enigmas of history, its consequences have, at any rate, rendered it less lamentable to the mind. But the dissipation, if not absolute extinction, of the Natchez was in many respects to be deplored. La Salle spoke well of them; Rasles, though with little reason, pleaded strongly in their favour; and, for historians, the obscurity of their origin will always invest them with that mystery which clouds the annals of the most important races of mankind.

It is time, however, after their final slaughter and dispersion, to turn from them to the wavering annals of Louisiana. Almost parallel, yet by no means identical, with the Western Company, had arisen the Company of the Indies, adventuring on the coasts of Guinea, and of several Asiatic countries. This association was supreme, in its own way, over the unhappy province of Louisiana during a period of fourteen years; but in April, 1732, the sovereignty of that region reverted, unquestioned, to the Crown of France. France had not even then shaken off its dreams. Emigrants were still flocking, though in sparse numbers, to the wilderness, and were engaged more fiercely than ever in conflict with the autochthonal tribes. The Natchez had been subdued—nay, exterminated; but the Chickasaws remained, harrying the commerce and border population of Mississippi, making their last and sorrowful efforts for independence, terrifying the English and the French alike out of their settlements, endeavouring to entice the Indians friendly to Europeans into alliances of conspiracy, and eliciting from the chief Chicago, in an interview with the envoy Perrier, the unusual word, as he smoked his calumet, "This is the pipe of peace or war." It meant war, in one sense. The land of the Chickasaws was invaded, after two years of preparation, from Mobile and the settlements on the shores of the Wabash. The advance was irresistible; the hostile bands were dealt with under military law, as though they were insurgents; every scalp was paid for; and, the real motive of the war being still the competition between French and English, the former succumbed, in the spring and summer of 1726.

Overleaping some further monotonous episodes of warfare with the red race, we pass on to the Edict for free commerce between Louisiana and the West India Islands, in 1737, and to the Red Protectorate established so strangely, in place of the White Protectorate, over the nominally French country between Lower Louisiana and the Illinois. The population of Louisiana, a little more than half a century after the first attempt at colonisation by La Salle, may have been five thousand whites, and half that number of blacks. Louis XV. had fostered it with pride and liberality. He had been enticed towards the scheme by the most triumphant speculator of the age; but it is sad to think that he made use of every influence to control, in his own interest, the embarkation of European capital and confidence. In 1737, Louisiana enjoyed no promise beyond that which it derived from the goodwill of William Penn.

CHAPTER LIV.

Progress of Affairs in New York—Government of William Burnet—Interference of the Home Government—Arbitrary Rule of Colonel Cosby in New York—His Quarrel with a New York Journal—Trial of Zenger, the offending Journalist, and Defence by Andrew Hamilton—Acquittal of the Accused—Evil Effect on the American Colonies of English Attempts at Despotism—Government of George Clarke at New York—Supposed Discovery of a Negro Plot—Government of Colonel Shute in New England—Disputes with the Assembly—Departure of Governor Shute for England—Disputes between the Massachusetts Government and the Crown—An Explanatory Charter Accepted—Appointment of William Burnet to the Governorship of Massachusetts—Renewed Disputes with the Crown respecting a Fixed Salary for the Governor—Death of Burnet, and Settlement of the Dispute under the Rule of Jonathan Belcher—Entire Separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts.

New York, in the early part of the eighteenth century, pursued a career of varied calm and storm. In 1720, the post of Governor was conferred on William Burnet, a son of the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury, whose "History of his own Time" is one of the chief authorities on the events of an important and interesting epoch. The administration of the younger Burnet at New York was very successful. He was a genial and yet judicious man, and a good deal of his attention was given to establishing friendly relations between the colonists and the Indians. Certain functionaries had recently been appointed under the title of Commissioners for Indian Affairs, whose station was at Albany, and who were empowered to maintain communication with the natives, to receive intelligence from them,

and to treat with their leaders in sudden emergencies. They had no salaries, but were entrusted with considerable sums of money for occasional presents to the red men. Through these officials, as well as by personal intercourse with the leading sachems, Burnet exercised great influence over the Indians, and endeavoured in this way to counteract the continual advance of the French. His removal from power, in the year 1727, was the result of intrigues in which the merchants of London and the traders of Albany had engaged, in consequence of a disagreement with the Governor as to some parts of his policy. He was succeeded by Colonel Montgomery, who had been groom of the bedchamber to George II. when Prince of Wales. In 1729, during the rule of this Governor, the King in Council issued an order, by which certain acts suggested by Burnet, and passed by the Assembly of New York, with reference to the trade with Canada, were repealed. As the operation of these acts was to restrict that trade, in the hope of damaging the French, the law had met with great opposition from the dealers whose transactions were affected. But the repeal of the enactments gave offence to the Six Nations, from whom many commodities were now diverted to the better market of Canada.

Montgomery died in 1731, and affairs did not improve after the arrival of his successor, Colonel William Cosby. That officer reached New York towards the close of 1732, and soon got into a violent dispute with the senior member of the Council, Rip Van Dam, who had carried on the Government since the death of Montgomery. From this substantial burgher he had borrowed a large sum of money, and, apparently in the hope of evading repayment, he brought a suit against him, in 1734, for recovery of all the official fees and perquisites which Van Dam had received during his provisional conduct of affairs. In an arbitrary and arrogant way, Cosby insisted that the charge should be tried by the judges of the common-law tribunal of New York, without the assistance of a jury. Chief Justice Morris said that this was not within the competence of the court; and he was immediately displaced, to make room for James Delancey, who was known to entertain a different view. As no such change could be legally made without the consent of the Council, great indignation was felt at so despotic an assumption; and Cosby did nothing to conciliate either the people or their representatives. He offended the Assembly by the insolence of his demeanour; he alarmed the colonists by the eagerness with which he attacked their privileges, and the safeguards of their liberty. A state of sullen and angry discontent was created, which threatened to explode in some unfortunate collision.

Van Dam and Morris published statements of their cases, which still further excited the public mind; and a printer named Zenger established in 1735 a newspaper, which he called the *New York Weekly Journal*, for the purpose of opposing the Governor's attempts at absolutism. An article in this paper contained so severe an attack on Cosby's principles and conduct, which were described as endangering public freedom, that the person concerned obtained of the Council a request for the concurrence of the Assembly in an order for burning the publication in the market-place by the hands of the common hangman. The Assembly refused to make any such order, and Cosby and the Council proceeded to act for themselves. They required the Mayor and aldermen of New York to superintend the operations of the hangman; but their orders were disobeyed. Not only did the civic magistrates decline to take part in the ceremony, but even the executioner refused to perform that portion of his office. The burning was at length carried out by a negro boy belonging to the sheriff; and the force of Zenger's criticisms was rendered all the more telling by the absurd and spiteful performance by which it was made so widely known. Cosby and the Council now determined to arrest Zenger, and bring him to trial on a charge of libel; but here again they met with difficulties. The grand jury threw out the bill; upon which Bradley, the Attorney-General, brought in an *ex officio* information. The counsel employed by Zenger disputed the validity of the commissions held by the judges, Delancey and Phillipse, on the ground that they had been granted by the Governor without the concurrence of the Council. Of course the judges over-ruled the plea, and, not satisfied with so doing, punished the offending lawyers by denying them the right of further practice in the court. Zenger then put his case in the hands of Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, who had for several years been Speaker of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, and was at that time the most distinguished lawyer in America. Hamilton was old and infirm; but he did not hesitate to undertake the commission, and on the day of trial (August 4th, 1735) was present in court for the gratuitous defence of an imperilled journalist.

The case excited very general interest in the city, for it was felt that the immediate future of American liberty was involved in the decision. At the outset of the proceedings, Hamilton admitted the fact of publication, and challenged the prosecutor to support the charge of libel by proving the false-

hood of the statements contained in the incriminated publication. The challenge was declined, and Hamilton then proposed to call witnesses to prove that the criticisms of Zenger were true and well-founded. But he was told that, by the principles of English law, the truth itself was a libel when its tendency was to discredit the members of a Government, or the institutions of the State. Hamilton disputed this dictum, which, however, was certainly maintained in English courts of law until a comparatively recent period; and, pointing out that the Attorney-General had stated in the information that Zenger had been guilty of "a certain *false*, malicious, seditious, and scandalous libel," required that he would either explain the meaning of the word "false," or admit that it had been erroneously introduced, and suffer the record to be altered so far as to express that Zenger was the author of "a certain *true*, malicious, and seditious libel." But the court, fortified by the arguments and precedents of the Attorney-General, reiterated its maxim that the truth of a libel cannot be pleaded in excuse for its publication. In his speech for the defence, Hamilton contended that it was the right of freemen to publish to their fellow-citizens every truth that concerned the general weal, and every grievance by which the privileges of the subject were abridged or injured. The Governors of American colonies, he admitted, were liable to be sued in the King's courts at Westminster for any wrongs they might have inflicted on the colonists; but the expense of this process was so great as to deter men from adopting it, and the public security was best promoted by an open discussion of all alleged misdoings. It was impossible, he urged, that a jury of free and honest men would affirm the charge of falseness which was recorded in the information, but which the prosecutor would neither undertake to prove, nor suffer to be disproved. In the end, notwithstanding an injunction from the Chief Justice that they should leave the question of libel to the court, and simply return a verdict as to the fact of publication, the jury declared the accused "not guilty." The result of the trial was received with delight throughout the province. Hamilton's speech was printed and circulated in all the American colonies; and the corporation of New York presented the successful lawyer with the freedom of the city in a gold box.*

Cosby did not long survive his defeat. He died in 1736, and was succeeded by George Clarke, who acted on principles similar to those which had met with a severe defeat at the trial of Zenger. It was certainly a most unfortunate circumstance that so many of the Governors of American colonies should have been needy or unprincipled adventurers, utterly unacquainted with the principles of constitutional liberty, and indifferent to everything but the opportunity of making money. The War of Independence was not provoked simply by the attempt to tax the colonists without granting them representation in the English Parliament: it had been prepared during a long course of years by the misgovernment of men like Lord Cornbury and Colonel Cosby. The effect of the Zenger trial, and of Andrew Hamilton's eloquence, was most damaging to the rule of the parent State, not merely because the popular cause had triumphed, but because a popular cause had been created in opposition to the Government, and in consequence of the Government's own folly and injustice. The American people — for such they had now become — were taught to regard England rather as their tyrant than as their mother. They could not but see that their English relatives took no interest in them, excepting in as far as they could wring some miserable profit out of their expanding commonwealths. While a great English-speaking community was growing up beyond the Atlantic, the people out of which it had arisen seemed perfectly indifferent to this most interesting experiment of the reproduction of their old historic life under new conditions and in a new hemisphere. The almost entire suspension of English emigration for many years was another cause of the growing estrangement of the younger from the older branch of the national family. For a long while, the settlers in the colonies subject to the British Crown had been mostly Germans, Irish, and Scotch; and, of these, probably not one entertained a friendly feeling towards England, or cherished any other sentiments than such as were likely, on the first provocation, to develope into bitter hatred. Perhaps the Germans were the least unfriendly of the three, and the Scotch the most, owing to their disaffection to the House of Hanover. But even had Englishmen, in the reigns of Queen Anne and of the first Georges, gone out to America in numbers equal to those of the seventeenth century at the most enterprising era of colonisation, they could not have neutralised, though they might have mitigated, the evil effects of a vicious habit of government, which defied all the best traditions of the nation's freedom, and sought to reduce American colonists to the level of a conquered race. This it was which alienated the child from the parent, and sowed the seeds of anger and of war. The principles of common fairness and common sense were outraged, and the sufferers

* Grahame's History of the United States, Book X., chap. 1.



OLD VIEW OF NEW YORK. (*From Popple's American Atlas*, 1730.)

learned in bitterness the lessons they had been too well taught.

One of the worst acts of Governor Clarke was a breach of faith with certain colonists whom he had invited over. Desiring to create some check on the French fort at Crown Point, he proposed that a body of Scotch Highlanders should emigrate to the province, and establish themselves on the frontier territory near Lake George. A proclamation embodying this scheme was sent to Scotland, and



GENERAL OGLETHORPE. (*From a Portrait by Ravenet.*)

Captain Lachlan Campbell, starting for New York, had an interview with Clarke, who promised him a grant of thirty thousand acres of land, free from all but necessary charges. On the faith of this assurance, Campbell returned to Scotland, sold his paternal estate, and, at his own expense, took over to New York, in 1737, eighty-three Highland families. But, on again arriving in America, he found that the grant of land could only be had on condition of his admitting to a share in the profits several dependents of the Governor. The condition was refused, as being a violation of the original compact; and Campbell was obliged to leave his fellow-emigrants to shift for themselves, and to seek his own living by cultivating a small farm with the means at his disposal. Clarke was displaced in 1741, when the Governorship was conferred on George Clinton, uncle to the Earl of Lincoln. The same year was painfully distinguished by the supposed discovery of a negro plot in the city of New York. The frequent occurrence of fires, apparently caused by design, excited a suspicion that the slaves, who were numerous both in the town and the province, were concocting some mischief. A proclamation was therefore issued by the magistrates, promising pardon, freedom, and rewards to any slave who would bear witness against incendiaries and conspirators. Some women of bad character shortly afterwards came forward, and declared that the negroes had combined to burn the city, and set one of their body at the head of affairs. Other witnesses, equally valueless, were soon found to support this charge; the number of the accused was augmented day by day, till it reached an alarming point; and even white men were compromised, as well as the blacks. A wave of terror and suspicion passed over New York, similar to that which, some fifty years earlier, resulted in the Massachusetts trials for witchcraft. Men lost their judgment and their humanity in the universal fear; and, before the excitement had spent itself, more than thirty persons had been executed (of whom

several were burnt at the stake), and many had been transported. At a subsequent and calmer time, it came to be doubted, considering the bad character of most of the witnesses, whether there had really been any plot at all.

New England was not without a history in the reigns of George I. and George II. Colonel Shute, who was Governor in 1720, came into collision with the people on the subject of the pine-trees reserved for the use of the Royal Navy on vacant lands. Shute did his best, as he was bound to do, to enforce the law, and, getting into a dispute with the Massachusetts Assembly with respect to a remonstrance which it was proposed to print, was so inconsiderate as to say that the King had committed to him the power of the press, and that nothing could be lawfully published without his permission. In other ways he managed to vex and irritate the Assembly, who in turn made their power felt by diminishing his salary, and that of the Deputy-Governor, William Dummer, to so low a pitch that the latter at length refused to accept it, as involving an insult to the King. Shute, though an irritable, was not an ill-meaning man, and before his arrival had been regarded as a supporter of liberal and dissenting views. But the distrust of the Massachusetts Assembly had now been excited against him to so extreme a degree that he appears to have been made the object of substantial injustice. With the old bitterness of their predecessors in the seventeenth century, the leaders of the popular party opposed Shute and all his supporters at every point, as if they had been the greatest criminals. In England, even the friends of Massachusetts regretted the course that was being pursued, and feared it might lead to mischievous results. Jeremiah Dummer, the provincial agent at London, who had written the defence of the New England charters when their existence was threatened in 1715, gave so much offence to these irritable politicians by simply notifying to them that Shute's conduct was generally approved in England, and that serious measures would certainly be taken against the people of Massachusetts unless a more reasonable temper were shown, that he was dismissed from his office. The Assembly repeatedly forced Shute into doing as they wished, by refusing him any salary at all until he had made his submission. During the Indian war which occurred at this period, and of which we have related the events in a previous Chapter, they assumed the direction of the military operations, which of right belonged to the Governor, and required the officers to correspond with them; but for this they afterwards apologised, and prudently retreated from an untenable position. The danger to the colony was increased by these unfortunate disputes, and the Governor at length determined to withdraw from a position in which his actions were continually paralysed by the jealousy of his associates. Having previously, but in a private way, obtained permission of the King to return to England, he suddenly departed towards the close of 1722, leaving the conduct of affairs in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, William Dummer. Though a friend of Shute, Dummer had the credit of being a patriotic citizen. Aided by the advice and support of the aged judge, Sewall—the only person then living who had held office under the original charter, and who retained in his views and his modes of speech much of the old Puritan character—the new head of the colony succeeded in establishing a friendly feeling between himself and the Legislature.

The object of Governor Shute's visit to England was to lay before the King a series of formal complaints against the Massachusetts Assembly. The result, in 1723, was a summons to the Assembly to answer this indictment, which charged that body with committing various encroachments on the Royal prerogative, as represented by the Governor. On receiving the summons, the House of Representatives passed a vote to the effect that the allegations were groundless, and that an agent should be empowered to employ lawyers to defend their proceedings. So sharp, abrupt, and lofty a mode of meeting the King's complaints would have been most imprudent, and the Council wisely refused to concur in any such course. Ultimately, the Assembly transmitted a particular answer to the several charges, together with an address to the King; and at the same time despatched an agent to England, to explain and justify their conduct. Jeremiah Dummer was also reappointed as the resident colonial agent at London; so that the cause of Massachusetts did not suffer from want of advocacy. But the colonists had so clearly exceeded their powers, and so manifestly violated the charter, that the provincial agents, by the advice of their English friends, acknowledged the Assembly to have been wrong in relation to the Royal woods and the command of military operations, and promised that such acts should not be repeated. Another subject of complaint on the part of the Crown had reference to certain assumptions of independence by the Massachusetts Assembly; and, in respect of these, the Government of Sir Robert Walpole proposed that an explanatory charter should be

accepted by the colonial Legislature, declaring in express terms the Governor's power to negative the Speaker when presented to him after election, and limiting the adjournment of the Assembly by its own act to two days. The explanatory charter, when laid before the House of Representatives, in January, 1726, gave great discontent to many. Thirty-two members out of eighty voted that it should be rejected, and four members of the Council—a body much more inclined to support Royal prerogative than the popular branch of the Legislature—gave their votes to the same effect. The majority, however, were on the side of acquiescence; and the charter was adopted by a resolution expressed in terms of marked loyalty. When, on the death of George I., in 1727, Colonel Montgomery, as already related, was sent out as Governor of New York, Burnet, thus displaced, received the chief post in the New England colonies, and Shute did not return to the office he had quitted.

Burnet entered on his new duties with uneasy forebodings as to his relations with the Assembly. He had been popular with the people of New York and New Jersey, to whom he had commonly appeared as a ruler of great liberality, and a man of kind and generous feeling. But the Massachusetts people had long been noted for a certain querulous and froward spirit of opposition; and Burnet feared that he should experience what most other Governors had experienced before him. His reception by the Bostonians was reassuring. He entered the capital city, in 1728, in the midst of a splendid cavalcade; but it soon appeared that his character was not calculated to harmonise with the rigid Puritanism of New England. Though the son of a Bishop, and himself not otherwise than religious, he hated formalism, and was a man of gay and convivial habits. To Colonel Tailer, one of the committee who went from Boston to meet him on the borders of Rhode Island colony, he complained of the long graces that were said by the clergymen on the road, and expressed a desire to know when they would shorten. Tailer, who was of a humorous disposition, answered, "The graces will increase in length till you come to Boston; after that, they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire, where your Excellency will find no grace at all." Burnet imprudently let the people see how great was his indifference to their cherished ideas on this subject. One day, when dining at the house of an old senator, who was in the habit of saying grace sitting, his host courteously asked if he would prefer that it should be delivered standing; to which Burnet bluntly replied, "Standing or sitting,—any way or no way,—just as you please." It is obvious that such a man, however excellent his qualities in some respects, was not fitted for the Governor of a Puritanical colony. He soon quarrelled with the Assembly on the subject of remuneration. Pecuniary embarrassment compelled him to be very solicitous on this subject, and he hinted that, as the people were rich enough to give him so fine a reception, they were rich enough to afford him a handsome salary. The Massachusetts Assembly voted him £1,400, besides other sums for his travelling expenses; but they refused a permanent income. A sharp dispute followed, in which Burnet, losing his temper, reproached the members with their conduct towards Shute; intimated that the English Parliament would allocate a fixed salary on the province if the colonists continued obstinate; and uttered a vague threat that it might perhaps do "something else besides." He subsequently explained that in this phrase he alluded to the possibility of the provincial charter being withdrawn altogether, if the home Government were provoked beyond a certain point. Assuming high ground, he refused to accept the special sums that had been voted him, and declared that he would be satisfied with nothing but a fixed salary. In virtue of the powers conferred on the Governor by the supplementary charter, he refused to prorogue the deputies until they had done as he wished; and shortly afterwards he adjourned them, first to Salem, and afterwards to Concord, observing in his jocular way, that the names of both those towns inclined to amity.

The names, however, had no such subtle influence as Burnet's jest implied. An agreement could not be arrived at, and the Assembly sent an address to the King, expressing their desire and resolve to provide amply and honourably for the support of his Majesty's representative, but arguing that, by renouncing control over the Governor, they would separate his interests from those of the province. This address was not favourably received by the King, and the Lords of Trade went so far as to report to the Privy Council that Massachusetts was endeavouring to wrest from the sovereign the small remnant of prerogative he had retained, and to make itself entirely independent. It was also recommended that the whole subject should be submitted to the judgment of Parliament—a step which, had it been taken, would probably have resulted in some extreme measure. Nevertheless, the Massachusetts Assembly refused to give way, and the controversy might have led to serious

issues but for the sudden death of Burnet in 1729. One of the London agents of the colony at that time was Jonathan Belcher, a New Englander, held in much regard by his countrymen for the zeal with which he advocated their privileges. He had supported the recent address to the throne, and he now solicited and obtained the vacant post. But with his elevation to office his views underwent a change. It is believed that he gave some assurance to the Government that he would use his influence to procure the concession of a fixed salary; at any rate, his first address to the Assembly, on arriving in America in 1730, conveyed an urgent application for a permanent provision. The Royal instructions which he brought out with him, and which he read to the members, contained an intimation that, if the demand were any longer resisted, his Majesty would feel compelled to lay the undutiful behaviour of the province before Parliament, not only in that particular instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency, from which, his Majesty observed, it manifestly appeared that the Assembly had for some years past attempted to weaken, if not cast off, the obedience they owed to the Crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have on the mother country. If the Assembly still proved non-compliant, Belcher was immediately to return to England. After reading this address to the members, the new Governor made a speech explaining his conduct, which was certainly the very reverse of what the colonists had reason to expect. He said that his views on the abstract question were still exactly what they had been, but that further resistance was useless, and might endanger all. With an elaborate comparison drawn from the struggles and ultimate fate of Cato, after the pedantic fashion of those times, he implored the Assembly, now that it had sufficiently contended against power, not to commit the folly of self-murder.

Notwithstanding these exhortations, the Assembly declined to provide the required salary, but voted Belcher a handsome reward for his services in England, and the sum of £1,000 (unconnected with any definite period) for the conduct of public affairs in the province. Perplexed by the situation in which he was placed, Belcher persuaded the Assembly to present an address to the Crown, soliciting permission for him to accept the sums that had been voted. The permission was granted, on condition of his continuing to urge the Royal instructions; but ultimately the English Government gave a general sanction to Belcher's accepting any grants the Assembly might choose to make. The mother country, in fact, abandoned its position, and Massachusetts secured another triumph—one of those triumphs which, by revealing the hesitation of the parent State, prepared for the War of Independence in the next generation. For the following ten years, Belcher retained his position, though involved in controversies with the Deputy-Governor of New Hampshire as to the King's woods, and in the wranglings of that colony with Massachusetts on a disputed question of boundary, which was at length decided by the Royal Government in favour of the former. By this decision New Hampshire got even more than she claimed; and so did Rhode Island in a similar dispute. Massachusetts had always been grasping as to territory; but in these instances she was signally discomfited. Belcher was recalled, in 1740, owing to the intrigues of certain speculators in paper money, whose plans he had opposed; and after that date the Governorship of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was placed in separate hands.

CHAPTER LV.

Situation and Topographical Characteristics of Georgia—Its Wild and Exposed Condition in the Early Part of the Eighteenth Century—General Oglethorpe, the Founder of Georgia—His Benevolent Efforts on behalf of Insolvent Debtors—Formation of a Scheme of Colonisation—The Moravians, or Herrnhutters; their Religious Principles and Practice—The Royal Charter of Georgia—Provisions of that Document, and Character of the Chief Trustees—Hopeful Anticipations of the New Project—Sailing of the First Body of Emigrants—Commencement of the City of Savannah—Oglethorpe's Life in the Woods—Employments of the Settlers—Conference with Indian Tribes—Cession of Territory, and Conclusion of a Treaty—Visit of Indians to George II.—Oglethorpe's Remarks on the Native Character—Good Effect of his Generosity.

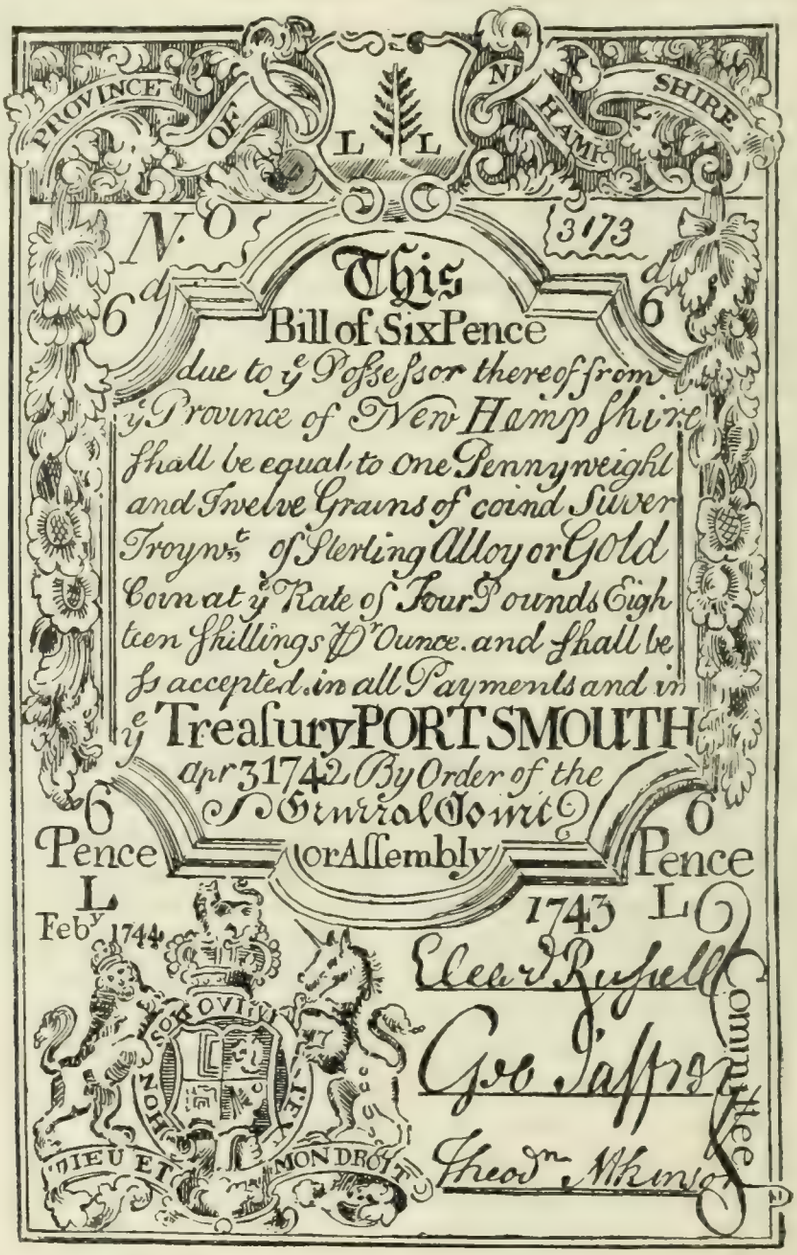
GEORGIA, the last-founded of the original colonies of English America, was comprised within the limits of South Carolina until its division from that territory in 1732. The present State so called, which has been lessened by the formation, out of its first dimensions, of the States of Mississippi and

Alabama, extends along the Atlantic, from Florida in the south to South Carolina in the north-east, a distance of one hundred and five miles; but north of this coast-line the boundary strikes inland with a westerly inclination, skirting the side of South Carolina. Its area is 58,000 square miles, which is about three hundred square miles more than England and Wales. The northern parts of the State are hilly; the south is one long, dreary flat, stretching from the shores of the ocean to the Mississippi, far beyond the existing limits of Georgia. The loose and friable soil will grow no trees except the pine and the palmetto; but this arid region is varied by large swamps, which absorb many streams into their silent and melancholy expanse, and in the rainy season present the appearance of inland seas, out of which rise bay-trees and underwood—a mesh of tangled vegetation, holding malaria and disease. The chief river of the State is the Savannah, which rises on the most southern declivity of the Appalachian Mountains, and, running in a south-south-easterly direction for nearly four hundred and fifty miles, forms the boundary between Georgia and South Carolina. The climate of this extensive tract of country is of course various. In the higher lands of the north, the air is cold in winter; frosts are common, and snow falls to the depth of several inches. In the more southern parts, on the plain and in the marshes, the heat in summer is intense, and the rainy season, which is in the spring, has a character of almost tropical vehemence. The hilly regions abound in extensive forests, containing numerous wild boars and deer; alligators frequent the larger streams, and bees murmur about the swamps east of Flint River, collecting honey from the luxuriant flowers which the heat and moisture develope into life. Agriculture is the principal employment of the people, and cotton, tobacco, and rice are the chief products of the land; but the large supply of water-power, furnished by the hill-streams in the northern part of the State, has led to the establishment of several manufactures. Such is Georgia at the present day. In 1732, its natural characteristics had not been modified by the action of civilised races.

The country to which a separate existence was given at that period, was a wilderness of indefinite extent, claimed on the one hand by the Spaniards as a part of Florida, and on the other by the English as a portion of the Carolinas. In point of fact, neither nation put the land to any practical use; but each valued it as a frontier. The English were under the impression that the Spaniards, by the treaty of Madrid in 1667, had waived all claim to this savage territory; but the Spaniards themselves acted as if their title were still in full force. The whole region was little better than a desert. Of white inhabitants it had none, and even the Indians were not numerous. In one quarter, called Yamacraw, on the river Savannah, a small native tribe had been planted since 1703, when James Moore, the Governor of South Carolina transported its members thither as a sort of garrison against the tribes in alliance with Spain. The Indians thus settled between the Carolinas and Florida acknowledged their dependence on the former, but did nothing to secure English predominance in the disputed territory. The representatives of Spain encouraged the other Indian nations in frequent attacks on the English settlements of South Carolina; and the waste territory was known only as a land of prowling savages, who made irruptions into the struggling plantations to the north, and against whom it was occasionally found necessary to sally forth with fire and sword. But in the early part of the reign of George II. it appeared to many politicians a matter of vital consequence that the desert portions of Carolina should be occupied by men of English race, and thus saved from the domination of the Spaniards, who were advancing from the south, and of the French, who were approaching from the west. The idea was much discussed, but it was some time before a feasible project could be matured. At length it occurred to a brave and humane military officer of that day that a colony of distressed persons in Great Britain and Ireland might be formed, expressly with a view to peopling these wastes, and keeping out rival nationalities. The conversion of the Indians was another design which it was hoped to realise by the speculation; but this, no doubt, was not the strongest motive.

James Edward Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, was a member of a Yorkshire family, but was born in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, December 22nd, 1696. When yet a mere lad, he served under Prince Eugene, and, on a certain occasion, as he related some sixty years after to Johnson, Goldsmith, and Boswell, avenged with admirable tact and spirit an affront which had been offered him by the Prince of Wurtemburg. The Prince had taken up a glass of wine, and by a fillip caused some of it to fly into the youth's face. Not liking to get the character of a quarrelsome fellow by challenging the high-born bully at once, and yet feeling that it was absolutely necessary he should take some notice of the act, Oglethorpe fixed his eye upon the Prince, and, smiling all the time as if

the whole thing were a pleasantry, said, "*Mon Prince*, that's a good joke, but we do it much better in England"—and so threw a whole glassful of wine in his adversary's face.* Surviving to a great age,—for it was not until 1785 that he died,—Oglethorpe is identified with the personal history of nearly the whole of last century;† Thomson spoke of him with much praise; Joseph Warton—with some exaggeration, it must be admitted—declared that he was at once a great hero and a great legislator; and Johnson held him in high esteem. "I know no man whose life would be more interesting," said Johnson one day; and he expressed his willingness to write



NEW ENGLAND PAPER MONEY.

and he was on intimate terms with some of its most eminent literary men. Pope has written:—

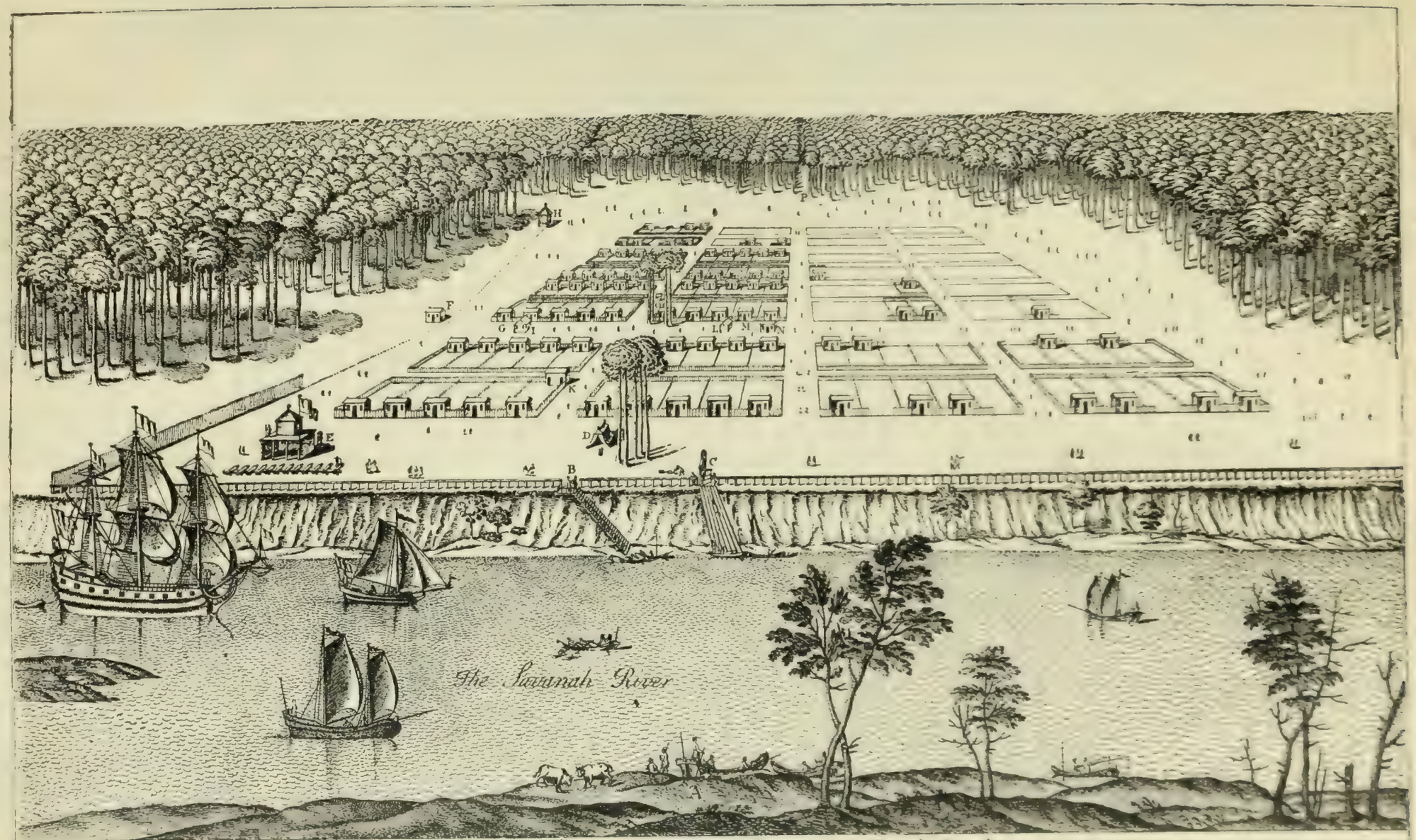
> "One, driven by strong benevolence of soul,
> Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole." ‡

it, if furnished with the materials. The unusual variety of his experiences gave the conversation of Oglethorpe a rather desultory character, and Johnson complained of his never completing what he had to say. But when he got on topics of which he had special knowledge, he was full of entertainment and information. It must have been pleasant to hear him, after dinner, describing, at Johnson's request, the siege of Belgrade (at which he had been present fifty-five years before), explaining the various operations, and illustrating

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.

† There has been some discrepancy, in the various accounts of Oglethorpe, as to the year in which he was born; but it appears, from some inquiries recently made by Colonel J. L. Chester, that he was born in 1696, as stated in the text; so that he was in his eighty-ninth year when he died.

‡ Imitations of Horace, Book II., Epistle 2.



A View of the Town of Savanah, *in the Colony of* Georgia, *in* South-Carolina.

Humbly Inscribed to his Excellency Gen^{l} Oglethorpe.

References A. *Part of an Island called* Hutchinson's *Island* B. *The Stairs & Landing Place from the River to the Town* C. *A Crane & Bell to draw up any Goods from Boats & to land them* D. *A Store erected near the Landing for Gen^{l} Oglethorpe.* E. *A Guard House with a Battery of Cannon lying before it.* F. *The Parsonage House* G. *A Plott of Ground to build a Church on* H. *A Store or Look out to the Water side* I. *The Store for all Stores* K. *The Court House & Chappel* L. *The Mill House for the Publick* M. *A House for all Strangers to reside in* N. *The Governors Dale House* O. *A Draw Well for Water* P. *The Plann surrounding the Back & Sides of the Town with Several Vistas cut into it.*

From a Print published at London in 1741.

the positions of Turks and Austrians by means of a little wine poured upon the table, from which his wetted finger formed parallels and batteries, forts and camps. He could repeat to Johnson his father's disapproval of the Revolution of 1688, and could tell young Samuel Rogers that, when young himself, he had shot snipes in the meadows since covered by Conduit Street and its vicinity. His contemporaries found in Oglethorpe a man well-read, scholarly, conversant with affairs, amiable, and brave,—a Tory in politics, yet one who took thought for the needy and distressed; and certainly no man was better fitted than he to lead a colony of poor adventurers into a wilderness, where they might have to fight for their possessions, and where courage, self-reliance, and knowledge of the world, were indispensable in the leader.

In early life, Oglethorpe was a member of Parliament; and one of the subjects which attracted his particular attention was the state of gaols. In 1728, he moved in the House of Commons for a committee of inquiry into abuses which were known to exist; and, as the chairman of this committee, he presented in the following year a report which led to some very necessary reforms. Those were days long before the philanthropist, John Howard, had begun his humane labours; and the condition of English prisons was so atrocious that at the present time it would be difficult to believe such statements as have been made, if they did not come to us on the best authority. The treatment of insolvent debtors was nearly as bad as that suffered by convicted criminals. The gaolers in both instances were often tyrants of the most corrupt and pitiless order; and while, for a bribe, they would permit all kinds of debauchery, they wreaked the vengeance of their cruelty on those who could not or would not purchase their favour. The indiscriminate herding together of men of every description of character, from the reckless and depraved to the simply unfortunate, generated a frightful amount of vice; and the overcrowding, combined with a total absence of sanitary precautions, resulted in contagious diseases which often spread beyond the enclosure of the prison walls. As regards prisoners for debt, the members of the Parliamentary Committee obtained by Oglethorpe discovered, in the course of their inquiries, that long detention in a gaol produced a degenerate habit of mind which it was exceedingly difficult to shake off. Dickens, in his story of "Little Dorrit," has described with subtle discrimination the slow but certain loss of self-respect and independence which comes upon the old inhabitant of a gaol—the listless indifference to change, the shrinking from exertion, the dread of the external world, the fatal gravitation again and again to the same wretched home, the familiarity with miserable shifts and ignoble arts, which come at length to be considered the most easy and natural way of meeting daily necessities. This effect was apparent in the prisoners who came under the observation of Oglethorpe and his fellow-members; and it was thought that nothing would be so likely to overcome their vicious tendency as a total change of scene, and the excitement of life in a new country.

A rich citizen of London had recently bequeathed his fortune to the Government for the purpose of liberating insolvent debtors from prison. One of the duties of the Parliamentary Committee was to select the most fitting objects for the receipt of this bounty; and Oglethorpe persuaded his associates to apply the money to a plan of colonisation, of which the southern deserts of Carolina should be the scene. The idea having been communicated to the Government, it was determined that the territory in question should be erected into a separate province, and called Georgia, in honour of the reigning King. The House of Commons passed successive votes of money, to be added to the sum left by the London citizen; and other resources were also forthcoming. A directly religious character was given to the movement by the proposal to convert the Indians, and by a public announcement that the right of citizenship in the new province, and all the pecuniary assistance which it was proposed to bestow on the original emigrants, would be equally conferred on Protestant settlers from any nation of Europe who might seek in those distant wilds a refuge from persecution. The offer was speedily accepted by a body of religious enthusiasts in Germany, known as the Moravians, Herrnhutters, or United Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The members of this body asserted of themselves that they had received, through successive generations which had always renounced the corruptions of Rome, the very principles of the primitive Apostolic Church. They were certainly in existence before the reformation of Luther, and were apparently a branch of the Hussites, or followers of the great Bohemian, John Huss. With the German reformers of the sixteenth century they speedily coalesced, while retaining some distinctive doctrines; and many of them settled in Moravia, and thus acquired the name by which they are most commonly known. Ultimately, their tenets took a strong Calvinistical colour, though they held to the Bohemian forms of discipline. In the Thirty Years' War, their settlements in Bohemia and Moravia were destroyed, and, after many migra-

tions, they were allowed, in 1722, to settle on the estate of Bethelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, belonging to the celebrated Count Zinzendorf, who became their bishop. It was from the neighbouring hill of Hutsberg, and the little town of Herrnhut, afterwards established at its base, that they derived the title of Herrnhutters; but they preferred to be known as the United Brethren. This designation arose from their admitting Protestants of all denominations into their confraternity, without requiring them to renounce their respective creeds, on condition that they conformed to the Moravian (or, more strictly speaking, Bohemian) rules of discipline.

The principles of the Moravians do not seem to differ materially from those of most Protestant bodies; but their practice is in some respects peculiar. Believing that the Spirit of God continues to enlighten inwardly those who pray for it, for the purpose of regulating their conduct, they invoke it in all circumstances of perplexity before coming to any decision. Each community is self-supporting and self-governing. It was at one time supposed that the Moravians held their goods in common; but this appears to have been an error, arising from the first settlers in America, who were poor men, putting their earnings into one stock, with a view to economy. The Moravians have some points of resemblance to the Quakers, but are perhaps, on the whole, more like the English Methodists, though their habits of life differ from those of all other sects. They hold every kind of war to be unlawful. Industry they regard as a branch of religion; and they retain the primitive practices of washing feet, and saluting with the kiss of holy love. Gaudiness of apparel, personal adornment, plays, games, dancing, and all promiscuous assemblages of the sexes, are strictly forbidden by their ordinances. The unmarried men and women live apart in separate assemblages, in each of which one of the members in rotation passes the night in watching and prayer. Religion is the rule of their life, and a certain sequestration from the world, though not to the extent that has been encouraged by the monastic orders of Roman Catholicism, is a distinguishing feature of their communities. Their intense and concentrated enthusiasm has enabled them to do much in the way of converting the heathen; but religious bodies so entirely at issue with the ordinary habits of human beings must always remain isolated from the mass of mankind. The Moravians are the gentlest of fanatics, yet they are fanatics none the less. They still exist in large numbers in the United States, and about the middle of last century acquired a considerable influence in England. That airy trifler, Christopher Anstey, made game of them in "The New Bath Guide."

> "I'm sorry to find, at the city of Bath,
> Many folk are uneasy concerning their faith:
> Nicodemus, the preacher, strives all he can do
> To quiet the conscience of good sister Prue;
> But Tabby from scruples of mind is released
> Since she met with a learned Moravian priest,
> Who says there is neither transgression nor sin,
> A doctrine that brings many customers in."

The ode which this learned Moravian priest composed on the death of his new-born infant, and which Anstey appends, was pronounced by Horace Walpole to be incomparable.* It appears to be founded on a real production of Count Zinzendorf's, contained in his Book of Hymns.

The Royal Charter of Georgia bears date the 9th of June, 1732. The separate province which it created was to extend from the Savannah in the north to the Alatamaha in the south, and from the head-springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific. Its government was vested for twenty-one years in a corporation of twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen, amongst whom were Anthony Ashley Cooper, fourth Earl of Shaftesbury (a descendant of the nobleman who played so important a part in the reign of Charles II., and who was concerned in the formation of the Carolina colonies), John Lord Percival, John Lord Tyrconnel, James Lord Limerick, George Lord Carpenter, James Edward Oglethorpe, and Stephen Hales. The last-named was a clergyman of the Church of England, who gave a large part of his mind to the study of science, and to its practical application to the needs of life. Some years later, Hales, like Oglethorpe, devoted much attention to the state of prisons; and a ventilating apparatus which he introduced into Newgate, and which was also employed in hospitals, the holds of ships, and other close and malarious places, reduced the mortality in a very remarkable degree. At the present day, Oglethorpe and Hales are the best-known members of that body to which were confided the early fortunes of Georgia. The legislative powers conferred on the corporation were to cease at the expiration of the prescribed term, and a permanent form of government was then to be established by the reigning monarch. In the meanwhile, the rule of the trustees was autocratical, and the common council which was to carry out their views on the spot was entirely the creation of their own will, without any admixture of a popular element. But these trustees were, by the terms of the charter, to hold their territory in trust for the poor; and they seem to have been, without an exception, men of

* Horace Walpole to George Montagu, June 20th, 1766.

the highest benevolence and honour. By their own request, they were restrained from receiving any grants of land, or any emolument whatever for their labours. The motto adopted for the colonial seal—*Non sibi, sed aliis* (Not for themselves, but others), in connection with a group of silkworms—truly expressed the position of the trustees towards the colonists. Not only did these disinterested workers give their time and trouble for nothing; they furnished large sums of money from their private fortunes for the maintenance of the settlers until they could create their own means of living. This benevolent example was followed by the titled and the rich; and by the late autumn of 1732 the new project was amply endowed with funds.

It was hoped that the plantation would be useful to the country in many ways. Wine was to be produced from the grapes which grew luxuriantly in that warm and brilliant climate. The silk-worms in the provincial seal were to be no vain device; for it was anticipated that raw silk, to a large annual value, would soon be imported from Georgia, the people of which would take English manufactures in exchange. At that time, England paid £500,000 a year to Piedmont for unmanufactured silk; and men persuaded themselves that this large sum would shortly be saved by the more profitable transactions of English manufacturers with English colonists. The olive also was to be cultivated, and Great Britain was to be supplied with oil from one of her own possessions, instead of seeking it in Italy. With these grand visions in his head, Oglethorpe undertook to accompany the first band of emigrants to their new home, and to act gratuitously as their Governor. He sailed from Gravesend on the 6th of November, 1732, together with about a hundred and twenty emigrants, including a few Piedmontese silk-workers, who took with them a quantity of silk-worms' eggs produced in their native land. The Moravian brethren formed no part of this small body. They were delayed in their passage from Germany to England, and in fact did not start until very nearly a year later. As it was thought imprudent to allow the public enthusiasm to cool on the subject of Georgian colonisation, Oglethorpe determined not to await their arrival, but to let them follow at their own convenience.

The English families under the direction of Oglethorpe included a number of bricklayers, carpenters, farmers, and other persons accustomed to industrial pursuits, who were provided with the tools and implements necessary to the exercise of their respective crafts. They were also furnished with fire-arms and swords, in the use of which they had been previously disciplined; and seventy-four pieces of cannon, together with a proportionate amount of ammunition, and materials for building forts, were sent over by the King. Supplies for a year after their reaching the colony, or until they should be able to provide for themselves, accompanied the adventurers. After a voyage of fifty-seven days, they arrived, early in 1733, off Charleston, where a cordial welcome awaited them. Governor Johnson recommended the Assembly of South Carolina to vote the emigrants a large supply of breeding cattle and various provisions; and the suggestion was cheerfully complied with. Attended by mounted rangers and scout-boats, furnished by the Carolinians, the strangers who were to form the advanced guard of Carolina against Spaniards and natives resumed their journey, and sailed for Port Royal, near the southern limits of South Carolina. The party landed at Beaufort, also within the same province; and Oglethorpe, ascending the Savannah, fixed on a high bluff overlooking the river as the most fitting situation for his contemplated town. On the 12th of February, according to the new style, the colonists arrived at the appointed spot in a small sloop and a few piraguas, and before evening they had encamped on the shore. A tent, protected by four pine-trees, formed for nearly a year the dwelling of Oglethorpe. A fort was speedily erected, and the men, aided by some skilled artisans from South Carolina, and amply supplied with provisions from the same source, were sent into the woods to fell trees for the building of huts.

Thus began the town of Savannah; but, humble as were the original structures, a plan was systematically pursued from the first. The streets were laid out with regularity; a public square formed the central point of each quarter; and all perplexing tortuosities were avoided. This character of precision attaches to the city at the present day. The houses consisted of a timber frame, measuring twenty-four feet by sixteen; the floors were of rough deals, the sides of unplaned boards, and the roofs of shingles. These dwellings did not vary as to size or appointments: Oglethorpe himself had no better residence than his carpenters and husbandmen. Five-and-forty years after, this hero of the desert inveighed, in the presence of Dr. Johnson, against luxurious indulgences, and quoted with enthusiasm certain lines from Addison's "Cato," in which Syphax praises the life of the Numidian hunter:—

> "Coarse are his meals,—the fortune of the chase.
> Amidst the running stream he slakes his thirst,
> Toils all the day, and, at the approach of night,
> On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
> Or rests his head upon a rock till morn:

> Then rises fresh, pursues his wonted game;
> And if the following day he chance to find
> A new repast, or an untasted spring,
> Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury."*

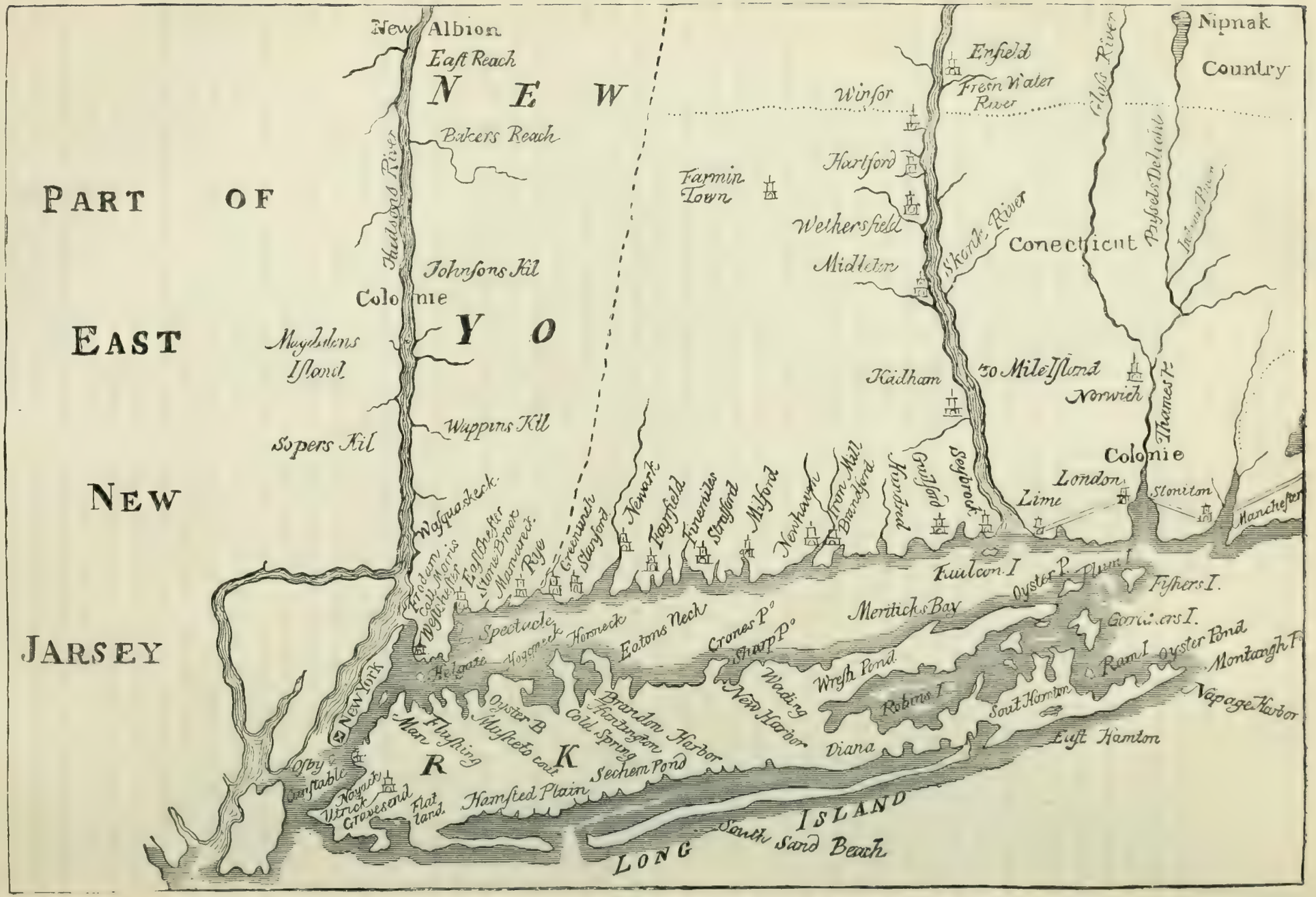
Johnson properly objected that refinement and elegance are the qualities which distinguish the civilised man from the savage; but the ability to lead a life not very dissimilar from that of the Numidian is a most useful accomplishment in the leader of a small band of men whose task is to conquer the desert. Such a life Oglethorpe followed in the woods and wilds of Georgia; and he was probably thinking of the old bygone days on the banks of the Savannah, when, having finished his quotation from Addison, he exclaimed, "Let us have *that* kind of luxury, sir, if you will!"†

The city of Savannah, when founded, was backed by the illimitable forest; but a portion of the cleared space was soon formed into a large garden, where fruits and vegetables — some introduced from Europe, others natural to the soil and climate — were grown by the colonists. The small band of Englishmen pursued an industrious life, for Oglethorpe was not the man to let them rust in idleness. In addition to their house-building and their cultivation of the ground, they had military duties to discharge. Their leader formed them into a militia, and exercised them frequently: a wise precaution in lands where hostile attack was at no time improbable. The tribe dwelling half a mile off, at Yamacraw, was not inclined to forget its allegiance; but the country generally was occupied by the Upper and Lower Creeks, whose disposition was as yet uncertain. An Indian woman, married to a Carolinian trader, undertook to act as interpreter, and Oglethorpe despatched by her an invitation to all the chiefs of the Creeks to hold a conference with him at Savannah. Fifty Indian sachems accordingly assembled in the month of June, and were addressed by Oglethorpe in a speech which vaunted the great power, wisdom, and wealth of the English nation, and set forth the many advantages that might result to the Indians from a friendly connection with the strangers. As the Indians had a superfluity of land, Oglethorpe hoped that they would not object to part with some of it for the benefit of the new-comers. This was granted, though the country south of the Savannah was claimed by the Creeks as belonging to them by right. So eager were these savages to prove their friendship that they offered to revenge the deaths of some Englishmen who had been killed by the Cherokees, if Oglethorpe would authorise it. But the offer was declined, and in the following year friendly relations were established with the Cherokees.

At the conference with the Creeks, reference was made by the principal of the Indian sachems to Tomo-chichi, the leader of the small tribe settled at Yamacraw—an old warrior, separated, together with his followers, from the main body of the Creek nation by the policy of Governor Moore, but regarded with general respect as a man of capacity and courage. Being summoned to appear, he approached timorously, and, addressing Oglethorpe, said, "Here is a little present." It consisted of a buffalo-skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle, he remarked, signified speed, and the buffalo strength: the eagle's feathers were soft, and signified love; the buffalo's skin was warm, and denoted protection. The English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since, like the first, they could fly from the uttermost parts of the earth over the vast seas, and, like the second, were so strong that nothing could withstand them. He hoped the English would accept the emblems of the eagle's feathers and the buffalo's skin, and extend their love and protection to the families of the Indians. The Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, so that they wanted nothing; while the same Power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who yet were in want of everything. It was therefore wise, in the opinion of Tomo-chichi, that the Creeks should resign to the English the lands they needed not for themselves, and, by permitting the English to settle among them, should create an opportunity for acquiring the arts of civilised life, which would add greatly to their comfort. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the English obtained sovereignty over the lands of the Creeks, as far south as the St. John's. Rules of commerce, and for the adjustment of disputes in conformity with the laws of England, were agreed to. The English undertook to form no new townships without previously giving notice to the Indian chiefs; the Indians promised that they would not permit any other race of white men to settle in the country.

During this interview, the native chiefs were presented with laced coats, hats, and shirts, and their attendants with some cloth. In addition to these presents, the Creeks had likewise given to them a quantity of gunpowder, bullets, pipes, tobacco, different coloured tapes, Irish linen, and eight kegs of

* Act I., sc. 4. † Boswell.



NEW YORK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From Mather's "Magnalia."*)

rum, to take home to their several towns. An alliance was concluded in 1734 with the Natchez —an arrangement which greatly enhanced the security of the colony. The first crop of Indian corn, yielding a thousand bushels, was reaped by the planters the same year; two additional bodies of emigrants arrived from the old country; and the



JOHN WESLEY.

town of Augusta was laid out. Returning to England in the spring of 1734, Oglethorpe was accompanied by Tomo-chichi, his wife, Senauki, their son, Tooanakowki, and Hillispilli, one of their war-captains. On the 1st of August, Tomo-chichi had an interview with the King at Kensington Palace, when he is said to have made the following speech:—

"This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago made with the English. I am come over in my old days, though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creek that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flyeth all round our nations: these feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great King, as a sign of everlasting peace. O great King, whatsoever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations." To this speech the King replied: "I am glad of

this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come. I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them; and accept very gratefully this present as an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between them and my own subjects, and shall be glad of any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship and esteem."

The old chieftain then addressed the Queen saying:—"I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the Mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your Majesty's, we humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children." Tomi-chichi and his wife were dressed in scarlet and gold; but Hillispilli, the war captain, and the other attendants, were extremely desirous of appearing at court in their national costume, or rather semi-costume, for their entire clothing consisted of nothing but a covering round the waist. From this, however, they were dissuaded by Oglethorpe; yet they presented themselves with their faces fantastically painted with bearded arrows and other devices, according to the custom of their country. During their stay in England of about four months the Creek visitors were very sumptuously entertained both at court, and at the houses of the nobility and other distinguished persons. Twenty pounds a week were allowed them for the expenses of the table. When they left England for America, on the 30th of October, they took back with them presents to the value of £400, including a gold watch, which the young Duke of Cumberland gave to Tomo-chichi, with an exhortation to him to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked at it. For these and all the other favours shown them, the Creeks promised eternal fidelity to England. On their return to America, they were accompanied by Sir Francis Bathurst with his family and servants, besides many of the relations of the planters already settled in Georgia.

In speaking of the government and religion of the Creek nation in a letter from the new colony, Oglethorpe observed that there seemed to be a door open for the conversion of the Indians there. "I have had," he wrote, "many conversations with their chief men, the whole tenor of which shows there is nothing wanting to their conversion but one who understands their language well, to explain to them the mysteries of religion; for as to the moral part of Christianity, they understand and assent to it. They abhor adultery, and do not approve of plurality of wives." Oglethorpe further remarked that theft, though frequent among the Uchees, was unknown amongst the Creeks, and that the latter looked upon murder with abhorrence, although the killing of an enemy they did not consider murder. The two great obstacles to their becoming Christians appeared to him to be revenge, which they termed honour, and drunkenness, which they had learned from our traders. "But upon both these points," continued Oglethorpe, "they hear reason; and with respect to drinking of rum, I have weaned those near me a good deal from it. As for revenge, they say, as they have no executive power of justice amongst them, they are forced to kill the man who has injured them, in order to prevent others from doing the like; but they do not think that any injury, except adultery or murder, deserves revenge." With the courage of the Indians, Oglethorpe seems to have been much impressed. He relates in the same letter that one of the Cherokees who had come to him upon a rumour of war was told that he need fear nothing, but might speak freely; to which he replied, "I always speak freely; what should I fear? I am now among my friends, and I never feared even among my enemies." Oglethorpe exaggerated the virtue and capacity of the Indians; but the mistake was characteristic of the generous nature of the man; and it was at any rate far better than the opposite error of an ignorant or jealous depreciation, the natural fruit of which is seen in tyranny, injustice, and bloodshed.

CHAPTER LVI.

Arrival of Moravian Emigrants in Georgia - Founding of the Town of Ebenezer - Energy and Benevolence of Oglethorpe - Defective Laws of the Colony - The Question of Slavery - Colony of Highlanders established on the Alatamaha - Religious Revival in England - John and Charles Wesley - Return of Oglethorpe to Georgia, after his Visit to England, in Company with the Wesleys - Incidents of the Voyage - John Wesley and the Moravians - Wesley's Contentious Habits in Georgia - The Occasion of his sudden Departure for England - Temporary Estrangement of Oglethorpe from the Wesleys - Military Measures taken by Oglethorpe, and Enlargement of the Boundaries of Georgia - Interview of a Spanish Messenger with Oglethorpe - Threatenings of War - Preparations for Encountering a Spanish Invasion - Second Visit of Oglethorpe to England - Dissensions and Discontent in the Province - State of Opinion in England - Return of Oglethorpe to Georgia with a Regiment of Six Hundred Men - Conference with the Indians, and Final Arrangements for Defence.

Previous to Oglethorpe's starting for England, in April, 1734, the Moravian emigrants had arrived in Georgia. They left their German home on the 31st of October, 1733, conveying their few chattels in one wagon, and their wives and children in another. Making their way by slow stages to Frankfort, they passed down the Maine, the Rhine, and the Maas, to Rotterdam. From Rotterdam they sailed to Dover, where several of the Georgian trustees visited them, and provided for their wants; but their stay in that town was not prolonged. In January, 1734, they quitted England for America, and on arriving at Charleston were received by Oglethorpe, who conducted them to the infant settlement of Savannah. But it was determined that they should form a distinct colony apart from that of the English; and Oglethorpe, having furnished them with horses, placed himself at their head, and, with the aid of Indian guides, conducted them across morasses and swollen streams, which it was necessary to bridge with the trunks of fallen trees, to a spot which appeared fit for the contemplated purpose. A little stream crept through the shadowy silence of the forest, and a clear space of ground offered itself for the erection of huts. Since the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the rock of Plymouth, no colonists in America had sat themselves down in a wilder and less hopeful locality. But while, in the earlier settlement, the English Puritans had the great highway of the world, the ocean, at their feet, and were placed under a climate which was healthy in its very rigour as soon as fitting shelter could be procured, the Moravians in Georgia found themselves in a woody and watery solitude, removed from the sea, and surrounded by climatic influences unfavourable to any human beings, and especially to those of European origin. Nevertheless, the poor wanderers were glad to reach a place of rest, where they could hope to turn their labour to account. They called the little stream, and the town that was to arise on its banks, Ebenezer—a name importing that the Lord had helped them thus far. In imitation of Samuel after his discomfiture of the Philistines,* they raised a column of stone in gratitude to God for having brought them in safety to that distant land.

The absence of Oglethorpe in England was felt by his colonists in Georgia. His activity, benevolence, and spirit were of the highest service to the struggling settlement, and he kept all in heart by his own energy and determination. Johnson, the Governor of South Carolina, said he was certain to succeed, because he nobly devoted all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their misery. The Moravian pastor at Ebenezer testified that he bore a great love to the servants and children of God, and that others could not in many years have accomplished what he had brought about in one. His absence was rendered all the more unfortunate by the total want of self-governing powers among the colonists. The laws which the trustees had imposed on the emigrants were not in all ways the best-fitted for a new community in a new land. They had in them too much of the mediæval spirit of feudalism, and in some matters interfered too strictly with personal freedom. The trustees could not get rid of their old English notion that colonies should be governed in a parental way by arbitrary edicts. In one respect, the very excellence of the laws was against them. Slavery was prohibited in Georgia, and the people in a little while began to desire its introduction. Oglethorpe said that slavery was opposed, not only to the fundamental law of England, but to the Gospel; and the trustees refused to pass any law permitting so great a crime. Besides, it was intended to make Georgia a place of refuge for the distressed, and slaves ruin the free labourer by a disastrous competition. But the better class of emigrants—that is to say, those the least accustomed to hard work—asked for the assistance of servile hands in little more than two years from the beginning of the colony.

* I. Samuel vii. 12.

One of the worst provisions of the trustees, in the exercise of their legislative powers, was that which enacted that grants of land should be made only in tail male; in other words, that women should be rendered incapable of succeeding to landed property. By virtue of this ordinance, the estate of any deceased proprietor dying without sons was to revert as a lapsed fief to the trustees, in order to be again granted to another colonist; but compensation was to be given to the unmarried daughters of those proprietors who had improved their lands. The widows also were entitled during their lives to the mansion house (a rather delusive term in a young colony of wooden hovels), and to one-half of the land improved by their husbands. This regulation was introduced in order to hinder the accumulation of many estates in the hands of one person—a result which might have been better effected by the equal division of landed property among all the children of a proprietor; but, whatever the motive, the practice was felt to be a great hardship by those who had only female children, and it had the effect, in time, of driving many colonists out of Georgia into other provinces. To several it was a cause of complaint that they could only hold their lands as a military fief, for which they were bound, whenever called on, to appear in arms and take the field; but this seems to have been necessary to secure one of the chief objects for which the colony was established—that is, the defence of the southern frontiers against the Spaniards and their Indian allies. Other enactments were to the effect that every inhabitant must have a licence before he could quit the province; that a licence was necessary for trade with the Indians; that there was to be no trade with the West Indies; and that rum was not to be imported into the colony. The regulation of commerce with the Indians may have been justifiable as a means of preventing those instances of rapacity and unfair dealing which had so frequently led to bloody reprisals; but the other restrictions were unwise. The prohibition of trade with the West Indies was in order to enforce the exclusion of rum, and rum was excluded in the hope of enforcing temperance. The hot, humid, and depressing climate of Georgia, however, rendered some use of ardent spirits a necessity to men who had to toil at exhausting labours in steaming swamps, or in the heavy air of semi-tropical vegetation. As might have been expected, the prohibition could not be maintained, and smuggling was carried on with success, as the only means of evading an irksome though well-meant law.

The people of South Carolina were so struck with the impolitic nature of these restrictions, that they reckoned on the willingness of many of the Georgian settlers to escape their operation, and accordingly invited them to cross the borders into the older settlement. Some accepted the invitation; others remained, but in a mood of discontent which took away from their capacity of hearty work. They complained in particular of the denial to them of negro slaves, alleging that men of English birth were unable in such a climate to hew down the immense forests by which the ground was covered, and to perform the other operations necessary to the growth of crops. A few years before, an Act had been passed by the English Parliament for encouraging the trade of Carolina, by permitting the merchants and planters of that province to export rice directly to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre. The culture of rice is especially trying to European constitutions, and therefore likely in a particular degree to encourage a resort to slave-labour. It had had that effect in the Carolinas; yet the trustees of Georgia, while forbidding slavery in their domain, applied for and obtained an extension of the Act to the province newly settled. The colony was in truth not very wisely ruled, excepting in the personal superintendence of Oglethorpe; and want of political wisdom in the governors was met by deficient energy in the governed. The listless habits engendered by long imprisonment for debt did not readily yield, as had been hoped, to the stimulus of a new colony. The emigrants were ill-fitted to the task they had undertaken, and, in the absence of Oglethorpe's directing genius, the experiment languished. The best settlers were the Moravians, of whom an additional number went over in 1735. All of these religious enthusiasts made it a stipulation with the trustees that they were not to be employed in war, and that they should be exempted from military service.

While in England, Oglethorpe lost no opportunity of advancing the interests of his colony. Parliament voted more money for carrying out the project, and new emigrants were despatched to the banks of the Savannah. Among these were some from Scotland. It had been thought advisable to commit the defence of the settlement to a bold and hardy race of men; and as there was a fashion in those days, of considering that bold and hardy men were only to be found in the Highlands (though Dr. Johnson once observed that a number of boys chosen at random out of the streets of London would cuff an equal number of Highland boys), a hundred and fifty Gaelic peasants were despatched to Georgia, to flourish their claymores,

if need were, in the face of all comers. To these adventurers was assigned a tract of land on the Alatamaha, the boundary, as England contended, between her territories and those of Spain. Here they built a town, to which they gave the name of New Inverness, and a fort, which, in memory of the unsuccessful attempt at colonisation made several years before by Paterson and his countrymen, they called Darien. They were followed by other Scotch settlers, who formed a little clan apart from the English and German emigrants, preserved their national manners, and rejoiced in their national dress, which, probably from a certain affinity to their own, moved a profound admiration in the minds of the savages. After the return of Oglethorpe to Georgia, he visited these Scotchmen at Darien; and, perhaps because his mother was connected with the house of Argyll, appeared before them in kilt and bonnet.

Among the acquaintances made by Oglethorpe in England was one of the most remarkable men of that era. From age to age, society is agitated by what are called religious revivals, when a sudden and passionate impulse is given to the devotional sentiment—a sentiment that is prone, when not specially stimulated, to fall into routine ways, and decent languors of acquiescence. Action and reaction are the great rules of human progress, if that can be called progress which so often consists in undoing what has been done during the last fifty years, and doing over again what had been accomplished in the fifty years before. In the early part of George II.'s reign, there had been no great religious revival in England since the days of the Commonwealth. The country seems to have been exhausted by the fanaticism which had found its vent in such a Babel of sects, such a wrangle of creeds, such a riot and hubbub of contentious, embittered, and sometimes insane voices. With the return of Charles II., the swing of the pendulum inclined to repose, and long continuance of repose begot a species of indifference. The Church of England required little else than that people should pay their tithes, and acknowledge, or at least not openly dispute, her supremacy. Even the Dissenters were a much more quiet set of preachers than the sectaries of an earlier time. As Defoe to Bunyan, so were the Nonconformists of the post-Restoration period to the Puritans of the days when New England was founded, and when Presbyterian divines held session at Westminster. The High Church movement of the reign of Anne, when Sacheverell was the idol of mobs and Tories, was political, not religious. It scarcely even affected to touch any of the great feelings which lie at the heart of belief. The age was one in which people were not enthusiastic about anything. Compromise and expediency ruled the political world; wit, correctness, and sense, were the three deities of literature. Even poetry, the most emotional of the arts next to music, partook of the general frigidity and restraint. Since the last organ notes of Milton, there had been hardly a line in English verse which could be said to throb with the passion of beauty, of grandeur, of terror, or of love. Society shrank from all vehement manifestations of power; and this fastidiousness was to the full as observable in religion as in anything else. A set of writers had arisen, who, under the name of Deists, sought to give to religion the character of philosophy. The teachings of Hobbes of Malmesbury had had a great effect of this nature; and the writings of men like Blount, Toland, Collins, Tindal, Chubb, Lord Bolingbroke, and the third Lord Shaftesbury, showed how deep an influence such opinions had exercised over the intellectual world. Even so decided a Christian as Locke based his faith on reason rather than on ecstasy. When a student at Oxford, he commended the ancient religion of Pagan Rome for its avoidance of multifarious and perplexing tenets, its simplicity, rationality, and toleration.* Later in life, he defended the freedom of the intellect with a boldness which was displeasing to the bigots of all schools; and, at the very same epoch, the Latitudinarian clergy, led by Cudworth, Whichcote, Henry More, Tillotson, and others, and preceded by Chillingworth, were weakening the force of dogma by the infusion of charity. That the religious bodies generally felt these influences in some degree, can hardly be questioned. It would almost seem as if they had endeavoured to disarm opposition by conceding something, both in spirit and manner, to the ideas and methods of the adversary.

In the midst of so profound a calm, the voices of John Wesley and of his younger brother, Charles, were heard speaking with a startling earnestness. These young men had been fellow-students at Christchurch, Oxford, where they were members of a small body of enthusiasts known to the less devout as the Holy Club, the Godly Club, the Bible Moths, the Bible Bigots, the Sacramentarians, and the Methodists. The persons so called communicated once and fasted twice a week. They visited the prisons and the sick, gave largely in charity, and devoted much of their time to prayer, meditation, and self-examining. One of the members of

* Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne has brought to light an essay on this subject written by Locke about the year 1660, while studying at Christchurch, Oxford.

this body is said to have shortened his life by the severity of his mortifications; and with all of them religion was as much a disease as a conviction. The two Wesleys came of a family which had long been connected with the Church, and they resolved to give their own lives to the ministry. Both were in holy orders when Oglethorpe, during his stay in England, made their acquaintance. Though very much a man of the world and of society, and not entirely free from faults of disposition and temper, Oglethorpe was charmed with the character of the Wesleys. Speaking on behalf of the Georgian trustees, he begged of them to accept ecclesiastical appointments in the new American colony. To this proposal they assented; and Dr. Burton, a clergyman much older than themselves, and better acquainted with the complexities of human character, urged them to observe some moderation in their zeal, and not to risk the opportunity of doing good by unnecessarily opposing themselves to the habits of the society they found. He might have spared himself his trouble. The brothers Wesley were not the men to mitigate their zeal in the hope of effecting a compromise. They were for lashing what they regarded as the criminal lethargy of the age into a delirium of spiritual excitement; and there can be no doubt that they left England with the full intention of creating in Georgia a great religious revival, such as might react on the country that had sent them forth.

They set sail in October, 1735, together with Oglethorpe and about three hundred passengers, amongst whom were a hundred and seventy German Moravians. The vessel also carried a large quantity of military stores, and wisely, as the event afterwards proved, for the Spaniards were not inclined to give up Georgia without a struggle. The voyage of the emigrants was long and tedious, and afforded the Wesleys a favourable opportunity of impressing their religious ideas on the unconverted. John Wesley kept a Journal throughout his long life, and, writing of this voyage, he says:—"Our common way of living was this. From four of the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven, we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve, I usually learned German, and M. Delamotte Greek. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another of what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four were the evening prayers; when either the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechised and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven, I read in our cabin to two or three of the English passengers, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us."

A terrible storm took place while they were at sea, and Wesley was humiliated to find that he shrank from death, and that in this respect he was far below the Moravians. "I had long before," he writes in his Journal, "observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, 'It was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over us, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'"

One may see in these extracts the determination of Wesley to subordinate the whole life to religion; although at that time he had not, according to his own subsequent opinion, attained to true ideas of Christianity—had not passed through that "new birth" which, in the phraseology of Methodism, is necessary to the state of grace. His influence in Georgia was not, on the whole, very happy.



VISIT OF OGLETHORPE TO THE HIGHLAND COLONY.

He did not possess the art of conciliation; or rather he scorned and repudiated all such arts, as a renunciation of principle, and a concession to the devil. His enthusiasm and industry effected some conversions, but his intellectural arrogance, impetuous temper, and harsh rigidity of morals, offended many who might perhaps have been won by a softer method.

Wesley was a man of great earnestness and sincerity, with many noble qualities of mind and soul; but he had the faults of fanaticism. The advice of Dr. Burton, who, as President of Christ Church, Oxford, was well acquainted with the nature of the two brothers, would have saved a great deal of painful dissension had it been followed. It was contained in a letter to John Wesley—a lettter characterised by excellent sense and feeling, to which the position of the writer, as one of the trustees for Georgia, should have given additional weight. "You will keep in view," said Dr. Burton, "the pattern of the Gospel preacher, St. Paul, who became all things to all men, that he might save some. Here is a nice trial of Christian prudence. Accordingly, in every case you will distinguish between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is divine, and what is of human authority. I mention this because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases; and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on with more rigour than the commandments of God, to which they are subordinate. Singularities of less importance are often espoused with more zeal than the weighty matters of God's law. As in all points we love ourselves, so, especially, in our hypotheses. Where a man has, as it were, a property in a notion, he is most industrious to improve it, and that in proportion to the labour of thought he has bestowed upon it; and, as its value rises in imagination, he is, in proportion, unwilling to give it up, and dwells upon it more pertinaciously than upon considerations of general necessity and use. This is a flattering mistake, against which we should guard ourselves."*

It is much to be regretted that these suggestions were not more taken to heart. The Wesleys, however, were bent on having their own way, and the elder brother, in particular, made himself disliked by his intemperate zeal. He got into vehement personal disputes with several of the colonists, and attracted to himself a number of hypocritical converts, who soon contrived to make a world of mischief. Though afterwards instrumental in founding a great nonconforming sect, the Wesleys were clergymen of the Church of England, and John was at this period disposed to assert the claims of that Church with much haughtiness. His father, it is worthy of note, had been so high a churchman that he composed the speech delivered by Sacheverell before the House of Lords. Sacheverell, on the other hand, was the grandson of a Puritan minister. At a later period of life, John Wesley would probably have acted with more discretion; but he was never much disposed to compromise. In the days of his youth, he seems to have regarded himself as a kind of spiritual knight-errant. He rebuked his people in the sharpest way for their sins, real or supposed. He set one against another by his infuriate innuendoes; all Savannah was in a flame of anger, jealousy, and recrimination. Added to this, the doctrines he preached were so strange and mystical that no one could understand what he meant. Not long afterwards he discovered that, although he had gone out to America to convert others, he was not himself converted. He certainly had not been converted to the practice of Paul by the exhortations of Dr. Burton. The fruit of his error was seen in the multiplication of disputes and quarrels, in which he and others were concerned; and at length he found it advisable to quit the plantation.

His stay in Georgia extended over nearly two years—from the early part of 1736 to December, 1737, when, as he says, he shook the dust of the colony off his feet, and returned to England. His brother Charles, who acted as Oglethorpe's secretary, had left nearly a year before, with despatches for London; gladly abandoning a land the hardships of which he was not fitted to endure, and where the solitude depressed him with the yearnings of home-sickness. Neither brother did anything towards converting the Indians, as the agitated condition of the colony rendered such an enterprise very difficult. The character of the English settlers, also, was a poor inducement to the red men to follow the religion they professed; and Tomo-chichi, when solicited on the subject, spoke very pungently in that sense. The influence of the Wesleys on Georgia was slight, and for the most part vexatious.

Before the departure of John Wesley, Oglethorpe, while giving him a general support, had endeavoured, though in vain, to mitigate the acrimony of his zeal, and to warn him against the danger of being misled by hypocritical pretenders to sanctity. Unfortunately, Oglethorpe shortly afterwards put himself in a position not the best fitted for an adviser, however excellent the advice itself. Among the emigrants were two women whom misconduct had driven out of England, but who now professed great penitence and religious fervour.

* Memoir of General James Oglethorpe, by Robert Wright (1867), Appendix.

Wesley was entirely persuaded of the sincerity of their conversion: Oglethorpe doubted it, and warned his clerical friend that he would have cause to repent his credulity. Strange to say, if we may rely on the statements of Charles Wesley, Oglethorpe himself, not long after, fell completely under the sway of one of these women, who persuaded him that the Wesleys were libelling his character, conspiring against his power, fomenting mutiny and rebellion among the colonists, and intriguing with the Spaniards. Under the influence of these delusions, he treated the Wesleys with harshness and violence; but the fever of injustice was of short duration. A serious illness, which endangered his life, brought him to a more fitting condition of mind, and, making his peace with the Wesleys, he continued through life a devoted and affectionate friend.* With the colonists generally, Oglethorpe got on not much better than with the clerical brothers. He attempted to rule despotically, and provoked a degree of opposition which he could not control. The planters were often at issue with the Governor, and were not always in the wrong as regards their view of affairs.

Yet the founder of Georgia made himself popular in some quarters. We have seen that he flattered the Highlanders; he also took care to visit the Moravians at Ebenezer, and to praise their husbandry, which seems to have been excellent. These quiet and industrious Germans gave themselves largely to the culture of raw silk, of which, in a few years' time, they exported ten thousand pounds annually. Indigo was also grown by them; and whatever they did was done by their own free hands. Negro slavery they consistently opposed, and always contended that the white man was able to toil even in the exhausting heat of that portion of America. The visit of Oglethorpe to this settlement was in the year 1736. One of his objects in the general survey which he at that time undertook, was to adopt measures for the defence of the colony against a contemplated attack by the Spaniards. After quitting the Moravian towns, he turned southward, passing in a scout-boat through narrow inland channels between the sea-islands and the continent, where the brilliant green of the salt tide was overhung by drooping woods of pine, cedar, and evergreen oak. On St. Simon's Island he cleared a site for the future city of Frederica, by setting fire to the long grass of a deserted field. A fort was then constructed on the centre of a bluff commanding the principal mouth of the Alatamaha. It consisted of four bastions, and was built of a substance called tabby, formed by mixing water and lime with shells or gravel. This, when dry, makes a hard rocky mass, and the ruins of Frederica fort may still be seen, or at least were in existence not many years ago. The work served to protect not only the entrance to the river, but the newly formed town, the streets of which, consisting of rows of huts, covered by the smooth and shining leaves of the palmetto, and backed by the heavy umbrage of ancient forests, soon rose along the western side of the small island. Leaving this spot, Oglethorpe proceeded still farther south, accompanied by some of the Highlanders from Darien, and, on the island now called Cumberland, near the mouth of the St. Mary's, marked out a fort which was to receive the designation of St. Andrew's. Again proceeding on his way, Oglethorpe claimed the St. John's river as the southern boundary of the English possessions. This was including much more than the Georgian charter had asserted; for the St. John's is far south of the Alatamaha, and is comprised in what is still regarded as Florida. At the mouth of this river the Governor erected another fort, called Fort St. George: but it was subsequently abandoned, and the river St. Mary's became the southern limit of Georgia. The more extreme claim was based by Oglethorpe on the fact that the territory in question was in possession of Indian subjects of England at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht; but Spain of course did not admit such an argument as of any worth. Her representatives in Florida prepared to resist the pretensions of the English Governor of Georgia. Oglethorpe's messengers to St. Augustine, by whom a statement of the English claims was conveyed, were detained as prisoners. It was evident that a collision between the two races was close at hand.

In the latter part of 1736, Oglethorpe received a message from the Governor of St. Augustine (the garrison of which had been largely reinforced), informing him that a Spanish commissioner had arrived from Havannah, charged with a communication which he desired to deliver personally to the Governor of Georgia. Oglethorpe gave him an interview, and the question of boundaries was discussed, but without effect. The Spaniard peremptorily demanded that the English should evacuate the entire country south of St. Helena's Sound—that is to say, the whole of Georgia, and a small portion of South Carolina; failing which, the King of Spain would at once take measures for the vindication of his rights. So excessive a demand was immediately rejected, and the envoy departed with

* The circumstances attending this painful rupture are related by Mr. Robert Wright, in his "Memoir of General James Oglethorpe" (1867), with some fulness. There appears to have been a great deal of misapprehension on both sides.

renewed menaces. The situation was rendered more serious by the fact that a war had broken out in Europe between France and the German Empire, and that, as Great Britain was expected to take the side of the latter, the Governors of Canada and Louisiana had received orders to invade the least defensible frontiers of the English possessions in America. Had events in Europe followed the anticipated course, it is probable that the French would have joined the Spaniards in attacking Georgia; but peace was fortunately restored before the mischief could be effected, and Oglethorpe had only to guard his colony against an inroad from the south. Still, the danger was considerable, as the defensive force of the province was but slight. The home Government had recently granted an additional sum of £10,000, to defray the expenses of the forts which Oglethorpe had built at Augusta, Darien, Frederica, and the two southern rivers, and to maintain garrisons in them; but of thoroughly trained soldiers the colony had none, and not much material out of which they could be fashioned. The Governor had been promised succours from England, but they had not yet arrived; and his chief dependence for the time was on the Indian tribes who had vowed friendship two or three years before, and who now renewed their expressions of devotion by appearing in war-paint at the English settlements, and dancing the war-dance. Conceiving that it was absolutely necessary to rouse the King's Ministers to more energetic exertions, Oglethorpe left Georgia for England on the 23rd of November, 1736.

Dissensions and discontent marked the period of his absence. A rupture nearly occurred between Georgia and South Carolina in 1737, owing to the magistrates of Savannah seizing and imprisoning certain Carolinian traders who were smuggling rum up the river to Augusta; but the matter was settled by a compromise. The grievances of an oppressive land tenure, and of the prohibition of slavery, still rankled in the minds of the English settlers; and emigration to South Carolina went on to a serious extent. The freeholders of Savannah and its vicinity drew up a remonstrance to the Georgian trustees, in which they argued that they could never successfully cultivate their estates unless they were placed on a footing of equality with the Carolinas. They therefore solicited, with much urgency, a free title of absolute property to their lands, and permission to import negroes. At the very time when the people of Savannah were making these representations, the other colonists were giving practical evidence that the alleged necessity was not real. The successful industry of the Moravians moved John Wesley to an expression of delighted astonishment. These religious brethren had by 1737 established a school and mission among the Creek Indians, had repaid to the Georgian trustees the money advanced to enable them to emigrate, and had even assisted others less fortunate or less careful than themselves. The Scotch at Darien also made progress without the aid of servile labour, and even protested against its introduction as at once a wickedness and a danger. But the indolent and shiftless settlers whom Oglethorpe had selected from among the London prisoners for debt, wanted to lead the lives of territorial lords on the compulsory toil of miserable bondsmen.

Oglethorpe did not make very rapid progress with his affairs in England. The national feeling was strongly aroused by the pretensions of Spain, and by the frequent seizures of English vessels trading between the West Indies and Spanish America, on the plea that they were engaged in smuggling contraband articles. But Sir Robert Walpole was eminently a peace Minister. He disliked the expense of war, and perhaps also its bloodshed and cruelty, for he was a good-natured, though a profligate, man. Nevertheless, Oglethorpe received a commission as Brigadier-General, and was appointed to a command extending over South Carolina as well as Georgia. He himself raised and disciplined a regiment of six hundred men, to each of whom the Georgian trustees assigned twenty-five acres of land as the price of seven years' service. Parliament voted an additional sum of £20,000; and in 1738 Oglethorpe returned to his province. He was welcomed at Savannah by salutes and bonfires; but when it was found that he brought with him no concessions as regarded either the tenure of land or the importation of negroes, and that, with respect to the latter in particular, he declared that he would leave the colony if slaves were introduced into it, his popularity in some degree declined. By the native tribes, however, he was regarded with the utmost enthusiasm. He had by this time acquired some knowledge of the Indian language, and the red men appealed to him, as to a father, whenever they needed counsel. The Chickasaws and the Creeks, about a couple of years before, had repelled an attack of the French with great valour and signal success. This had greatly increased their self-confidence, and they were prepared to give Oglethorpe the utmost assistance in their power in any struggle with Spain. In the summer of 1739, the English Governor attended the war-council of the Muscogees at Cusitas on the Chattahouchee, and, advancing into the large

square of the council place, distributed presents, talked with the warriors in friendly language, drank with them, and smoked with them. The result of the interview was an agreement that the ancient friendship of the tribes for the English should be confirmed; that the lands from the St. John's to the Savannah, and between the sea and the mountains, should be considered as belonging of ancient right to the Muscogees: that the cession to the English of the lands on the Savannah as far as the Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's as far into the interior as the tide flowed, should be renewed, with a few reservations; and that the entrance to the rest of the domain should be barred for ever against the Spaniards.* During the absence of Oglethorpe, the officials at St. Augustine had made several attempts to corrupt the Creeks, but without effect. The tribes were personally attached to Oglethorpe, and the kindness with which he treated them confirmed their amity. It was now certain that they could be relied on as a faithful and an efficient force against the enemy. The colony was provided with several forts, of not contemptible strength; six hundred effective soldiers were at the General's command; and Oglethorpe felt that he was in a position to encounter the Spaniards with a fair probability of success.

CHAPTER LVII.

Demand in England for War with Spain—Mutual Complaints of Spain and England—Convention with the Spanish Government—Dissatisfaction of the English People with the Convention—Declaration of War against Spain—Measures taken by Oglethorpe in Georgia—His Expedition into Florida—Blockade of St. Augustine—Ineffectual Bombardment, and Abandonment of the Attempt—Dissension between Oglethorpe and the Carolinians—Unfortunate Character of the War generally—Measures of the English Government—South Carolina and her Slaves—Cruelties practised on the Negroes—Invasion of Georgia by the Spaniards—Oglethorpe at Frederica—Defeat of the Enemy at Bloody Marsh—Attempted Attack on the Spaniards defeated by Treachery—Oglethorpe's Stratagem—Retreat of the Invaders—Return of Oglethorpe to England—Changes in the Constitution of Georgia—Progress of that Province and of South Carolina—Manners and Habits of the Georgians.

While Oglethorpe was making his preparations in Georgia for repelling the contemplated attack of the Spaniards, the question of peace or war with Spain was being fiercely agitated in England. Sir Robert Walpole had the utmost difficulty to withstand the attacks of the war-party, headed by Pulteney, for the country was in a fury of excitement on the alleged outrages of the Spaniards on English merchant-ships and English sailors. It is unquestionable that the King of Spain had, by his representatives in the New World, committed some very high-handed acts of search and confiscation, and it is probable that, in several instances, entirely innocent persons had been made to suffer. But it is equally clear that a great many English merchants had for years been largely engaged in illicit traffic with the Spanish colonies. An immense contraband trade had arisen, and was assiduously carried on by slave-ships and coasting vessels, under every pretext which ingenuity could suggest. The colonial commerce of Spain was nearly ruined, and it is not surprising that the Spanish monarch, after complaints which met with no response, should have directed his officers to take measures of protection and redress. Yet when, in the execution of these orders, the naval commanders of Spain proceeded to board and search every English vessel entering the Gulf of Mexico, and to seize and appropriate several ships the cargoes and destinations of which were perfectly regular, it is easy to understand that the anger of the English nation was roused to an almost uncontrollable height. It is said that many English sailors were forced to work as slaves in the mines of Potosi, and that ships were searched even when sailing to and from British plantations. Yet the Government did nothing but make feeble representations, which received only evasive replies. Pope satirised the timidity or want of patriotism of the Ministry, and Johnson, then a young man, exclaimed in indignant verses that English honour had grown a standing jest, and asked whether there was "no peaceful desert, yet unclaimed by Spain," to which the poor and the oppressed could have recourse.† The popular feeling was at this time much inflamed by a story told at the bar of the House of Commons by a certain Captain Robert Jenkyns, who alleged that, on his vessel being

* Bancroft.

† London, a Poem in imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal; written in 1738.

searched, the Spaniards had cut off one of his ears. He was asked by a member of the House what were his feelings when in the hands of such barbarians. He replied, "I commended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." The story, the exhibition of the mutilated ear, and the terse little epigrammatic sentence, were worth an army of votes to the leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition. "We have no need of allies," said Pulteney, "to enable us to command justice: the story of Jenkyns will raise volunteers." On the other hand, the Ministerialists insinuated that Jenkyns was no better than a pirate and a vagabond, and had probably on some occasion lost his ear in the pillory. Walpole, however, found he could no longer resist the popular feeling altogether, though he still resolved, if it could possibly be effected, to baffle the national desire for war.

The case was eminently one for compromise, since neither side was entirely in the right. In the first instance, certain Englishmen had committed a series of wrongful acts, of which Spain was the victim; and then Spain had protected herself by measures which were beyond all reason and justice, and to which no nation of spirit could submit. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the court of Madrid, and on the 14th of January, 1739, a convention was signed by the two nations, by which the King of Spain, while demanding of the South Sea Company £68,000 due to him for his share of their profits, agreed to pay, as an indemnity to British merchants for losses sustained by



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unwarranted seizures, £95,000. As regards the question of boundaries, it was provided that the actual possessions of each nation were to remain without change until commissioners could make a final settlement. But Spain gave not the slightest intimation of a willingness to withdraw her extreme territorial claims, and Walpole so far conceded them as to engage that the fortifications in Georgia and Carolina should be arrested until the commissioners had come to their decision. Nor did contempt and ridicule caricatures represented the well-known figure of Walpole doing all kinds of disgraceful acts; and ballads and pamphlets out of number contributed still further to bring the existing Government into odium. The Georgian trustees, together with the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, addressed the House of Commons against the convention; and the former presented a petition for assistance to the King, who commanded his Ministers to take effectual measures



A PLANTER'S HOUSE IN GEORGIA.

the Spanish sovereign renounce his right to board and search English merchant-vessels. The convention was therefore held by the English nation to be one-sided and unsatisfactory, and the cry for war rose louder than ever. The Opposition in Parliament made furious assaults on the unpopular Minister, and the first William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, delivered some of his early speeches in antagonism to the powerful Whig Premier. For a time, Walpole continued to hold his own; but the national sentiment could not be suppressed for ever. A periodical paper called the *Craftsman*, to which Bolingbroke and Pulteney frequently contributed, covered the Ministry with for the security of the province. Spain, as if determined to provoke the English nation to the utmost, delayed the payment of the pecuniary indemnity she had undertaken to make; and the demand for war now became so urgent that it could no longer be evaded even by the practised arts of the most dexterous Minister that ever held power in England. War was declared on the 19th of October, 1739, and the announcement was hailed with shouts of delight all over the land.

It does not concern our History to follow the general course of that war, the results of which, as regards the English operations in Spanish South America and the West Indies, were disastrous. But

the events in Georgia and Florida must be related in detail. Before hostilities commenced, Oglethorpe discovered that the Spaniards, after having vainly endeavoured to seduce his Indian allies, were making advances of a similar nature to the English soldiers he had brought out with him. Some of these men had formerly done duty on the rock of Gibraltar, where they had picked up a little Spanish; and they now listened to offers which compromised their allegiance. An attempt even was made on the General's life, but it happily failed. Oglethorpe tried the accused by court-martial, and caused the ringleaders to be shot; and, having thus re-established discipline, proceeded to concert his plans for the future. But events did not move very rapidly. It was in 1738 that the attempt was made on his life; it was not until the close of 1739 that, on receiving news of the declaration of war with Spain, he began to put his plans in execution. He then once more extended the bounds of Georgia to the St. John's, in Florida, and recommended to the province of South Carolina a joint expedition against St. Augustine. He represented that the Spaniards would speedily send a large body of troops from Cuba to that settlement, and that therefore it would be prudent to make the attack at once. So eager, indeed, was he to commence operations that, without waiting for the reply of South Carolina, he at once started at the head of his Georgian forces and Indian allies, and entered Florida in the early days of 1740. Dressed after the same fashion as the common soldiers, and undertaking as many irksome duties, he animated all by the cheerful activity of his example. He had received information that the Spanish garrison at St. Augustine was short of provisions, and he therefore made haste to invest Diego, a small fort, about five-and-twenty miles from the more important position. It surrendered after a very short resistance; and Oglethorpe, leaving behind him a garrison of sixty men, advanced to Fort Moosa, within two miles of St. Augustine. On reaching that work, he found it had been evacuated: the garrison had fallen back on the neighbouring fortress, where the Spaniards were concentrating all their strength. Seeing the necessity of obtaining reinforcements, Oglethorpe departed for Charleston in March, to urge the South Carolinians to send a contingent. The Assembly passed a vote to that effect in April, and also made a grant of money; and in May a body of North and South Carolinians and Virginians accompanied the General back to Florida. But the Spaniards had by that time given to the fortifications at St. Augustine so formidable a character that the English commander saw he had no chance of taking the place by storm. He accordingly resolved to blockade the enemy, with the assistance of some English ships of war, which were then lying at anchor off the bar. To the detachment which he left at Fort Moosa, and which consisted of ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, he gave orders that they were to scour the woods round the town, and intercept all supplies of provisions. Colonel Vanderdussen, at the head of a mixed regiment from the Carolinas and Virginia, was despatched to occupy Point Quarrel, a neck of land about a mile from the castle of St. Augustine, and to erect on it a battery. Oglethorpe himself, with his own regiment, and the main body of the Indians, crossed the water to the island of Anastatia, which lay opposite the castle; and from this position he resolved to bombard the town.

Batteries were speedily erected, and the English ships were now so arranged as to block up the mouth of the harbour. St. Augustine was therefore invested both by land and sea; and a summons to surrender was sent to the commandant, Monteano, in the hope that he would be pleased to escape from his position. But he had received fresh supplies before the blockade was complete, and he simply answered that he would be glad to shake hands with Oglethorpe in the castle. Upon this, the English General opened his guns on the fortress, and threw shells into the town; but, although the fire was returned by the enemy, and the artillery duel continued for some days, very little damage was done, owing to the distance from one another of the opposing batteries. Oglethorpe had miscalculated his resources, and his position was becoming critical. Monteano had observed the smallness of the force stationed at Fort Moosa under Colonel Palmer, and a sally directed against this detachment proved so successful that most of the Highlanders were slain. On this occasion, some of the Chickasaws caught a straggling Spaniard, killed him, and cut off his head, which they presented to Oglethorpe in his tent. The General expressed horror and disgust at the sight, denounced the Chickasaws as "barbarous dogs," and commanded them to quit his presence. The rebuke, well-merited as it was, would have been better suppressed under the circumstances of the time. The savages angrily retorted that they would have met with a very different reception from the French, had they carried to them the head of an Englishman; and immediately afterwards the whole detachment of the tribe abandoned the expedition, and marched home. At a somewhat later date, large bodies of the Carolinian troops, unable to bear

up against the heat of the climate, the sickness which it induced, and the disappointment of repeated efforts leading to no favourable issues, left the spot, and returned to their own provinces. On the other hand, the Spanish garrison received a reinforcement of seven hundred men, and a further stock of provisions, conveyed to them in some small ships from Havannah, which had managed to run the blockade. The English naval commander now represented to Oglethorpe that his vessels were not sufficiently victualled for a longer stay, and that, in any case, the approach of the season of hurricanes made it imperative on him to depart. There was no choice but to raise the siege. Diminished in numbers, weakened by sickness and fatigue, and disheartened by ill-success, the regiments were of little worth. Oglethorpe himself was suffering from a fever; and in utter dejection of spirit he retired in July to Frederica.

The expedition may have been rashly undertaken; but its failure cannot be imputed to any remissness on the part of the commander. It has been recorded of him that he bore more fatigues than any of his soldiers, and that, in spite of ill-health, he was always at the head of his men when there was any necessity for his presence. His benevolence was equal to his martial qualities. He treated his prisoners kindly, repressed the cruelties of the savages, and issued strict orders that the fields, gardens, and houses about St. Augustine should not be injured. The collapse of the enterprise gave great annoyance to the Carolinians, who, forgetting that the desertion of their own men had contributed in no small degree to the result, taxed the General with want of skill and courage. Oglethorpe, owing probably to a rather imperious and fiery temper, was never without enemies. A few years later, when he failed in some operations against the Second Pretender's forces in Scotland, and was tried by court-martial for neglect of duty (a charge of which he was honourably acquitted), Horace Walpole said of him that "he was always a bully."* Yet no one who carefully follows his history can for a moment believe that he had anything of the coward in his nature. He was bold even to rashness, and there can be no better proof of this than the expedition against St. Augustine. He retorted the charges of the Carolinians by hotly condemning the insubordination and pusillanimity of their soldiers, who had deserted his camp; and in fruitless wranglings many months passed away. The war altogether was most unfortunate, and the American colonies bore their full share of the suffering. Volunteers from several of the plantations had joined the fleet under Admiral Vernon, which, after an unavailing attack on Carthagena in 1741, resulting in a terrible loss of life from pestilence, made an equally fatal demonstration against Cuba in the same year. New England, which had furnished the largest number of colonial troops and seamen, was thrown into almost universal mourning by the results of these calamitous enterprises; and discontent was general over the whole Empire.

As it was by this time evident that France would join Spain in her quarrel with England, a Bill was introduced into Parliament, the object of which was to prohibit the exportation of all kinds of provisions, especially rice, from any part of the British dominions to the dominions of the enemy. South Carolina protested, and with success, against that portion of the measure which had reference to rice. The prohibition of the export of that commodity, said the Carolinians, would be perfectly harmless to the enemy, while it would so cripple the trade of South Carolina that the planters there would be unable to pay their debts, and the local Government would be reduced to such difficulties for want of money as to be incapable of repelling any attack by the Spaniards and Indians. The same protest spoke of the planters' own negroes as "yet more dangerous enemies" than their external foes. They were ready, it was added, to revolt on the first opportunity, and were eight times as many in number as the white men qualified for bearing arms. The danger had increased since the unfortunate expedition to St. Augustine, owing, probably, to the weakening of the colonial forces; but it was very great even before that event. There had been a negro insurrection in South Carolina in 1738. The slaves in the province amounted at that time to forty thousand; and the Spaniards, in view of the coming war, had sent emissaries amongst them, promising liberty and protection if they would desert the English. Several accepted the offer, and five hundred were settled in a colony near St. Augustine, where lands were granted them. The Governor of Florida even formed a regiment out of these African fugitives from South Carolina, and, clothing them in the same uniform as the regular troops of Spain, allowed them to elect their own officers. The perpetual incitements of the Spaniards, and the example of this success, led to a rising of the whole body of South Carolinian negroes. Having plundered a magazine, and possessed themselves of arms, they made an attack on the white population, several of whom were murdered. But their triumph was short-lived. They speedily gave way to intoxication, and, in the midst of a wild

* Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Oct. 14th, 1746.

revel, were routed by Governor Bull at the head of a strong force. Many were afterwards executed, and the immediate peril was thus suppressed; but in slave-communities the danger of revolt is always latent. It was particularly menacing in South Carolina, owing to the shocking barbarity with which the negroes were treated.

The worst forms of cruelty are natural to a state in which one class is vested with such absolute power over another. In some slave-holding countries, particular circumstances may keep the brutality of the master in check: for instance, where slaves are not numerous, they will be the more valued, and therefore the better used. But the general tendency of this institution is to demoralise those who take advantage of it; and in South Carolina the immense number of slaves, and the facility of obtaining them, lowered their value as property, and at the same time exasperated the despotism of their owners by the fear of retribution. In that province, a man might kill his slave with something little short of impunity. He was simply fined seven pounds of the depreciated Carolinian currency, and only half that amount if he informed against himself. Charles Wesley, who visited South Carolina on his return from Georgia in 1736, has recorded that it was a common thing to give a young slave to a child of its own age, to abuse and beat out of sport. One mode of punishment was to draw the teeth of these unhappy creatures; but there were others much worse. A certain Colonel Lynch, to whom Charles Wesley alludes, and who was said to kill several of his slaves every year, once cut off the legs of a negro who had offended him. These cruelties were often so extravagant and so unprovoked as to suggest that the persons who committed them were more fitted for a lunatic asylum than for a prison. A frightful instance of the prolonged torture of a negress at Charleston is related by Charles Wesley; and it appears that the poor creature's only crime was overfilling a tea-cup.* Such acts are indeed evidence of a certain kind of madness—the dreadful madness of unrestrained will and unmitigated power.

Under such a condition it is not surprising that attempts to escape were numerous. The miserable fugitives skulked about in the woods, living on whatever they could find, and were generally, in the end, shot down like wild beasts. As negroes were held to be an inferior race, not fully human in their nature, they were denied all intellectual culture, and all moral and religious instruction; the real object, of course, being to keep them from a knowledge of their powers and their rights. To the disgrace of England, it must be said that slavery was always fostered by her Government until comparatively recent times. When the Assembly of South Carolina, several years before the War of Independence, passed a law forbidding the further importation of negroes, it was disallowed by the Governor, on the ground that it was contrary to the policy and injurious to the trade of Great Britain. A similar law was made after the colonies had achieved their freedom; but the evils of slavery continued in force in South Carolina until the civil war of 1861–5. Indeed, it was to maintain that system that the whole of the southern States rose in rebellion against the central Government.

Two years of quiet succeeded to the abortive attack on St. Augustine. As long as Admiral Vernon's fleet remained in American waters, the Spaniards forbore from reprisals; but, on the withdrawal of the English ships, they considered that the time had arrived for making an inroad into their enemy's possessions. In May, 1742, two thousand troops were embarked at Havannah, under the command of Don Antonio de Rodondo, and sent under a strong convoy to St. Augustine. Oglethorpe, on coming to a knowledge of the fact, which he saw pointed to a speedy invasion of Georgia, sent for aid to South Carolina, but was refused, in consequence of the disagreement of two years before. Thus left to his own resources, he made the most of them. He gathered about him, at his head-quarters in Frederica, a force consisting of his own regiment, a few provincial rangers, some Highlanders, and numerous Indians. With a party of soldiers in two boats, he fought his way through the Spanish fleet near the mouth of the St. Mary's, and reinforced the garrison at Fort William; but, though he delayed the advance of the enemy, he could not altogether prevent it. About midsummer, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two vessels, and carrying upwards of three thousand men, under the command of Monteano, sailed past the batteries of Fort William, at the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, and of Fort Simon, on St. Simon's Island, where the invaders disembarked and erected a battery. Feeling his position at Fort Simon insecure, Oglethorpe spiked his guns, and retreated to Frederica. Here he was soon attacked by the enemy. The road to Frederica had a morass on one side, and a dense wood of oaks on the other; it was therefore well adapted to defence. After one detachment of Spaniards had been driven back within a mile or two of the town, another moved forward; and as they came to a place where the narrow avenue, bending with the edge of the

* Journal of Charles Wesley.

morass, formed a crescent,* a body of Highlanders suddenly started up in the wood, and poured down on the advancing column. The Spaniards wheeled half round, and sent several volleys into the ranks of their adversaries; but the ardour of the Scotchmen was not to be resisted, and after awhile the Spaniards broke and fled, with the loss of about two hundred men. The ground has ever since been known as the Bloody Marsh. Several prisoners were taken, and some of the Spaniards said that the devil himself could not make his way to Frederica.

Oglethorpe was loved and respected by his men, and not without reason. His courage, self-reliance, and ready invention were qualities which all could appreciate, and he made himself one with the whole army by sharing with the rank and file all the labours and hardships of the day. He now determined to take the offensive, and attack the enemy. It was a daring design, but he was in receipt of information which justified the attempt. An English prisoner who had escaped from the Spanish camp brought intelligence that a disagreement had arisen between the forces from Havannah and those from St. Augustine, and that it had proceeded to so great an extent as to cause a separation of their encampments. Acting immediately on this information, Oglethorpe started in the night with three hundred regulars, the Highland company, and a troop of provincial rangers, and made his way through the woods until he was within about a couple of miles of the Spanish position. He then halted his troops, and went forward himself with a small corps to reconnoitre; but the whole design was frustrated by the treachery of a Frenchman, one of Oglethorpe's attendants, who discharged his musket to alarm the Spaniards, and, escaping in the darkness, reached the enemy's lines. A hasty retreat to Frederica was rendered necessary by this unfortunate circumstance; but Oglethorpe, resolving not to be entirely baffled, hit on a very ingenious plan. In the assumed character of a friend, he wrote a letter to the Frenchman, addressing him as if he were a spy in the employ of the English. He instructed him to assure the Spaniards that Frederica was in a defenceless state, and that its garrison might be cut to pieces; to urge them to an immediate attack, or, failing that, to detain them at least three days more in the situation they then occupied, as within that time the Georgian troops would be reinforced by two thousand auxiliaries, accompanied by six ships of war. Allusion was also made to an approaching attack on St. Augustine by Admiral Vernon; and the deserter was promised an ample reward if he could prevent the escape of the Spaniards from Georgia.

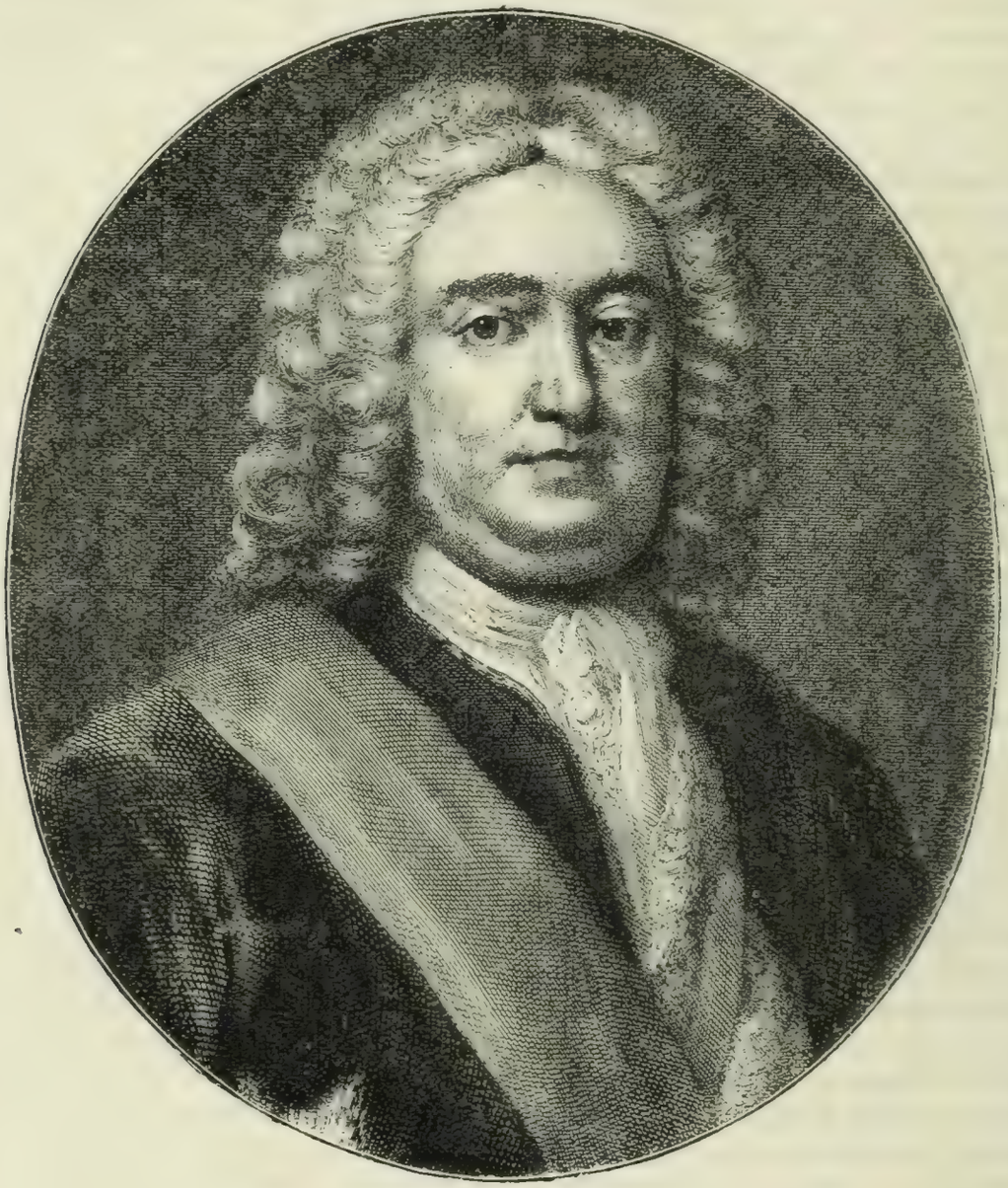
The letter, when finished, was given to a Spanish prisoner, who, for a small reward and the boon of his liberty, promised to carry it privately to the Frenchman, but who in fact delivered it to Monteano. This was exactly what Oglethorpe expected and desired. The Spanish commander at once put the Frenchman in irons as a detected spy, and any information he might really have given as to the state of affairs at Frederica became tainted by the suspicion of trickery. What to do as respected the enemy was far from clear, for it was impossible to divine whether Oglethorpe's letter was to be regarded as a piece of genuine information, or a stratagem. By a singular coincidence, which proved a very fortunate one for the Georgians, three ships, despatched to Oglethorpe's aid by the Governor of South Carolina (who had at length opened his eyes to the fact that his own province would be endangered by the conquest of its southern neighbour), appeared off the coast. There could no longer be any doubt as to the meaning of the letter. Here was a detachment of the English fleet already in sight. The Spaniards were seized with a panic. They at once set fire to the fort they had built, re-entered their ships, and bore away, leaving behind them a great quantity of artillery, provisions, and military stores. Monteano was severely blamed for the utter failure of his plans, and Rodondo, on arriving at Havannah, was thrown into prison, and afterwards dismissed the service for his share in a disaster which was generally regarded as disgraceful.

The Spanish expedition into Georgia had lasted about a month, from the latter end of June to the closing days of July, 1742. It was never renewed, and English America was safe from further attack. Oglethorpe soon afterwards left the province, and returned to England. He had been accused of fraud and embezzlement by Colonel Cook, one of his officers, and he sought his native country that he might repel those charges. The inquiry by court-martial which afterwards took place resulted in a declaration that the charges were utterly false and malicious, and Cook was dismissed the army, and declared incapable of serving the King. Oglethorpe continued to take a kindly interest in his plantation, and to render it any services that were in his power; but he never again visited America. It is possible that he was in some degree disappointed with his colonial experiment, as Penn was with his. Affairs had scarcely taken the course he intended, and the province was to undergo still further

* Bancroft.

changes, some of which could not have met with his approval.

The semi-feudal system under which Georgia had been governed from the period of its first settlement, was found, as time went on, to be unsuited to the needs of a young colony in the eighteenth century. The plantation had decidedly languished. It had scarcely any commerce, and even as regards agriculture was in a very backward state. War, and the apprehension of war, had something to do with this condition; but defective institutions were at least equally to blame. Accordingly, in 1742, the trustees established a system of government, consisting of a president and four assistants, who were to act in conformity with instructions from London. These five officers were to hold four General Courts a year at Savannah, for the transaction of all public affairs; and they were to transmit to England a monthly account of their expenditure. The right of absolute property in land, on payment of a small quit-rent, was at the same time conceded, and the obnoxious system of tail male came to an end. Yet the people, who were for the most part an idle and dissolute race, continued to repine, and in 1752 the Georgian trustees surrendered their charter (which had indeed only another year to run) to the Crown. A government similar to what existed in the Carolinas was then created in Georgia; the importation of rum was permitted, and negro slavery was sanctioned. The demand for slave labour was so urgent that it would have been difficult any longer to resist it, even had the English Government felt an inclination to do so, which assuredly it did not. Almost every one in the province had been saying for several years that Georgia could not compete with her slave-holding neighbours unless she enjoyed the same baleful privilege as they. Whitefield, who went out to that



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

part of America just as John Wesley quitted it, persuaded himself, as many other sincere and well meaning men have done, that the bondage of the African was a means appointed by God for the conversion of the race to Christianity. He pleaded on behalf of slavery before the trustees, on his return

At first, slaves from South Carolina were hired for a short period; then for a hundred years, or during life: at length, negroes were freely imported from Africa, and the evil assumed the same proportions in Georgia as in other provinces. The colony, however, prospered no better than before, and the



CHICKASAWS WITH SPANIARD'S HEAD. (*See p.* 506.)

to England; but, by basing his argument partly on the assertion that negro servitude was essential to the prosperity of Georgia, showed that his motive was not wholly religious. Even the Moravians began to waver, and at length abandoned their former hatred of the institution, on the fallacious pretext that they were leading souls to Christ. Of the injury they were doing to the souls of the slaveholders, they appear to have taken no account.

Georgians, with all their slaves, were still heard complaining. After the rebellion of the Second Pretender, many of the Highland adherents of that prince were transported to Georgia and the Carolinas, where they formed a considerable population, bound together by a common sentiment of nationality (or at least of clannishness), and a common hatred of England. South Carolina also received a large number of emigrants from Germany and

Holland, and in the middle of the eighteenth century the prosperity of the province had reached a very high pitch. The discovery by the colonists of indigo, growing wild in the open spaces of their forests, led to the cultivation of that plant, for the sake of the dye which was obtained from it; and, the manufacture being fostered by the English Parliament with special bounties, a large trade soon sprang up. In 1750, South Carolina had a population of 64,000 persons.

It remains to give some details of Georgian life, as brought together by an industrious compiler.* The chief articles of cultivation in this province were indigo, cotton, tobacco, and rice. The restrictions on trade to the West Indies being removed, large quantities of lumber were exported to those islands. In 1755, the exports of Georgia amounted in value to £15,744 sterling. In the following year, their total value was £16,776, the articles of exportation, in addition to a quantity of skins, furs, lumber, &c., being 9,395 lbs. of indigo, 2,997 barrels of rice, and 268 lbs. of raw silk. The first issue of paper money, or bills of credit, amounting to about £8,000, was sanctioned by the Georgian Legislature in 1760. Amongst other innovations, already glanced at, which the home Government had introduced into the policy of the trustees, the restriction on the importation of rum was removed. The consequence was that enormous quantities both of this and other ardent spirits were consumed by the colonists, who attempted to palliate their intemperate habits by the plea that the universal brackishness of the Georgian waters required to be mitigated by an infusion of spirituous liquors. Georgia being peopled from various parts of the world, its population was necessarily a very mixed one, and also of a very diversified character. The original Scotch emigrants are described by William Bartram, a traveller who visited the province in 1773, as an industrious, hospitable, religious, and happy race, living in the utmost enjoyment of rural ease and luxury, and practising every Christian virtue. But it has been remarked that the common characteristics of the Georgians were a natural indolence and aversion to labour, greatly aggravated by the hot climate of the country and the frequent use of spirits. Governor Ellis remarked, in a letter to a friend in England, written in July, 1758, and published in the "Annual Register" for 1760, that "one cannot sit down to anything that requires much application, but with extreme reluctance; for such is the debilitating quality of our violent heats in this season, that inexpressible languor enervates every faculty, and renders even the thought of exercising them painful."

The Georgians were greatly addicted to cock-fighting, horse-racing, hunting, gambling, and pugilistic exercises. Whitefield, who arrived in Georgia shortly after John Wesley had left it, was very instrumental in the spread of Methodism throughout the province, and this, doubtless, had some influence over the manners of the settlers. Although a number of religious sects arose in Georgia previous to the American Revolution, the greater number of the people were Presbyterians or Methodists. The Moravians deserted the colony in 1739, and transferred themselves to Pennsylvania, because of their disinclination to join in the war which was then on the eve of breaking out. It was not until after the period of independence that any seminary of education was founded in Georgia, with the exception of Whitefield's Orphan-house, which was unfortunately burnt down. To the Indian tribes by whom they were surrounded, the Georgians always behaved with courtesy, and showed an equitable spirit in all transactions with their savage neighbours. This was prudent, especially when they had within their own community many elements of danger. In common with other English colonies, Georgia received a large influx of convicted felons from the old country, and a social state was thus created which often threatened the most serious results. An American statistical writer has observed that "Georgia was at one time the principal retreat of a race of men called 'Crackers,' who were chiefly descended from convicts, and led a wild and vagrant life, like the Indians, with no other effects than a rifle and a blanket, and subsisting upon the deer, turkeys, and other game which the woods furnish." The same writer, however, goes on to say that, as the country became more settled, these migratory hordes disappeared.

Nevertheless, society in Georgia, as in most slave States, continued in a wild and rough condition for many years. Another American, writing towards the close of the eighteenth century, gives a curious picture of a Georgian planter's life. "About six in the morning," says this authority, "the planter quits his bed, and orders his horse to be got ready: he then swallows a dram of bitters to prevent the ill effects of the early fogs, and sets out upon the tour of his plantation. In this route he takes an opportunity to stop at the negro-houses; and if he sees any lurking about home, whose business it is to be in the field, he immediately inquires the cause: if no sufficient cause be given, he applies his rattan whip to the shoulders of the slave, and obliges him instantly to decamp. If sickness be

* Grahame: History of the United States, Book IX.

alleged, the negro is immediately shut up in the sick-house, bled, purged, and kept on low diet, till he either dies, or gets into a way of recovery. After having examined the overseer relative to the welfare of the poultry, hogs, cattle, &c., he proceeds round the farm, takes a cursory view of the rice, corn, or indigo fields, and examines into the state of the fences and other enclosures. About the hour of eight, his circuit is finished, when, before he alights at his own door, a tribe of young negroes, in the primitive state of nakedness, rush out to meet him, and receive the horse. Breakfast being over, he again mounts a fresh horse, and rides to the county-town, or the first public house in the neighbourhood, where he talks politics, inquires the price of produce, makes bargains, plays a game at all-fours, or appoints days for horse-races or boxing-matches. About four o'clock he returns, bringing with him some friends or acquaintance to dinner. If the company be lively or agreeable, he rarely rises from table before sunset. If it be a wet evening, or the weather very disagreeable, cards or conversation employ him till bed-time. If it be fair and no moonlight, after an early supper a fire is kindled in a pan, and two or three of them set out, stored with some bottles of brandy, preceded by a negro who carries the fire, in order to shoot deer in the woods; as these creatures are so attracted by a light that they constantly stand still, and fix their eyes upon the blaze, by the reflections of which from the eye-ball they are easily discovered and shot. About midnight they return, according to luck, with or without game; their shins and faces sadly scratched, and themselves fit for nothing but to be put to bed. This is the general routine of existence among such of the Georgians as live in the more retired and woody parts of the State. Others have their weekly societies for sentimental and colloquial amusement. As to trade and business, it is entirely managed by overseers and factors."* In descriptions such as this, we see the beginning of that state of society which fostered so much political and moral corruption, and which found its climax in the slave-holders' rebellion of 1861–5.

CHAPTER LVIII.

General State of America at the breaking out of the War of 1744–8—English Legislation for the Repression of American Manufactures—Liberal Views of Sir Robert Walpole on the Subject—Condition of the Colonies in the Reign of George II.—Project for establishing the Church of England in America—Subsequent Abandonment of the Scheme—State of Opinion in the Plantations with Reference to Dependence on the Mother Country—Testimony of the Swede, Peter Kalm—Encroachment and Resistance—Royal Prerogative at New York—Attempts of the English Government to Destroy the Privileges of the Colonies—State of Farming in America in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century—Rapid Increase of the Population—New England Missions to the Indians—Cultivation of Literature and Science in the New World—Bishop Berkeley and America.

Before describing the wars of 1744–8, and of 1754–63, it will be desirable to consider at some length the political and social state of America in the middle of the eighteenth century. The English race was by that time firmly planted on the Atlantic sea-board, from Nova Scotia in the north to Georgia in the south. English power had extended only a little way into the interior; but it held the coast between those two settlements with a firm grip. A great English-speaking community, mixed with some alien nationalities, had been formed; and it was created almost entirely by the energy of the people themselves. Georgia was the only one of the plantations that had been founded, even in part, by the aid of funds provided by the home Government. Provincial manufactures or productions were sometimes encouraged by special bounties, or by an exemption from custom-house duties; but for the most part England was not an indulgent mother to her offspring. The favourite idea throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that colonies were valuable to a parent State only so far as they supplied the traders of that State with customers; and for this reason any American manufactures which might come into competition with those of Great Britain were discouraged, hampered, or even forbidden, with a total disregard of the convenience of the colonists. The House of Commons expressly declared, by a resolution passed in 1719, that "the erecting manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain." The acts by which this policy was carried out were frequently most unjust and oppressive. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the manufacture of hats had

* The American Museum for 1790.

arisen in several of the American settlements, for the supply of the people of those settlements, for sending into other colonies, and for foreign exportation. This diminished the trade of the English hat-makers, and was therefore to be suppressed. Accordingly, in 1732 an Act of Parliament was passed, prohibiting the exportation of hats made in America, even from one province to another, restraining all American colonists from undertaking the manufacture without a previous apprenticeship of seven years, and forbidding all provincial hatters to engage more than two apprentices at a time, or to employ or instruct negroes to aid them in their business. The law was very generally broken, but it irritated none the less. To foster the trade of the English West Indies, such heavy duties were, in 1733, imposed on all commodities imported into the continental provinces from the French West Indies, that the trade would have entirely ceased had the Act of Parliament been enforced. The Americans had for some time obtained large supplies of rum, sugar, and molasses from the West Indian possessions of France, and had sent thither, in exchange, their own lumber and provisions; so that the commerce benefited them in two ways. Incited to resistance by the fear of losing a lucrative trade, the colonists disregarded this law, and so successfully evaded its application that the English Government itself at length instructed its custom-house officers not to levy the prescribed duties. The object of the Act was defeated; yet the spirit which dictated it remained in full force for many years.

Some statesmen of that age, however, were wiser. The greatest of all, Sir Robert Walpole, saw the reasonableness and good policy, as well as justice, of developing the trade and enterprise of America, and gave expression to his views in some very remarkable words. When Sir William Keith, in 1739, suggested to the powerful Whig Minister a plan for taxing the American plantations, he replied with a smile, "I will leave *that* to some of my successors who have more courage than I have, and are less friends to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me during my administration to encourage the trade of the American colonies in the utmost latitude: nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain £500,000, I am convinced that, in two years afterwards, full £250,000 of their gains will be in his Majesty's Exchequer, by the labour and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and, as they [the Americans] increase in their foreign trade, more of our produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and ours." Such, at least, is said to have been the reply of Walpole, and, if really delivered, it showed the spirit of a wise and prudent statesman, who could see where the true policy of England really lay. Yet it was under the rule of this Minister that the vexatious measures to which allusion has been made were carried. Walpole himself was to a great extent a supporter of free trade. As regards taxation and commerce, his ideas were far beyond those of the age in which he lived; but, for that very reason, the opposition he encountered, both in Parliament and the country, was so great that he was sometimes compelled to give way. The mistaken system of earlier years was perpetuated after his fall from power and his death. In 1750, the manufacture of iron in New England, which had already been started with some prospect of success, was forbidden by an Act of the English Parliament, under very severe penalties. The ironmongers and smiths of Birmingham were in favour of the importation into England of American iron in an unmanufactured state, on the ground that all the ironworks in Great Britain were inadequate to supply even half the quantity of that metal required in the several manufactures, and that the colonists would be encouraged to take English goods in exchange for their raw material.* This importation was permitted as far as the port of London was concerned, but not as regarded the other ports of the kingdom; and the iron manufacture of America was entirely suppressed. It was the same with respect to other things. Native enterprise was stifled, and the price of commodities in America was enhanced, in order that English manufacturers might be protected, and English merchants might grow rich.

In spite of all these restrictions, the more energetic of the American settlements continued to prosper. Among the towns and villages of the New England colonies, an industrious people cultivated the land with success, and maintained a social state free for the most part from the curse of poverty. In 1738, American navigation took a start, with a rush, from the ship-yards of Boston. Twenty-one top-sail vessels, of the total burden of 6,324 tons, left that port, in which they had been built, for the other havens and harbours of the world. Pennsylvania, in the political language of the day, continued to be the *refugium peccatorum* of free

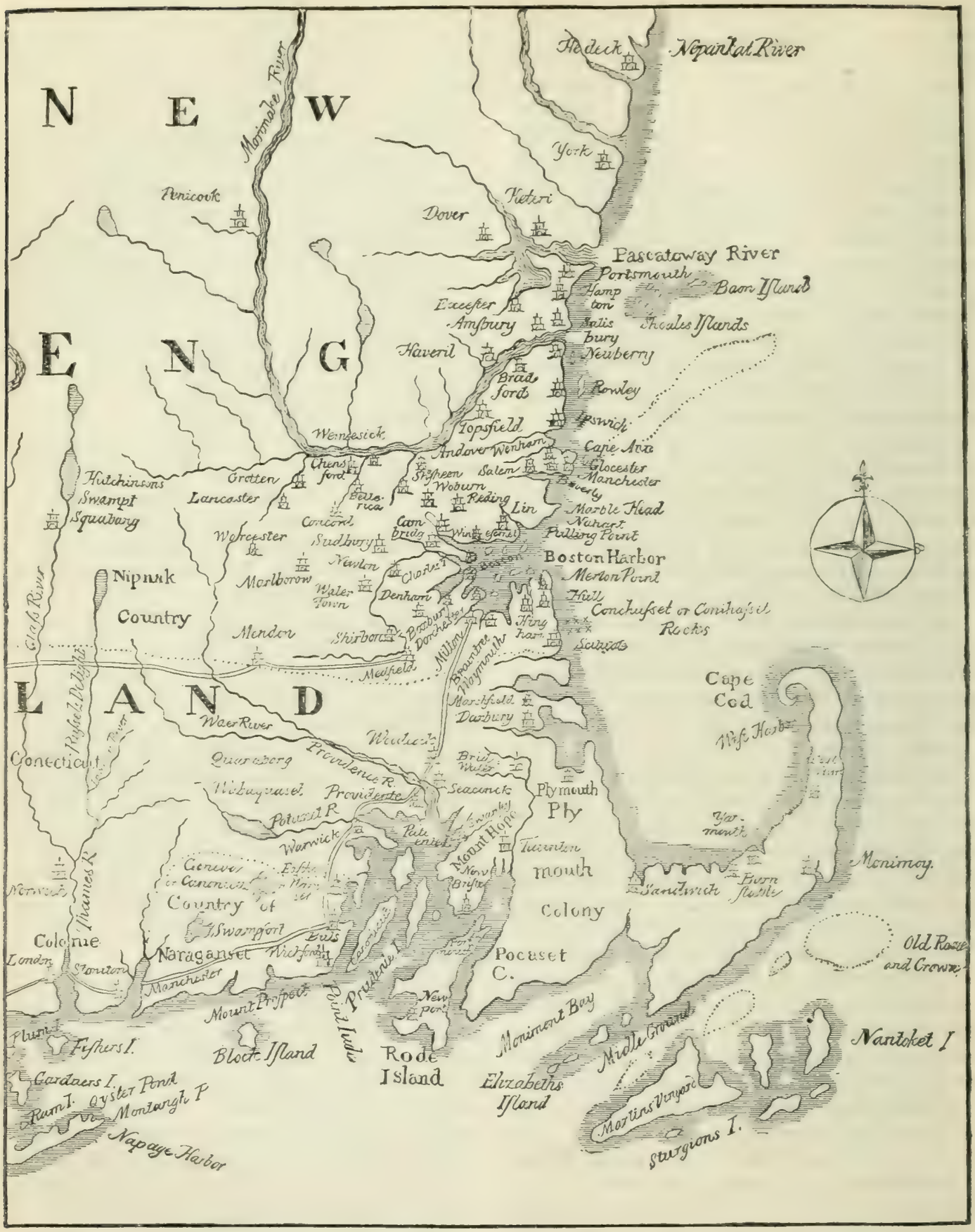
* Smollett's History of England.

opinion; and German colonists, in masses, invaded New York. The transition period had come, in which the colonies of North America felt the promptings and yearnings of an independent and a national life within themselves. They had been tutored in social liberty; they were, upon the whole, free from Indian alarms; they had learned the lessons of Penn and Locke; they knew what the old and the new philosophers had thought and written; and they had quickened into a full and expansive existence, with newspapers, colleges, and schools. "It were no difficult task," said Jeremy Dummer, in his defence of the New England charters, written in 1715, "to prove that London has arisen out of the plantations, and not out of Old England. 'Tis to them we owe our vast fleets of merchant-ships, and consequently the increase of our seamen, and improvements of our navigation. 'Tis the tobacco, sugar, fish, oil, logwood, and other commodities, which has enabled us to support our trade in Europe; to bring the balance of some countries in our favour, which would otherwise be against us; and to make the figure we do at present, and have done for near a century past, in all parts of the commercial world." It appears from the same authority that, during the war then recently concluded, so many New England sailors served in the Royal Navy that the New England merchants were obliged to man their ships with Indians and negroes.

The population of Massachusetts, in 1742, was 164,000, and in another eleven years it had reached 220,000, whereas, at the close of the previous century, it had been only 70,000. The other New England colonies likewise had largely augmented their numbers, and in all a state of society existed which was said by some observers to be equal to that of the Old World. Men of high family not unfrequently settled in the American plantations, and helped to give an artificial polish to the manners of the people. In the middle and southern provinces, with the exception of Georgia, progress was as marked as in the north; indeed, the increase of population and wealth was greater in Pennsylvania and Delaware than anywhere else. But literary culture was far less visible in the south than in the northern or intermediate plantations. Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas were peopled by a race which was originally more inclined to ease than were the earnest and stern enthusiasts of New England and its vicinity; and this tendency was increased by an enervating climate and the abundance of slave-labour. Boston had a newspaper as early as 1704—the *Boston News-Letter*, the first journal ever published in America; and the printing press had then been at work in Massachusetts for several years. Virginia had no press till 1729, and no newspaper till 1736. On the other hand, a theatre had been opened in the Old Dominion by 1724; while in New England the Puritanical feeling against dramatic entertainments was still so strong in 1750 that when some young Englishmen and their American friends endeavoured to perform a tragedy in a coffee house at Boston—the first time such a thing had even been attempted—a disturbance occurred, and the Legislature passed an Act forbidding such amusements, as tending "greatly to increase impiety and a contempt for religion." No theatre was permitted in Massachusetts till 1794; and Connecticut held out to the early part of the present century.

The origin of the American people was very mixed, as the course of this narrative must already have shown; and the habits of the several communities were in some measure determined by their derivation. The most English sections of the population were those of New England and Virginia. In New York, the Dutch abounded; in Delaware, the Dutch and Swedes; in Pennsylvania, the Germans; in many of the southern and middle colonies, the Scotch and Irish; not to speak of several immigrations of French Protestants in various parts. Yet England gave the final and most distinct characteristic to this heterogeneous compound. The different settlers fell, so to speak, into an English mould, and became, in a generation or two, a kind of Englishmen, modified, of course, by the changed circumstances by which they were surrounded. The New England colonies have always furnished a large body of emigrants to the other parts of North America, and have thus helped to maintain the English character of the whole Federation.

So much were the American plantations regarded as a part of England, that in 1749 a project was entertained by the Government of George II. for introducing into them an ecclesiastical establishment, with Bishops and other dignitaries, after the model of the English Church. It was alleged that several non-juring clergymen, belonging to the Episcopal institution, had emigrated to America, owing to the failure of their hopes after the defeat of the Second Pretender, and that a clerical body of a more loyal order would be desirable, as a counteracting influence. The leaders of the Church of England had long desired to establish her power in America, and ineffectual efforts in that direction had frequently been made. The reason now put forth for renewing them was probably a pretext: the real motive was the wish to repeat on the


N E W
E N G
L A N D
Merrimack River
Piscataqua River
Portsmouth
Hampton
Salisbury
Newberry
Rowley
Ipswich
Cape Ann
Gloucester
Manchester
Marble Head
Nahant
Pulling Point
Boston Harbor
Merlon Point
Hull
Conchusset or Conihasset Rocks
Scituate
Cape Cod
Wfl. Harb.
Yarmouth
Monimoy
Sandwich
Barnstable
Old Rose and Crown
Nantoket I
Martins Vineyard
Sturgions I.
Elizabeths Island
Monument Bay
Middle Ground
Rode Island
Block Island
Pocaset C.
Colony
Plymouth
Plymouth
Mount Hope
Taunton
Bristol
Seaconck
Providence R.
Providence
Warwick
Pautuxet R.
Patuxent
Weaver River
Quinsberg
Wabaquasset
Conecticut
Connecticut River
Country of Naraganset
Naraganset
Colonie
Swamfort
Kingstown
Wickford
Manchester
Mount Prospect
Prudence I.
Point Judith
New Port
Fishers I.
Gardners I.
Rum I.
Oyster Pond
Montaugh P.
Napaye Harbor
Plum
London
Norwich
Thames R.
Stratford
Fairfield
Greenwich
Stamford
Norwalk
Milford
Guilford
Branford
New Haven
Hartford
Windsor
Farmington
Simsbury
Westfield
Springfield
Northampton
Hadley
Hatfield
Deerfield
Northfield
Brookfield
Mendon
Shirborn
Braintree
Weymouth
Milton
Dorchester
Boston
Charlestown
Cambridge
Watertown
Newton
Marlborough
Sudbury
Concord
Lancaster
Groton
Chelmsford
Billerica
Woburn
Reading
Lin
Andover
Wenham
Topsfield
Haverhil
Amesbury
Exeter
Dover
Portsmouth
Hampton
Salisbury
Newberry
Bradford
Rowley
Ipswich
Cape Ann
Salem
Beverly
Gloc

southern plantations had received so large a number of Presbyterian Dissenters as to be disinclined to an Episcopal hierarchy), opposed the design with all the energy of its hereditary Puritanism. A promise to exempt New England from the scope of the measure failed to buy off this opposition, which was intensified and embittered by a schism that had broken out in Connecticut as far back as 1722, and was not yet exhausted. In that year, several clergymen had publicly retracted their Puritanical views of church government, and announced their adhesion to the Church of England. The party thus established was of course strongly in favour of the plan proposed at London; but neither in numbers nor in social influence had its members any great power, and the English Cabinet at length saw the prudence, and even the necessity, of abandoning the design. Still, the Church of England was not badly represented in America. In 1752, there were in Pennsylvania nine Episcopal ministers, and twenty-seven churches where they officiated; in New Jersey, eight of these ministers; in New York, twelve; in Connecticut, eight ministers and sixteen churches; in Rhode Island, five ministers and six churches; in Massachusetts, ten ministers and ten churches; and in New Hampshire, one minister and one church.*



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

This ecclesiastical difference had the effect of calling attention once again to a question often before discussed—viz., whether or not the colonies were desirous of shaking off the yoke of the mother country, and establishing a perfectly independent government. The Americans themselves generally denied any such imputation; but the ruling classes

* Abiel Holmes: Annals of America.

in England had believed it for many years—in the case of Massachusetts, ever since the time of Charles II.—and there cannot be a doubt that they reasoned correctly. Unfortunately, they often acted as if they desired to bring about such a consummation, or as if they wished to provoke some ineffectual attempt, in order that they might show with what ease it could be put down. When Francis Nicholson was at the head of affairs in Virginia, in 1698, he drew up, in conjunction with his friend Colonel Quarry, also employed in an official capacity by the Crown, a set of Memorials which were presented to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in England. The American colonists in general, and the Virginians in particular, were here represented as deeply imbued with republican principles; and the authors of the paper strongly recommended that all the English colonies in North America should be reduced under one government and one viceroy, and that a standing army should be maintained there, to subdue the enemies of Royal authority. The suggestion was not adopted; but it long rankled in the minds of the colonists. Sometimes by neglect, sometimes by injudicious interference, the Ministers of England taught the Americans to look forward to a future of republican freedom as the coming golden age of their land. The cynical indifference with which American interests were sacrificed to English interests; the vexatious endeavours to impose the ecclesiastical hierarchy of England on communities which abhorred it; the repeated despatch to America of Governors who, bankrupt in the old country, shamelessly abused their power in the new, as a means of filling their pockets against the day of their recall; the naked brutality with which, on several occasions, the colonists were told that they had no rights but what the King chose to grant them as a mere matter of grace and favour, which he might withdraw, if he pleased, the next day;—all these things helped to overcome the natural feeling of affection towards the mother country which, with better treatment, the Americans would probably have shown.

It is certainly true that the Royal Government was superior to most of the proprietary Governments. It was amenable to public opinion, which the others generally were not; and it would frequently retrace its course when met by a sufficiently strong resistance. But the Americans, according to the usual custom of human nature, judged it by the worst, and not by the best, of its results; and the bad results were bad indeed. Even in the matter of slavery, England pursued her own end with perfect disregard to the real prosperity of America; in some places forcing the institution of negro bondage on unwilling populations, and in others pampering a perverted sentiment, in order that her merchants might obtain at a cheaper rate the productions of American soil. In 1745, an anonymous writer, styling himself "A British Merchant," published at London a treatise in which he undertook to show that the African slave-trade was the great pillar and support of the general trade with America. If, he argued, the supply of negroes were thrown entirely into the hands of England's rivals, so that the colonies were obliged to depend on the labour of white men, they would be ruined, or compelled to shake off their dependence on the Crown. Black labour was cheaper than white labour; besides, the supply of free workers to the plantations in sufficient numbers would drain England of husbandmen, manufacturers, and mechanics, and would so interfere with the productions of the parent State that Englishmen would have just cause to dread the prosperity of their colonies. Such were the views of English merchants in the middle of last century.

On one side of the Atlantic, then, was a settled purpose of domination, for reasons of avowed selfishness; on the other was a half-developed wish for independence, as the only escape from systematic injustice. Yet it must not be supposed that at the period we have now reached this desire had taken the form of any definite project. Dr. Johnson once remarked that, by a merciful dispensation of Providence, mobs have no power of combination, or they could very easily seize on the possessions of the rich; and that a similar defect keeps soldiers in due subordination to their officers. It was so with the American colonies in relation to the State which governed them. They had, at the present stage, no principle of cohesion. The northern settlements had nothing in common with the southern; the middle plantations were equally foreign to both. Even the Federal union of the New England colonies, a century previous, had long ceased to exist. There was consequently an absence, in its fullest manifestations, of the national spirit, which was, indeed, contradicted in several directions by the large admixture of many distinct races. At the same time, there was a very general and not at all unreasonable fear of the French and Spaniards, and a prudent reliance on the Imperial power of England for resisting the ambitious designs of those nations. This point was touched upon by Peter Kalm, a Swede who visited North America in 1748, in a passage of his book of travels which is well worth reproducing.

"It is of great advantage to the Crown of England," writes this observer, "that the North American colonies are near a country under the government of the French, like Canada. There is reason to believe that the King of England never was earnest in his attempts to expel the French from their possessions there, though it might have been done with little difficulty; for the English colonies in this part of the world have increased so much in their number of inhabitants, and in their riches, that they almost vie with Old England. Now, in order to keep up the authority and trade of the mother country, and to answer several other purposes, they are forbidden to establish new manufactures, which would turn to the disadvantage of British commerce: they are not allowed to dig for any gold or silver, unless they send it to England immediately; they have not the liberty of trading to any parts that do not belong to the British dominions, excepting some settled places; and foreign traders are not allowed to send their ships to them. These and some other restrictions occasion the inhabitants of the English colonies to grow less tender for their mother country. This coldness is kept up by the many foreigners, such as Germans, Dutch, and French, settled here, and living among the English, who commonly have no particular attachment to Old England. Add to this, likewise, that many people can never be contented with their possessions, though they be ever so great, and will always be desirous of getting more, and of enjoying the pleasure which arises from change; and their over-great liberty and prosperity often lead them to licentiousness. I have been told by English subjects, and not only by such as were natives of America, but even by those who had emigrated from Europe, that the English colonies in North America, within the space of thirty or fifty years hence, would be able to form a State by themselves, entirely independent of Old England. But as the whole country which lies along the seashore is unguarded, while on the land side it is harassed by the French in time of war, these dangerous neighbours are sufficient to prevent the connection of the colonies with their mother country from being quite broken off. The English Government has therefore sufficient reason to consider the French in North America as the best guardians of the submission of their colonies." *

The proposal for establishing a Governor-General over the whole of the American plantations, which Francis Nicholson had made in 1698, was repeated in 1741 by one Daniel Coxe, who wrote a work on the French and Spanish parts of North America to the west and south of the English settlements. The details of Coxe's plan were not illiberal, for the Governor-General was to act in harmony with a Council to be elected by the local Legislatures. But the scheme was regarded by the Americans with suspicion and dislike, as involving an increase of the Royal prerogative; and it came to nothing. So great was the feeling of jealousy at English interference that the colonists sometimes refused to entertain even suggestions of probable advantage when they came from the Royal Government. In 1751, the King recommended to the Assembly of Massachusetts a general revision of the laws, such as had just been carried out by the Virginian Assembly. But, although it was admitted by all parties that several legal reforms were much needed, the majority of the Legislature refused to comply with the King's suggestion, because they feared that it covered some secret design of a despotic character. This, no doubt, was an irritable excess of caution, calculated to induce a feeling of unfriendliness on the part of the mother country; but it had been in some measure provoked by frequent encroachments. The same conflict of popular sentiment with regal power was seen at New York. Smith, the historian of that colony in the last century, remarks:—"Our representatives, agreeably to the general sense of their constituents, are tenacious in the opinion that the inhabitants of this colony are entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen; that they have a right to participate in the legislative power; and that the session of Assemblies here is wisely substituted instead of a representation in Parliament, which, all things considered, would at this remote distance be extremely inconvenient and dangerous. The Governors, on the other hand, in general entertain political sentiments of a quite different nature. All the immunities we enjoy, according to them, not only flow from, but absolutely depend upon, the mere grace and will of the Crown." The trial of the printer Zenger, in 1735, showed how strongly these high-prerogative views were held by the representatives of the sovereign on the banks of the Hudson. The writer of a pamphlet published at London in 1752, and quoted by Smith, advised the popular leaders in the New York Assembly to drop their "Parliamentary airs and style about liberty and property, and keep within their sphere," for that the King's commission and instructions were their charter, and if they abused his Majesty's favours they were but tenants-at-will.

That this was not merely the rash exaggeration of an irresponsible pamphleteer, but the deliberate conviction of English statesmen, had been made

* Kalm's Travels, quoted by Grahame, Book X., chap. 2.

apparent three years earlier (in 1749) by a Bill introduced into the British Parliament, the object of which was to abolish all the American charters, and to render the King's instructions to the provincial Governors equivalent to legal enactments. Such a law, had it been sanctioned, would have created in America a mere despotism, and would doubtless have reacted on the liberty of England herself. But it was opposed with great earnestness by the colonial agents in London, and by the more far-sighted among English politicians; and the Act was withdrawn. In the same year, the English Ministry entertained for awhile that fatal idea of taxing the colonies which Sir William Keith had suggested nine years before, which Walpole said he had neither the wish nor the courage to undertake, but which, a little later, was adopted by Ministers of less power and capacity, with the ultimate result of losing the whole of America from Maine to Georgia. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, had suggested that, as a protection against the French, a series of frontier fortresses should be erected under the supervision of Royal engineers and officers, and that a tax for their maintenance should be imposed by Parliament, without which it would not be done. Other American Governors sent home alarming reports of the growing disloyalty of the colonies, and begged that a permanent salary for their offices might be provided. The head of the Government in 1749 was Henry Pelham, one of Walpole's chief opponents. It would have been wiser had he never entertained the proposed scheme; but it must be admitted that in doing so he acted with fairness towards the plantations. He communicated his plan to the several provincial Governments, and solicited their opinions. Those opinions were of course adverse to the design, and Pelham had the sense and good feeling to abandon what he had contemplated. The English Government was at this time generally disposed to accommodation; but the folly of making such attempts, and then retreating from them, is obvious.

It was not surprising that the Americans should desire to retain the management of their own affairs in their own hands, with little more than the personal tie of subjection to the Crown, as represented by the Royal Governors; for they had created by their unassisted industry a number of flourishing commonwealths, free from many of the evils that afflicted Europe. Life was simple and easy in those infant States. In Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, as Peter Kalm reports,—and probably in other colonies also, which did not come within the scope of his observation,—even the humblest peasants had their orchards. This profusion led to a corresponding hospitality on the part of the people, and wayfarers were permitted, and almost invited, to help themselves from the produce of the gardens. Kalm was astonished one day when his guide leapt over a hedge which divided the public road from a private orchard, and gathered some fruit for him and his companions; and his surprise was still greater when he saw that the people in the enclosure were so little concerned in the fact as to pay not the slightest attention to it. "We afterwards found very frequently," says this writer, "that the country people in Sweden and Finland guarded their turnips more carefully than the people here do the most exquisite fruits." The soil was so fertile, and the price of land so cheap, that a careless system of husbandry was the result. The farmer would cultivate his ground only as long as he could do so without the aid of manure; then he would leave it fallow, or convert it into pasture, and, enclosing a new piece of land out of the virgin forest, would draw upon a fresh stock of natural fertility. "We can hardly," said Kalm, "be more lavish of our woods in Sweden and Finland than they are here. Their eyes are fixed upon the present, and they are blind to futurity. I was astonished when I heard the country people complaining of the badness of their pastures; but I likewise perceived their negligence, and often saw excellent plants growing on their own grounds, which only required a little more attention and assistance from their inexperienced owners." Kalm was a friend of Linnæus, and therefore probably knew something of such matters. One great disadvantage of the American farmer was incidental to the half-unpeopled state of the land which had existed from time immemorial, and had resulted in a vast excess of animal, and especially of insect, life. Wild beasts frequently burst out of the woods, destroyed the cattle, and ravaged the plantations. Creatures which in England are regarded as graceful and harmless playthings, became formidable in America from their countless numbers. In Pennsylvania, so much damage was done to the crops of maize by the foraging of squirrels that, in a single year, £8,000 were expended by the colonial Government in rewards for the destruction of this animal, at the rate of threepence for each head. In the neighbourhood of Providence, 11,588 squirrels were destroyed within ten days by a party of hunters.

Early marriages were usual in the American colonies, owing to the ease of living, and the posi-

tive advantages of a family in a newly-settled country, where labour was scarce. Some writers have asserted that these unions took place at too early an age, and that their bad effect was seen in physical and mental deterioration. However this may have been, they resulted in a large and rapid increase of population, particularly in New England and the middle provinces. It is said to have been not uncommon for parents to be surrounded by descendants to the number of eighty or a hundred. Cases are recorded where as many as five hundred descendants, extending to the children of great-grandchildren, have gathered about their patriarchal ancestor. In New Hampshire, three generations would often be seen tilling the ground in the same field; and, at the commencement of the present century, Dwight, an American clergyman and author, met with a New Englander who had seen his descendants amount to more than fifteen hundred. With so great a natural increase, immigration from abroad was not needed in provinces which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, had been so long settled as those of New England; nor did any great addition from the Old World take place in them at the period of which we are now treating. A number of German Protestants, however, were invited to Massachusetts in 1749 and 1751, for the purpose of founding manufactories. Those who arrived in the latter year left their native country under a misapprehension that their future was guaranteed to them by the Assembly, whereas the project was that of a number of private individuals, who had contrived to obtain, in an irregular way, the countenance, and to some extent even the assistance, of the Legislature. The plan turned out a failure, and the emigrants bitterly complained of the refusal of the Assembly to assist them.

The religious character of Massachusetts continued to be strongly developed long after the age of militant Puritanism had passed away. Great efforts were made for the conversion of the Indians, in addition to those of an earlier date which have been described in a previous section of this work. In 1737, the Massachusetts Legislature granted to a body of the Housatonic Indians a settlement in the western part of the province (now called Stockbridge), where the native converts to Christianity gathered in large numbers. The superintendence of the various missions and their establishments was confided to a board called the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, sitting at Boston, and receiving occasional grants from the Legislature, and still larger sums from voluntary contributors. Among the early pastors of this body was the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, one of the most remarkable religious and metaphysical writers that America has produced: a man who from his boyhood had been subject to the most extreme afflatus of fervent enthusiasm; who as a child used to retire into woods and swamps, like an anchorite of the first Christian ages, that he might wrestle with the Spirit in prayer; and who as a man was instrumental in a great religious revival in the years 1740 and 1741. Edwards was an uncompromising Calvinist, and his essay on the Freedom of the Will is generally held to be a masterly exposition of the great dogma of his sect, that the ultimate salvation or perdition of every individual was predestined from all eternity, and cannot be in the least affected by human conduct. This work, and another on Original Sin, he wrote during his residence among the Indian converts, in 1751 and subsequent years. But his ministrations among the savages were not very successful. Though in many respects an estimable, and certainly a highly conscientious, man, he was austere, reserved, and somewhat arrogant in his manners. Like the Mathers, and many more of the Puritan body, he had an overweening sense of the importance of the ministerial office, and his life affords some curious proofs of the revolt against such pretensions which in his time was growing up even in New England, aided by the progress of secular knowledge and widening intellectual power. Shortly before joining the Indian mission, he had been dismissed from his charge at Northampton, Massachusetts, on account of his refusing to admit to the sacrament those persons who did not completely satisfy him as to their religious condition. Yet the "revival" had been very strong under Edwards's ministrations, and he had himself published "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God, in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton." One of the most successful missionary labourers of that epoch was David Brainerd, who lived in the wilderness with the simplicity of a patriarch, preached with the passion of an apostle, and was rewarded by numerous conversions among the Six Nations. He died young in 1747, but he had done more than most others. Still, the Indians, as a rule, held aloof from the religion of the white man. The missionaries by whom they were approached did not always, or often, equal Brainerd in dignity of character or purity of life. A few years before, some of the Six Nations told Governor Hunter, of New York, that several of the ministers who had come to them from that province had encouraged them in the habit of drinking brandy. It is noticeable that the Indians generally assumed

towards the Europeans a tone of moral superiority; and sometimes not without reason.

The first roughness of American society had passed away by the middle of the eighteenth century. Literature and science were beginning to be valued and cultivated. In the universities of New England, in the college of Virginia, in the elementary schools scattered over the country, and in the philosophical societies which now began to be numerous in several of the provinces, a race of thinkers was being trained for the future—a race like that which Milton, glancing only at his own immediate countrymen, described in one of the most labourers were already gathering. Theologians, historians, and men of science were already native to the soil, and others, native to Europe, took interest in the grand experiment. Even as early as 1728, Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, the great exponent of the Idealistic philosophy, visited America, with the view of starting a college there —a scheme which, after receiving the support of the King and Parliament, fell through, owing to the indifference of Sir Robert Walpole. This remarkable man was so impressed with the splendid future of the new continent that, in the only verses he ever wrote, he hailed that future as



MAP OF CAPE BRETON. (*From Popple's Atlas.*)

eloquent passages of that triumph of impassioned reasoning, the "Areopagitica." Of the Americans of that day, as of their English ancestors a hundred years before, Milton might have said :—"The shop of war hath not more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reasoning and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of sages, of prophets, and of worthies?" The wise and faithful far surpassing anything in the past. The verses are not of the best; but there is one line in them which is deservedly a common-place. In his vision of the coming time, Berkeley exclaims :—

"In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where Nature guides, and virtue rules,—
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools,—

"There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

"Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

"*Westward the course of empire takes its way.*
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.
Time's noblest offspring is the last."



NEW ENGLANDERS BEFORE LOUISBURG.

CHAPTER LIX.

Outbreak of War between England and France in 1744—French Attack on Nova Scotia—Treaty between the Indians and the Provinces of Philadelphia, Maryland, and Virginia—The Fortress of Louisburg, Cape Breton—Determination of the New Englanders to effect its Reduction—Discussion of the Project in the Massachusetts Legislature—Sailing of the Expedition—Reduction of Louisburg, and Surrender of the Island of Cape Breton—Incidents of the Siege of Louisburg—Jealousy of the Provincial Troops felt by the English Government—Further Plans for the Subjugation of the French in America—Despatch of a French Fleet and Army for the Conquest of the English Settlements—Dispersion of the Fleet by Tempests—Renewed Attempt of the French, and its Defeat—Predatory Warfare—Establishment of a Militia in Pennsylvania—Riots in Boston, owing to Naval Impressment—The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In 1744, France and England had been at peace since the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. Mutual exhaustion had had much to do with this desirable state of repose; but the personal inclinations of leading Ministers on both sides of the Channel—of Cardinal Fleury and of Sir Robert Walpole—were in favour of a pacific policy, even apart from motives of immediate prudence. Still, the seeds of future wars lurked in many dangerous questions, and France viewed with apprehension the growing power of England in the West Indies. Louis XV., in 1740, promised his relative, the King of Spain, fifty ships of the line, to aid him in maintaining his predominance in that direction; and Fleury, then a very old man, indisposed to recommence hostilities, was nevertheless moved to say that he must prevent England from accomplishing her great purpose of appropriating to herself the whole of the West Indian commerce. France, he said, could not consent to the Spanish colonies falling into English hands. While the peace still continued, France was suspected by England of giving covert assistance to Spain in her hostility to English power in America; but no rupture took place on this account. It was a totally different question which once more brought the two nations into military array against one another. The death of the Emperor Charles VI., in 1740, left the House of Hapsburg without any male heir, and thus raised a question as to the Austrian succession. By the Pragmatic Sanction, the Emperor had settled his dominions on his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, wife of Francis of Lorraine, whose succession, in due course, was guaranteed by Great Britain and other European Powers. She accordingly ascended the throne in October, 1740, but was at once encountered by a host of enemies. The King of Prussia, the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Kings of France, Spain and Sardinia, laid claim, on divers grounds of genealogy or marriage, to various parts of the Austrian monarchy. Maria Theresa defended herself with great spirit, and the Austrian dominions were soon devastated by a furious war. George II. supported the Pragmatic Sanction, and on the 27th of June, 1743, at the head of an English and Hanoverian army, fought on the side of the Austrian Empress at the battle of Dettingen; but as yet he was acting only as Elector of Hanover, and his troops, though partly English, were fighting under the banners of Austria. France and England were still nominally at peace; but the feeling between them was of course anything but friendly, and on the 15th of March, 1744, France declared war on Great Britain, who retorted by a counter declaration on the 9th of April.

The French colonists in America received intelligence of the rupture sooner than the people of the English provinces. They at once commenced hostilities, without giving notice of the state of war, and directed their attention to Nova Scotia, formerly their own province of Acadie, as the most vulnerable point for attack. The English had a garrison, with a Governor and Council, at Annapolis; they had also a settlement on the small island of Canseau, lying off the eastern coast of Nova Scotia; and between that islet and Newfoundland lay the French insular territory of Cape Breton. The settlement of Canseau was much resorted to by New England fishermen, and was defended by a small fortification garrisoned by a detachment of troops from Annapolis; but, having the French of Canada in one direction, and the French of Cape Breton in another, its position was insecure. Duquesnel, the Governor of the latter colony, resolved to strike a blow at the fishing establishments of the English, and accordingly sent against them a few armed vessels, carrying a force of nine hundred men, who seized on the island of Canseau, burned the fort and houses, and took the garrison prisoners. The onslaught was quite unexpected, and met with no resistance. Duquesnel afterwards attacked Placentia, in Newfoundland, and Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, but without success. The garrison taken at Canseau were kept during the summer at Louisburg, in Cape Breton, and then sent to Boston on parole. The accounts they gave of the condition of Louisburg and its

fortifications led to an expedition against that place in the following year, which resulted in a signal success.

Before the close of 1744, an arrangement was come to between the Six Nations and the representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The meeting took place at Lancaster, in the first-named of those provinces, and a deed was signed, by which, for about £400, the Indians disposed of large tracts of land in the western parts of Virginia and Maryland, and came to an amicable arrangement with Pennsylvania as to certain matters that had been in dispute. For a long time past, the old feeling of friendship which during several years had subsisted between the red men and the Quakers had suffered considerable diminution. The former complained that they were not fairly treated in their trade bargains; the latter felt it a grievance that, whenever land was purchased from the natives, the community had to furnish the money, whilst the estates went to the proprietary. Governor Thomas had officially declared himself apprehensive of "some fatal quarrel," which was rendered all the more probable by the drunkenness to which the Indians were now prone, and which the traders habitually encouraged, that they might drive more profitable bargains. But the effect of this interview was to renew, at least in terms, the good relations of former days, and a great many important matters were talked over between the white men and the red. The claim of England to the basin of the Ohio was recognised by the savages in their cession of territory; and, the relations between France and England being referred to, the leaders of the Six Nations informed the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland that they had engaged the Praying Indians and other tribes, who stood "in the very gates of the French," not to join any confederacy against the English.

Feeling that their position had been made as safe as was practicable, the New Englanders resolved on instituting reprisals. They declared war against the Indians of Nova Scotia, who had assisted in the attack on Annapolis, and it was not long ere they determined on subduing Louisburg. It was indeed a necessity that this formidable stronghold should, if possible, be taken out of the enemy's hands; for the English fisheries on the coasts of Nova Scotia were being destroyed by the operations of the French, and throughout the summer the merchant-vessels of New England were so frequently captured, and carried into Louisburg, that all maritime enterprise was threatened with extinction. Yet it was a very serious matter to attack so strong a position. The chief town of Cape Breton had been fortified by the French with great care and skill. In front were a rampart of stone and a ditch eighty feet wide. Six bastions and three batteries contained embrasures for a hundred and forty-eight pieces of cannon; and it was stated at the time that to walk all round the ramparts was to traverse a distance of at least two miles and a quarter. A battery of thirty cannon commanded the entrance to the harbour from the vantage-ground of a small island; and further down was another battery of twenty-eight heavier guns, which gave immediate protection to the town. The inside of the citadel was a square, measuring nearly two hundred feet each way, three sides of which were taken up with bomb-proof barracks, while the north side was occupied by the Governor's house and the church. The road from the country to the town was by the west gate over a drawbridge, which was defended by a circular battery of sixteen guns; so that, whether by sea or by land, the approaches to Louisburg were dominated by works of the best engineering skill, which it had taken France five-and-twenty years to construct, and which, though not yet complete, had cost thirty millions of livres. In the estimation of many, Louisburg was one of the strongest places in the world. By some it was compared to Dunkirk, by some to Gibraltar; and, if not really the equal of those celebrated fortresses, it was at any rate a position of great importance, any attack on which involved considerable hazard, and many possibilities of failure.

New England had no place which could at all be set in comparison with Louisburg. It is true that some steps had recently been taken for putting the country in a position of defence. The frontier garrisons had been reinforced; new forts had also been erected at exposed situations; and the King had sent a present of artillery to his American subjects. But no fortress of a first-class character protected the English possessions in that part of the world; the fortifications of Annapolis were in so dilapidated a state that the place very nearly fell before the combined French and Indian assault; and if the enemy should renew the offensive, there was every reason to fear that he would prevail. The English in Nova Scotia were merely a garrison. The people of the province were French, by origin and by sympathy; they numbered sixteen thousand, and it was proved that they could depend on the assistance of the native tribes, who, having been converted by Jesuit priests, were of the same faith as the great majority of the white inhabitants. William Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, perceived the danger of allowing such a basis for hostile proceedings as Cape Breton to remain in the

hands of the French, and he solicited help from England to effect its reduction. But before any answer could be received, he was pushed into more immediate action by the impatience of the New England fishermen and merchants. Towards the close of the year, it began to be generally believed that Louisburg might be taken by surprise during the severity of the winter season. To some, the design seemed in the last degree imprudent; but Shirley, and several of the most influential men in Massachusetts, thought differently. A circumstance which favoured the project was the recent death of Duquesnel, the Governor, who had been succeeded by a general advanced in years, and of no great capacity. Duvivier, who led the attack on Canseau, and whose abilities were of a much higher order, had lately sailed for Europe; and, from information given to Shirley by those who had been in captivity at Louisburg, it appeared that this officer had gone to beg immediate succour from his sovereign, that the stores of the garrison were scanty, that the troops were discontented and inclined to mutiny, and that in some places the works were already crumbling to decay. If these accounts were to be relied on, it was a matter of policy to attack the place as speedily as possible; and such was the opinion of Shirley and his friends.

The discussion of the project in the Massachusetts Legislature, consisting of the Provincial Council and the representatives of the people, was carried on, at the request of Governor Shirley, under an oath of secrecy—a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in the history of Parliamentary procedure. The Governor had stated in his message that he was prepared to communicate a matter of the utmost importance, but of such a nature that the disclosure of it to the public at that period might be highly detrimental to the general interest. The oath of secrecy was well kept for some time; and the fact was then accidentally divulged by a member of the Legislature, who, while conducting the family devotions at his lodgings, inadvertently prayed for a blessing on the attempt. The debate spread over several days, and, in the first instance, resulted in a vote adverse to the design. Shirley, however, induced several of the most wealthy inhabitants of Boston, and nearly all the merchants of Salem and Marblehead, to send in petitions, earnestly entreating the Legislature to save the fisheries from entire ruin by consenting to the expedition. The consideration of the question was therefore reopened, and the daring project was at length sanctioned by a majority of one. Even that bare majority was the result of an accident. A member of the Assembly who afterwards became famous —Andrew Oliver—was going down to the House on the day the final debate took place, with the intention of voting against the proposal, when he fell and broke his leg. When the House divided, the numbers on both sides were equal; and the Speaker, though personally inclined to a negative, gave his casting vote in favour of the expedition, because he conceived that such was the general desire of the people.

It was therefore with considerable misgivings on the part of many that the coming blow was prepared. Once determined on, however, the plan was forwarded with great vigour. New York was solicited to send assistance, and did so to the extent of providing a small amount of artillery. Even Pennsylvania aided by the contribution of a stock of provisions; but only the New England provinces furnished men. Massachusetts equipped an army of three thousand soldiers. Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen; New Hampshire, three hundred and four; and Rhode Island, three hundred, who, however, sailed too late to be of much service. The united force thus consisted of three thousand eight hundred and twenty men, with a small reserve of three hundred, though some accounts place the active total at more than four thousand. A few colonial sloops were already on the spot, and had done good service in capturing several French vessels laden with provisions for the garrison of Louisburg, and in repulsing a ship of war. Commodore Warren, who was in the West Indies with an English fleet, was invited to join the expedition; but this he at first refused to do in the absence of orders from England: however, he subsequently met the other forces (unexpectedly by them) at the island of Canseau, having been ordered to sail for Boston, to concert measures with Governor Shirley for general service in North America. The New England forces sailed for Louisburg in April, 1745, under William Pepperell, commander-in-chief, and Roger Wolcott, second in command. They came within sight of their place of destination on the 11th of May, and landed on the east coast of Cape Breton in Gabarus Bay. In the early morning of the 12th, a detachment of four hundred men marched towards the Royal battery, burning all the houses and stores they met with on their way. Seeing them approach, and imagining that the entire army was in sight, the French (who were completely taken by surprise) spiked their guns and abandoned the battery, of which the New England troops immediately took possession, turning its guns upon the town, and against the island battery in the harbour. The siege-guns, being placed on sledges, were dragged

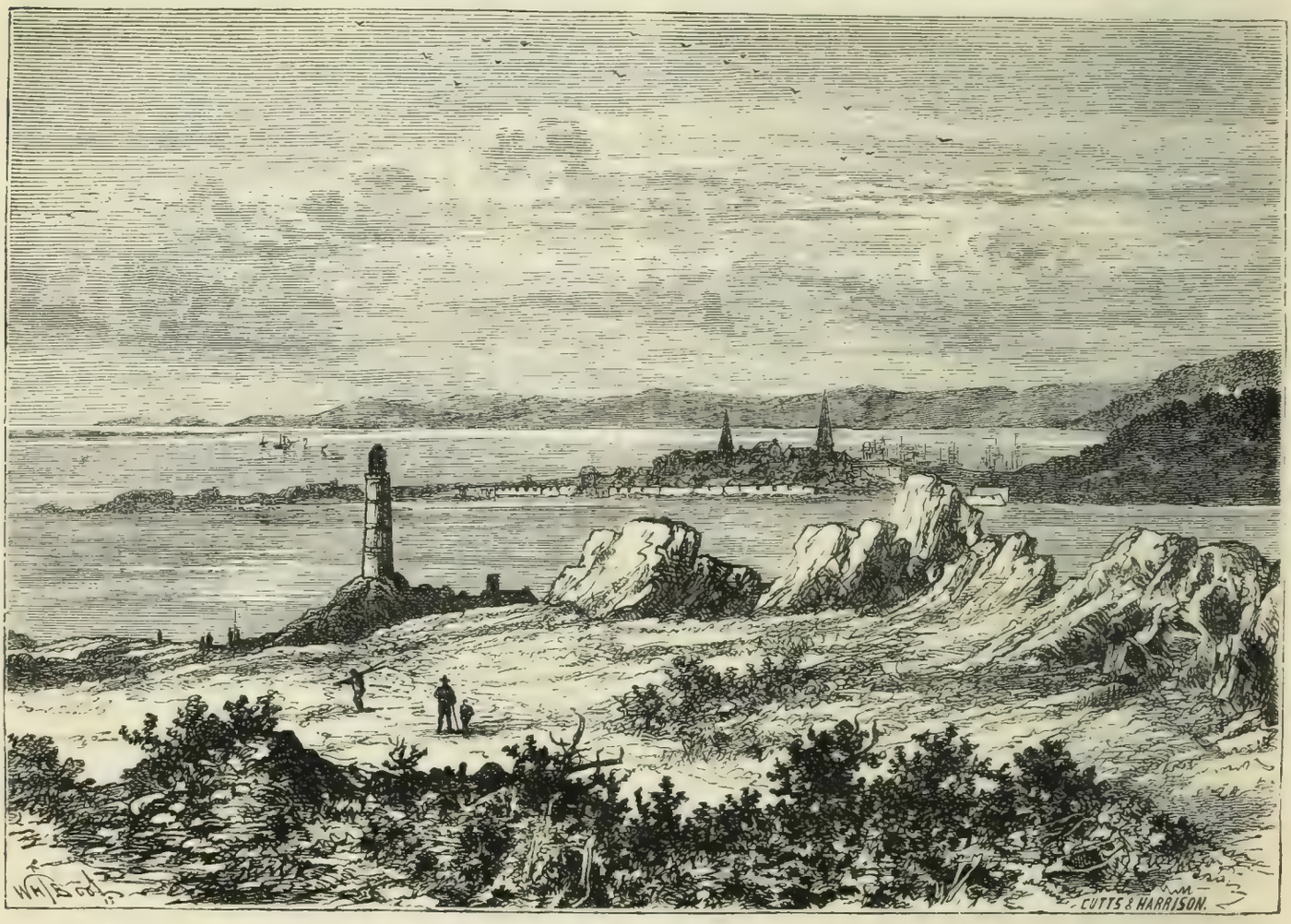
with ropes across a morass by the soldiers, as it was found impossible, owing to the nature of the soil, to employ either horses or oxen. In conveying them over, the men sank to their knees in the mud, but nevertheless performed their task successfully. A French ship of seventy four guns, containing a quantity of military stores for the supply of the garrison, and having five hundred and sixty men on board, was captured by Commodore Warren's fleet towards the end of May. The English fleet was soon after augmented by the arrival of fresh ships, and the operations were now pushed forward with great vigour. The island battery was overpowered by the siege-works; the circular battery was nearly destroyed; within two hundred yards of the city, trenches were opened near an advanced post, the guns of which played upon the north-west gate; and, although no breach had been effected, and the garrison were making the fortifications still stronger, the town itself had suffered considerable damage. It was arranged that on the 29th of June a combined attack by the sea and land forces should take place; but on the previous day the whole island of Cape Breton, including the city, fort, and batteries, surrendered to the invaders.

The conquest of Louisburg was remarkable, for it was the triumph of citizen soldiers over an army posted behind walls in a position of considerable strength. It is true that a large part of the French force consisted of Breton militia; but they had the protection of their fortresses, and were under the control of regular troops. The New England levies were entirely unprofessional. Pepperell, the chief commander, was simply a militia colonel, whose usual pursuits were those of a merchant. Wolcott, the second in command, was the Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut. The rank-and-file of the expedition were fishermen, mechanics, and lumberers. Some, indeed, had not long been connected even with the provincial militia, but had enlisted for this particular service. Yet most of them had been accustomed from boyhood to the use of arms, and many had led lives of toil, of activity, of hardship, and of danger, in the backwoods of New England. The army was pervaded by strong religious zeal; and as its religion was the child of Protestant Dissent, while the religion of the French was Popish, another feeling of antagonism was added to that of race. George Whitefield, who was then preaching in New England, suggested a pious motto for the flag of the New Hampshire force, which caused many to enlist in that regiment, as if it were set apart for some specially sacred service; and one of these volunteers, a regimental chaplain, carried with him a hatchet, with which he vowed that he would destroy all the images he found in the French churches. Seth Pomroy, a major in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and a gunsmith, wrote to his wife from before the walls of the fortress, "It looks as if our campaign would last long; but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." His wife was equally cheerful. "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," she wrote in reply. "The whole town [Northampton, in Massachusetts, from which Pomroy came] is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God." The siege was conducted in the most irregular fashion. The usual modes of working up to a fortress, by trenches, parallels, and covered approaches, seemed mere foolishness to these unprofessional fighters. They did indeed erect fascine batteries—batteries reared on timber-work—at two ends of the city; but for the most part the siege proceeded in a loose, haphazard way, as if it were resolved to leave all things to the chapter of accidents. Whatever was methodically executed was done under the superintendence of marines from Admiral Warren's fleet. The men had no fixed encampment, and very little discipline. Being unprovided with tents, they were compelled to improvise for themselves houses of turf and brushwood; and at night they slept on the bare earth, or advanced their siege-works under cover of darkness. During the day, they amused themselves in any vigorous manner they could devise—in firing at marks, in fishing, fowling, wrestling, racing, or running after spent balls. The season, fortunately, was singularly fine and dry; so that the army did not suffer nearly so much as it might have done. Still, its position was perilous in a military sense; and had not the French garrison been so weak, a great disaster might have been the result. The besieged, however, dared not venture on any sallies, owing to insufficient numbers, still further enfeebled by a mutinous spirit; and the fleet of Admiral Warren kept the seas.

The religious sentiment which animated the men was maintained throughout the whole operations. William Vaughan, after taking the grand battery, wrote to his commander, "May it please your honour to be informed that, by the grace of God and the courage of thirteen men, I entered the Royal battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." When a particularly desperate attempt was made to take the island

battery, after several previous attacks, the discomfited troops said that Providence seemed remarkably to frown upon the affair, and it had indeed resulted in nothing but a savage fight on the island, a wild rush for the boats, and the loss of nearly two hundred men in killed, wounded, and captured. On the other hand, when the capitulation at length took place, and the victors saw the immense thickness of the walls, and the general strength of the fortress, they said that God had gone out of the numerous French vessels which at that time of the year were expected to arrive. In this way many captures were made, and the prizes altogether were valued at upwards of a million sterling.

Although the co-operation of Commodore Warren had been of great service, it would be unjust to deny that the chief share in the success was due to the military forces of New England, which had exhibited some of the best qualities of soldiership, however much they may have been wanting in



LOUISBURG, CAPE BRETON.

way of his common providence, in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to deliver into their hands so formidable a position. The surrender certainly did not come a minute too soon. The powder of the besiegers was beginning to fail; disease was spreading among the troops; and very shortly after they had got housed, the periodical rains set in with great violence. Duvivier was already on his way back from France with large reinforcements, but, learning on his passage that Louisburg had fallen, he returned to the seat of government for fresh orders. The fortress was manned for nearly a year by the New England troops, and the French flag was kept flying on the ramparts to decoy into the harbour the technical acquirements. That this fact was not recognised by the English Government can only be attributed to a mean jealousy of provincial efforts —a feeling rendered all the more bitter by the irritating consciousness that this American triumph was the one fortunate feature of a war which in all other respects had been discreditable. It is painful to be obliged to add that the colonial troops, and the crews of the New England vessels, were denied all share in the prize-money resulting from captures; and that the official accounts of the victory published in England suppressed the merits of the provincials with studied neglect. The colonies had been put to a heavy expense in effecting the reduction of Louisburg; yet it was only with great



IMPRESSMENT OF BOSTONIANS BY KNOWLES.

difficulty that they obtained from the English treasury a reimbursement of their charges. Pepperell was made a baronet; but that was the only honour conferred on New England.

This ungenerous conduct did much to foster a feeling of antagonism towards the mother country; and the sentiment was kept alive and intensified by large transportations of Scotch Highlanders to various parts of America, and especially to the southern provinces, after the suppression of the Second Pretender's rebellion in 1745. But as long as the war with France continued, the colonists had something else to do than to think of comparatively private quarrels. Governor Shirley was not at all content to rest satisfied with his achievement. He contemplated the complete destruction of French power in America, and the transfer of the French possessions to England; and he did his utmost, early in 1746, to induce the English Government to despatch a sufficient armament for the safe keeping of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and for the conquest of Canada. France, it was known, was preparing a great expedition, which was to recover Louisburg and Acadie, to bombard Boston, and to devastate the whole Anglo-American coast to the utmost limits of Georgia. Alarmed at this project, the Ministers of England sent a circular to the Governors of most of the American provinces, requiring them to enlist soldiers for co-operating with a British army in a general attack on the American possessions of France. The colonies thus addressed voted a military force, in the proportion of 3,500 from Massachusetts, 1,600 from New York, 1,000 from Connecticut, 500 from New Hampshire (according to Belknap, 800), 500 from New Jersey, 400 from Pennsylvania (a voluntary contribution from the non-Quaker part of the population, with which the Legislature had nothing to do), 300 from Rhode Island, 300 from Maryland, and 100 from Virginia. But no British force arrived, nor did the fleet of nearly thirty ships of war, which had also been promised, appear in any American waters. The colonists were loud in their complaints of what they regarded as treachery on the part of the mother country; but there is some reason for believing that the army was kept at home from a fear of French invasion. At length, despairing of assistance, Shirley determined on attacking some part of the French territory with his own troops. The fort at Crown Point, in the province of New York, was at one time thought of; but intelligence from Nova Scotia, to the effect that that territory was in danger, induced a change of plan.

The scheme had scarcely been matured ere news of a very alarming character reached America. A French fleet and army had arrived at Chebucto Bay, in Nova Scotia. The Duke D'Anville was at the head of no less than 3,000 disciplined and well-appointed troops; and these were to be joined by an allied force of Canadians and Indians. A momentary panic spread throughout New England. It was feared that the whole of the British colonies in America would be subjugated; but the feeling of despondency was soon succeeded by one of courage and self-reliance. Many days had not elapsed before 6,400 of the Massachusetts militia marched into Boston, and joined the troops already there. Connecticut intimated that she would be ready, if need were, to furnish 6,000 additional soldiers. The coasts were protected by new forts and batteries; and it was generally held to be certain that England would despatch an army and a fleet to the aid of her threatened possessions. So confident was Shirley of this assistance arriving, that he addressed letters to the garrison of Louisburg, announcing as a fact that succour was on its way from the parent State. By a most fortunate chance, these letters fell into the hands of the French commander. His fleet had sustained considerable damage by severe storms, which had caused numerous shipwrecks; and the spirits of all on board were already greatly depressed by the scattering of several vessels, and by the ravages of a pestilential fever which had broken out among the troops, when the arrival of this piece of intelligence introduced a new element of despondency into their minds. The commanders were divided as to whether they should pursue their enterprise, or return to France; and in the midst of this hesitation D'Anville suddenly died. By some, his death was attributed to apoplexy; by others, to poison wilfully taken. D'Estournelle, his successor, on learning that a reinforcement of French ships, which had been expected from the West Indies, had returned to France, proposed to a council of his officers that they should follow the same course, and, on being outvoted, threw himself on his sword, after the old Roman fashion, and expired. That which he had counselled was soon brought to pass by the elements themselves. Another tremendous tempest swept the seas, and raged for many days; the vessels of the fleet were driven far apart, with great loss; and, as the autumn was now considerably advanced, those of the ships which survived the storm made their way back separately to Europe. English America had been saved by the chainless fury of the winds and seas; and the New Englanders saw in such assistance the special favour and protection of God. To the English Government they certainly owed no thanks.

The despatch of D'Anville's expedition was known in London; yet the Ministers did no more than send a squadron to aid in the protection of Louisburg, leaving the colonies exposed to the danger of ravage, or even of conquest.

Towards the close of the year, the Canadian troops had established themselves in Nova Scotia, and in the winter of 1747 they were unsuccessfully attacked by a Massachusetts regiment, which, after a sanguinary struggle, was compelled to surrender. A new danger now threatened the colonists. The French Government, exasperated by repeated failures, resolved to make one more effort for the destruction of English power in America. A strong naval force was despatched from France, with orders to subdue the colonies of Great Britain; but it was encountered by Admirals Anson and Warren, and compelled to surrender, after a desperate resistance. The commander of the Canadian troops in Nova Scotia, on hearing of this disaster, led his men back to their own province, but subsequently, in conjunction with his Indian allies, made repeated sallies across the borders of New England and New York, and inflicted great misery on the settlers by unrestrained havoc and cruelty. So great was the dread of these incursions in New Hampshire that the people fortified their houses, and dared not stir abroad unarmed. Plantations were laid waste, and large numbers were massacred, or carried into captivity. The prisoners, however, were treated by the Indians with a degree of humanity which contrasted very favourably with what had been experienced in previous times. On the part of the New Englanders, the war, at this date, was managed with great feebleness. The first flush of enthusiasm had passed; the division of power amongst several petty Governments resulted in confusion, contradictory orders, and vacillation of purpose; and commands were often bestowed on incompetent men, in order to conciliate political opponents, or reward political partizans.

The fear of French attack had a remarkable effect on Pennsylvania in the course of 1747. By that year, the non-Quaker part of the population had increased so largely that the Friends formed no more than a third of the total.* The Quakers, by dint of wealth and social influence, still maintained their ascendency in the Legislature; but even there it was dwindling. The mass of the people complained loudly that they were left without protection against possible or even probable assaults. Many of the Quakers themselves admitted the lawfulness of defensive war; others, not liking to contradict any opinion put forward by the founders of their sect, and yet feeling the practical difficulties into which an extreme punctiliousness would carry them, seemed desirous of shirking the whole question, and of letting others have their way, provided they were not called on to pronounce an opinion on the subject. The ingenious shifts by which they managed to supply the war-requisitions of the English Government, without seeming to do so for military purposes, have already been noted. "In 1745," said Dr. Johnson to Boswell, "my friend Tom Cumming, the Quaker, said he would not fight, but he would drive an ammunition-cart; and we know that the Quakers have sent flannel waistcoats to our soldiers, to enable them to fight better." By the aid of this equivocating policy, and by the strong determination of the non-Quakers not to be left defenceless, the Governor of Pennsylvania was enabled, though in an irregular way, to obtain, in 1747, the establishment of a militia. The chief agent in bringing about this result was a man whom we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to mention, as being one of the great central figures of American society during the eighteenth century. Benjamin Franklin was at that time living in Philadelphia, and, by his pen as well as his tongue, did more than any one to mature the scheme for a militia, and bring it into action. He suggested a lottery for providing the needful funds for forming a military body, and planting batteries on the river; and, as James Logan wrote in his Journal, he "found a way to put the country on raising above one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten, of about a hundred men each." The women were particularly zealous in the matter, and furnished ten pairs of silk colours, wrought with various mottoes. Franklin said he estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defence as only one to twenty-one. Yet the Assembly refused to sanction the scheme for a militia, and it was carried out entirely as a private undertaking. The command of a regiment was offered to Franklin; but he declined it, and preferred to serve in the ranks.

Rumours of peace obtained very general currency as the summer passed into autumn; and in September the provincial army was disbanded, by order of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State. The New Englanders were now possessed by the conviction that the home Government did not wish to destroy the French power in America, but calculated on the dread which it inspired for keeping the English colonies in a state of dependence on the mother country. This tendency to insubordina-

* Bowden's History of the Society of Friends in America, Vol. II., chap. 7.

tion was increased during the autumn to a rather alarming extent by an incident which roused the Bostonians to a degree of excitement such as had not been equalled since the time when Andros and his subordinates were seized by the populace, and thrown into prison. It was the custom in those days, and even down to the later period of the war which terminated in 1815, for the English Government to man the Royal navy by the forcible impressment of able-bodied persons supposed to be fit for that service. The practice—a relic of feudalism—was commonly, and very justly, regarded as a monstrous and peculiarly cruel violation of the liberty of the subject; and it was the height of folly and rashness to extend such a system to the colonies, where it was without even the feeble warrant of ancient usage and historic precedent. Yet the Ministers of the Crown had obtained from their law-officers an opinion in favour of so extending it, and on two or three occasions attempts at impressment had been made in Virginia, but had always been defeated by the populace. A similar attempt occurred in New England in the November of 1747, though not by direction of the home Government. Commodore Knowles was at that time lying with some English ships of war off Nantasket, in Massachusetts. Several of his sailors deserted, and, to fill up the gaps, he sent off his boats to Boston at an early hour of the morning, seized all the seamen whom he found in the vessels lying in the harbour, and even carried off from the wharfs a large number of apprentices to ship-carpenters, and other landsmen. As soon as the fact became generally known, the townspeople were transported with rage. Several armed themselves, and proceeded to the Governor's house, where some of the captains of the English squadron were assembled. The officers, seeing the threatening action of the mob as they gathered in front of the building, prepared to defend themselves with carbines, and a murderous collision seemed imminent. The people, however, were dissuaded from breaking into the house; but a deputy-sheriff, who made some ineffectual attempts to restore order, was ignominiously set in the stocks.

At night, the rioters assembled about the town-hall, where the General Court was sitting, flung stones and brickbats against the doors and windows, and demanded the restoration of the impressed men. Governor Shirley addressed them in a reassuring speech from the balcony; but the more extreme leaders of the popular party insisted that the English officers should be detained as hostages. Shirley had great difficulty in getting from the town-hall to his own dwelling without ill-usage; and the aspect of the mob became so menacing as the night wore on, that the militia were next morning summoned to assist in quelling the disturbance. They refused to act, and the insurgents, now almost complete masters of the town, secured the officers who were on shore, and placed a guard over them. Shirley took refuge in the castle, as Andros had done in the eventful days of April, 1689, and thence wrote to Commodore Knowles, begging the release of the impressed men, as the only means of restoring tranquillity; but Knowles replied by vowing that he would bombard the town unless his officers were released. The Assembly found it necessary to take some steps for the restoration of tranquillity. They accordingly passed a series of resolutions, declaring that the conduct of the insurgents (amongst whom there appear to have been several negroes) was repugnant to municipal government and order; requiring all officers, civil and military, to aid in suppressing the tumult; and, while promising to adopt means for redressing the original wrong, pledging themselves, their lives and estates, to support the authority of the Governor. It has been thought that several members of the Assembly secretly encouraged the rioters in their proceedings; but the movement had become too grave to be trifled with any longer. The Council aided the resolutions of the Assembly by an order for the liberation of the naval officers then in the hands of the insurgents, who were declared to be under the protection of the Government. The better classes of Bostonians held a meeting, at which the act of Commodore Knowles and the conduct of the disaffected were equally condemned. The popular rage had by this time burnt itself out after three days of violence and menace. The Governor was conducted from the castle back to his own house by the militia; the English officers were released from their irregular imprisonment; and the greater number of the impressed citizens, if not all, were then returned. No proceedings were instituted against the rioters by the local authorities, nor did the English Government take any notice of the affair.*

The war, which had been languishing for some time, came to a close in 1748. It had, on the whole, been very unfortunate for England, nor was it productive of much advantage to any of the hostile Powers. The proposal for a peace came from the French monarch, who found his kingdom threatened with general bankruptcy, owing to the expenses of the war, and who saw a large part of his fleet in possession of the English. A congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, and the plenipotentiaries, after sitting several months, concluded

* Hutchinson; Burk; Grahame; Bancroft.

a peace, which was signed on the 18th of October. By this treaty it was agreed that all conquests on every side should be given up; so that the acquisition of Cape Breton, due in a great degree to the valour of the New Englanders, was sacrificed for no corresponding advantage, since the French had nothing to restore in respect of British territory, excepting the small factory of Madras, belonging to the East India Company. The war had increased the national debt from about fifty millions to nearly eighty millions; yet it had resulted in no substantial gain to the English people, who were none the better for the Pragmatic Sanction being affirmed, and the Empress Maria Theresa secured in her dominions. Spain did not relinquish her claim to search the commercial ships of England; and neither Spain nor France withdrew from territorial pretensions on the American continent which had been sources of trouble for many years. All questions of boundary were left to be determined, at some ulterior date, by commissaries provided with special powers; and, as this plan had already been tried with no good result, it was evident that the disputes were simply handed over to the arbitration of another sanguinary and expensive war.

The retrocession of Louisburg and the accompanying territory was felt by the New Englanders as a great grievance, since it exposed them to a renewal of all the dangers from which they had already suffered so much, and which they had fought so hard to remove. They now asked for a reimbursement of their expenses, and obtained it, though not without some hesitation and grudging. At the suggestion of leading men in Massachusetts, the indemnity was paid in silver and copper; all bills of credit were withdrawn, and in 1749 a vigorous attempt was made to substitute a money for a paper currency, which was ultimately done. Salutary, however, as this change was generally admitted to be, it was not effected without considerable opposition on the part of several stock-jobbers and traders on borrowed capital. In resisting the withdrawal of the paper currency, they were supported by popular feeling, and meetings were held in Boston and the surrounding country, at which, notwithstanding that a majority of the Assembly were in favour of passing measures necessary to a healthy condition of the currency of Massachusetts, an outcry was raised that the only advantageous currency for the poor was the circulation of paper money. A gold and silver currency, it was alleged, would be exclusively confined to the wealthy and upper classes, and the humbler or working portion of the community would be in no way benefited by it, but would either be thrown altogether out of employment, or be compelled to accept necessaries at an estimated value in payment for their labour. A faint attempt at insurrection was made in the province, but it was immediately suppressed.

The working classes soon learned that they had no more difficulty in obtaining silver than they had previously had in obtaining paper money, nor was it long before they changed their minds, and became as averse from a paper currency as they had hitherto been in favour of it.* An Act of Parliament to ensure the permanence of the money currency of New England, and prevent a return to paper, was passed about 1751. Any colonial Governor who should affirm an Act of Assembly at all deviating from the Parliamentary statute (unless in cases of extraordinary emergency) was to incur a penalty of perpetual incapacity for public office. The Act passed by the home Government was, however, confined to the New England colonies, the various Assemblies of which were ordered to call in and discharge all bills of credit that had been issued by them, and to refrain from issuing others. Thus a great evil in the social state was removed, and commerce was placed on a safer footing by being delivered from the dangers of too facile speculation.

The bad effects of paper money had been experienced in all the American colonies excepting Virginia, where the system was not adopted. Coin was scarce, and the ready creation of a paper currency was a temptation which could not easily be resisted. The first operation of these emissions was to stimulate enterprise, and add, apparently, to the wealth of the country. But the prevalence of paper kept specie out of the colonies; the circulating medium was quickly depreciated in value; fresh issues added to the evil; business was unnaturally inflated; and, as the value of the notes was perpetually falling, debtors delayed payment as long as they could, in order that they might pay the less. The depreciation was so excessive that, in 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; that of South Carolina, one for eight; that of North Carolina, in London but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten.† It was therefore high time for the question to be dealt with firmly, and the best results ensued from the reforms now carried out. New England was rescued from the hectic fever of a false prosperity, and placed once more beneath the natural laws of trade.

* Grahame. † Bancroft.

CHAPTER LX.

Disagreement between the French and English as to the Boundaries of Nova Scotia—French Claims to the Western Territory—Alliance between the English and the Six Nations—Conference at Albany—Memorial of Massachusetts Commissioners to the Home Government on the Subject of a Common Defence against the French—Intrigues of the French with the Native Population—Alleged Supremacy of the English Parliament over the Colonies—American Repudiation of the Claim—The Question as it appeared from the American and from the English Point of View—Position of England in the Middle of Last Century—Mode in which the Colonies were governed at that Period—Project for the Settlement of the Ohio Valley—Formation of a Colony of Disbanded Soldiers and Sailors in Nova Scotia—Founding of the Town of Halifax—Dissensions with the French Population and the Micmac Indians—Colonisation of Vermont—Encroachments of the French in Nova Scotia—Collision on the Messagouche.

THE Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, as concerned the rival claims of France and England in America, was little better than a truce; and to observant politicians it could have appeared in no other light. The great questions in dispute were left unsettled, and were not likely to be adjusted by the methods proposed for that end. Both Powers sought for absolute predominance in the northern division of the New World; and each, distrusting the events of a not distant future, prepared for the renewed struggle which was all but inevitable. To the English Government it was obvious that Nova Scotia must for many years to come be a danger in itself, however useful it might be as a frontier towards Canada. The people were almost wholly French; they earnestly desired to be reunited to their brethren beyond the St. Lawrence, and they embraced every opportunity that seemed to promise the least chance of throwing off the foreign yoke which galled them. The undefined limits of the province, which left it still uncertain where the respective jurisdictions of France and England terminated, increased the dangers of a sudden rupture. It had been agreed by the plenipotentiaries at Aix-la-Chapelle that the respective boundaries should be as they had been before the war; but this was saying nothing, as no approach to a definition accepted by both sides had ever been made. Acadie, beyond all question, had been ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713; and the territory was admitted, by the French themselves, to comprise all that had ever lain within its boundaries. But the two Powers were entirely at issue as to what its ancient boundaries were. The French alleged that the term Acadie had never extended beyond the peninsula lying to the south-east of the Bay of Fundy, to which at the present day (though such was not the case at the time of which we are writing) the name of Nova Scotia is confined. The English, on the contrary, argued that it included a considerable tract of land on the continent, reaching to the limits of Canada on the north, and touching the borders of New England on the west,—the country now designated New Brunswick. Each party to the dispute determined, whenever the opportunity offered, to act on his own interpretation of the doubt. Even before the restoration of Cape Breton, at the peace of 1748, the French occupied the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the mainland; a small colony was established at the mouth of the St. John's River; and the entire country to the Kennebec, far within the present State of Maine, was still claimed as a portion of French territory. These encroachments were regarded by the English with jealous disfavour; and they prepared to dispute with their rivals the possession of so important a region.

As respected the western territories, France asserted a title to the whole basin of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. She had erected a chain of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, and in 1731 had even planted a work of this nature at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, within the province of New York, and on ground belonging to the Six Nations, who had been recognised at the Peace of Utrecht as being under the protection of Great Britain. The English authorities were determined not to relinquish the support of those tribes without an effort to retain it. In July, 1748, Admiral Clinton, a connection of the Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, and now Governor of New York, proceeded to Albany, in order to confirm the alliance with the confederated tribes by a joint treaty between their chiefs and the commissioners from several colonies, and to check the assumptions of France by a concerted defence. Clinton, and the leading member of the Royal Council, Cadwallader Colden (who was also present at the conference), had up to that time been chiefly occupied in opposing what they regarded as the tendency of the New York Legislature, together with the Legislatures of other American colonies, towards republican independence; in declaring to the home Government that little more than a shadow of Royal authority still remained in the northern plantations; and in soliciting the assistance of

regular troops, to the number of two thousand men at least, as much for the repression of faction within, as the defeat of foreign intriguers. But for the present their minds were absorbed by the necessity of securing the friendship of the Six Nations, and counteracting the designs of France.

The convention at Albany was also attended by William Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, and by Andrew Oliver and Thomas Hutchinson, commissioners from the same province. Many chiefs of the Six Nations and of their allies were present; and all resolved to have no French within their borders, and not even to send deputies to Canada for the release of their brethren taken in the late war, which was now known to be virtually at an end, in consequence of the preliminaries signed in April. It was agreed that the recovery of the captives should be effected through the mediation of the English; and the representatives of the several provinces were assured that the tribes of the Far West were well inclined to friendship. At the close of the conference, the Massachusetts commissioners presented a memorial to Governors Clinton and Shirley, setting forth that, as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York formed the barrier of English America against the French, the charge of defending their frontiers ought not to rest on them exclusively; that the other Governments had been invited to join in concerting measures, but that all, with the exception of Connecticut, had declined. They therefore counselled an earnest application to the King so far to interpose as to compel the remoter colonies, as long as the French were in Canada, to contribute in a just proportion to the expense of protecting the inland territories of New England and New York. Clinton and Shirley despatched the memorial to the Board of Trade, with an intimation of their entire agreement.



HALIFAX.

The resolution of the Six Nations to seek the restoration of their captured warriors through English agency, was entirely repudiated by the French. La Galissonière, the Governor-General of Canada, insisted on treating with those Indians as the common allies of France and England, and denied that they were the subjects of the latter. The tribes about Onondaga, on their part, refused to admit that they owed allegiance to any foreign Power. They haughtily declared that they had ceded their lands to no one; that they held them of Heaven alone. The friendship of the Six Nations wavered between the two antagonistic races

of white men, and could never be confidently assumed as a certain fact by either. In 1748, some inclined to the French and some to the English alliance; and the disposition of the former was fostered by the exertions of the Abbé Francis Picquet, who established an Indian mission on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, at a place then called Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg, where, under the shadow of immense oak-forests, near the head of the Rapids, and in close vicinity to an admirable harbour, he formed a little village of native converts, and preached to them reliance on Christianity and devotion to France. In October, 1748—the month in which peace was definitively concluded, and long after it was known in America that preliminaries had been signed—orders were sent to the commandant at Detroit to oppose, even by force, all English establishments on the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Ohio; and in every direction the French, as if to compensate themselves for the loss of Acadie and Cape Breton, were manifesting the most aggressive spirit and the most ambitious designs.

In forwarding the memorial of Hutchinson and Oliver, the Governors of New York and Massachusetts gave it as their opinion that the colonies, as regarded the contributions to a common defence, would never agree on quotas, which must therefore be settled by Royal instructions; and they added that it would be necessary to enforce those instructions by some exercise of power, since, on former occasions, several of the plantations had paid little heed to the instructions sent out from England. This was touching on a dangerous question of prerogative. The government of the plantations, even at a period subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, was held to belong, of right, exclusively to the Crown, which might depute its powers to local Councils and Assemblies, but could at any time rescind them at the mere will and pleasure of the monarch. In 1724, however, the Crown lawyers laid it down as a constitutional axiom that English colonies could be taxed only by some representative body of their own, or by the Parliament of England. Yet even the supremacy of Parliament was distasteful to the Americans, who persistently, and very naturally, asserted their right to determine such matters for themselves. Clinton and Shirley, on the other hand, relied a good deal on this Parliamentary authority, and resolved, with the concurrence of the home Government, to use it as a means of forcing the colonists to do what was desired. The plan was to be first tried in New York. On the meeting of the Assembly of that province, in October, 1748, Clinton demanded a revenue for the King for at least five years. The Assembly replied that, from recent experience, they were convinced that the method of an annual support was the most wholesome, and they were confirmed in their opinion that the faithful representatives of the people would never depart from it. Clinton warned them of the anger of Parliament, and straightway prorogued the Assembly. He then wrote to the Secretary of State, the Duke of Bedford, saying that the representatives of the people had set up themselves as the high court of appeal in American affairs; that they had virtually taken all the public money into their own hands, and issued it without warrant from the Governor; and that, by granting or withholding it according to their pleasure, they were creating a state of independence. He told his principal in plain terms that he could not again meet the Assembly without danger of exposing the King's authority and himself to contempt, unless his Majesty made a good example for all America by regulating the government of New York.

We are too apt, in criticising the events of that most pregnant epoch, to estimate the conduct of men in accordance with certain fixed principles, or rather prejudices, derived from the political ideas of a much later time. To judge with reason and with fairness, we must endeavour to throw our minds back to the middle of the eighteenth century, and to place ourselves, by a process of imaginative sympathy, in the position occupied by the chief actors on both sides of the Atlantic. In America, a number of communities had arisen, with interests to some extent distinct from those of the mother country, with perfectly legitimate and natural aspirations after the substantial part of self-government, and with a proved capacity of administration which fairly took them out of the state of tutelage. In England was a government partly liberalised by the Revolution of sixty years before, and by the traditions of that earlier day which had been moulded by the great characters of Hampden, Cromwell, and Milton; in part, still influenced by mediæval conceptions of aristocratical predominance, by the mitigated divine right of kings, and the qualified prelacy of a Protestant State Church. England and America were in fact preparing to fight over again, as between one another, the same battle of prerogative and privilege which, a hundred years before, had been fought out between contending parties in England itself, and which had resulted in a species of compromise. But the governing classes in England could not see this, and their blindness is not very surprising. *We* judge America by all that it has since become, and by the aid of

that plenitude of knowledge which facility of intercommunication, newspaper correspondence, and the wide diffusion of literature, have secured to us. *They* judged by the existing state of things, and by a very imperfect knowledge even of that. The men of those days saw in the American colonies so many offshoots from the main English trunk, and offshoots which had evinced a very unmistakable disposition to live a separate life. They found beneath the shadow of the English Crown a set of nascent republics, which, together with many republican virtues, had some republican failings. A turbulent commonalty not unfrequently rather oppressed than controlled the Executive. Jealousy of the parent State was carried, on some occasions, to the extent of petulant defiance. That quality of "peevishness" which English agents had discerned in Massachusetts in the days of Charles II., was now very generally apparent in the plantations both of north and south. Even in South Carolina, which was not the province most inclined to democratic ideas, levelling principles prevailed (according to the report of the Governor to the Duke of Bedford), and the frame of civil government was unhinged. In North Carolina, the servants of the Crown were often left unpaid for a long while, and at best were rewarded but parsimoniously; while in many of the colonies the salary of the Governor was voted from year to year, and made more or less, according as he pleased or displeased the majority of the Assembly—a position of ignominy which the home Government should never have allowed to grow into a precedent. The local administrations, moreover, could agree amongst themselves as little as with the mother country. In the face of imminent danger from the French, they could not determine on any common measures of protection; and, while the enemy was at the gates, they were engaged in disputations which an English Minister may fairly be excused for considering factious, however plainly they may have seemed to American eyes essential to the freedom and well-being of the citizen.

It must also be recollected that the position of England at that date was such as to encourage a certain haughtiness. A career of extraordinary prosperity was opening before her. Her trade—partly, no doubt, through these very American colonies—had increased enormously within the century. The seat of commerce was shifting from Amsterdam to London. The English navy, which less than a hundred years before had scarcely been able to cope with that of Holland, had now no equal on the seas. The English army, if not very successful in the late war, enjoyed at least the brilliant traditions of Marlborough's repeated victories, as the bequest of a generation immediately preceding that which then occupied the stage. England, long shut up within her insular limits, and reckoned of small account in the politics of Europe, had become a Power on the continent, with which other Powers knew they would have to reckon in the prosecution of any design they might conceive. Scotland and Ireland, the former sources of her weakness, were now adding to her strength, however reluctant, or even sullen, may have been their mood. Colonies of English growth were rising up in various parts of the globe. Even in India there were prospects of a great trading empire. In America the horizon was boundless, if only the rivalry of the French could be overcome. Then, the forests and prairies of the illimitable West might be made to feed the omnipotence of English commerce, and English workshops might produce the manufactures that would be needed in towns yet unbuilt, on the sites of which the Indian still hunted, and wild beasts still found their lairs. But, to accomplish that end, it was necessary, in the opinion of English Ministers, that there should be greater unity of power, and a more assured subjection of the circumference to the centre. Their conception was far from wrong, though they did not go the right way to carry it out. At any rate, it clashed with colonial objects, and was doomed to failure. The desire in England was for dominion, to which no strong and spirited race, in the season of its adolescence, has ever been indifferent. In America, the instinct was for independence. Each feeling was natural where it existed; and each was mingled with that alloy of selfishness which is common to all human policies and motives.

The representations addressed to the English Government by Clinton, Shirley, and persons of equal authority in other colonies, had a great effect on the Duke of Bedford, and a still greater on the Earl of Halifax, President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. The management of the colonies, which in the reign of Charles II. had been in the hands of a Committee of the Privy Council, and which for many years had been shifted about from one body to another, was, in 1696, confided by William III. to the Board of which Lord Halifax was now the head, and which was created especially for the purpose. But in some respects it was not well adapted to its ends. The Commissioners forming this Board had no seats in the Cabinet, and no access to the King. They could advise, but they could not decree; they could deliberate, but they could do nothing to carry their deliberations into effect; they could issue instructions to the

colonies, but they were void of all power to enforce them. The Ministerial control of the plantations belonged to one of the sovereign's immediate advisers. At that time, the foreign affairs of England were managed by two principal Secretaries of State, who were called the Secretaries of the Northern and of the Southern Department; and the latter was responsible for the Colonies as well. In February, 1748, the Duke of Bedford succeeded the Duke of Newcastle in the Southern Department; and he and the Earl of Halifax agreed that something should be done to vindicate the prerogative of the Crown in the plantations, and to redress the abuses in their constitutions. But it was first essential to take measures to check the alarming advance of the French in the western and northern parts of America.

The valley of the Ohio, west of the Alleghany or Appalachian chain of mountains, was at that time almost unpeopled by white men. The expedition across the range, undertaken by the Virginians in 1714, at the instigation of Governor Spotswood, had resulted in the planting of a few trading-houses and log-cabins in that wild region; but scarcely anything had been done in the way of actual settlement. The Earl of Halifax, with the sanction of the Cabinet, determined in 1749 that the territory should be colonised by England. The project had been suggested by Lawrence and Augustine Washington, of Virginia (relatives of the great man who was soon to render himself so illustrious), and by others acting with them; and the King's instructions to the Governor of Virginia directed him to grant to John Hanbury and his associates in Maryland and Virginia five hundred thousand acres of land between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, or on the northern margin of the Ohio. The members of the association, which went by the name of the Ohio Company, were to pay no quit-rent for ten years; within seven years they were to settle at least one hundred families in the territory indicated; and they were immediately to build a fort at their own cost, and to garrison the same.* The privilege of exclusive trade with the Indians was conferred on the company—a favour which excited great anger in the private traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania who had already, at great risk to themselves, penetrated into the desert. The Indians also were offended by the way in which possession was taken of their grounds, without any equivalent being offered, or permission asked; and the suspicions of the red men were aroused by the mysterious manner in which the English agents answered their questions as to the object of the sudden inroad. As these tribes were not well-disposed towards the French, and could therefore have been easily conciliated by a few presents and a courteous demeanour, it was the more regrettable that their ill-will was thus unnecessarily provoked. Their alliance against the French was certainly desirable: for the latter had taken up a position in advance of the English, whose project had come to their knowledge. Early in 1749, La Galissonière sent a party of men to trace and occupy the valley of the Ohio, and that of the St. Lawrence as far as Detroit, and formally to take possession of the whole region for the King of France.

With respect to Nova Scotia, it was considered advisable by the Ministers of George II. to introduce a considerable English element into the population, as a check upon the French. A large number of soldiers and sailors had been discharged from service at the peace. Unaccustomed for some years to industrial occupations, and disposed to the wild and adventurous habits which war engenders, these men, in many instances, became a danger to the community, and, for want of regular employment, not seldom fell into crime. The English Ministers of that day, and particularly the Earl of Halifax, President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, conceived that the establishment of a strong force of disbanded fighting-men in Nova Scotia would at once promote their own good and that of the colony, considered as an appendage of the British Crown. The design was supported both by the King and Parliament, and the latter voted, in the first instance, the sum of £40,000 towards the execution of the plan. It was hoped in this way to clear large tracts of ground still covered with primeval forests, to form new communities of English origin, and to develope the fisheries of the coasts. The proposals publicly put forward in 1749 promised to every private soldier or seaman who was willing to settle, with or without a family, in Nova Scotia, the fee-simple, or perpetual possession, of fifty acres of land, free for ten years from the payment of any quit-rents or taxes, and at no time liable to a higher tax than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres. In addition to the original grant, each head of a family was to receive another allotment of ten acres for every individual, including women and children, belonging to his family. Further grants were to be made as the number increased, and were to be proportioned to the degree of ability in agriculture exhibited by the colonists. Officers were to receive a larger number of acres, according to the rank which they

* Bancroft.

had held in the army or navy. It was further guaranteed that the lands should be parcelled out as soon as possible after the arrival of the colonists, and the establishment of a civil government which would secure to them all the liberties and privileges of British subjects; that they and their families should be conveyed to Nova Scotia, and supported for a year, at the expense of the Government; and that they should be supplied with arms and ammunition, and with such materials and implements as might be necessary for the prosecution of the fisheries and of agriculture.*

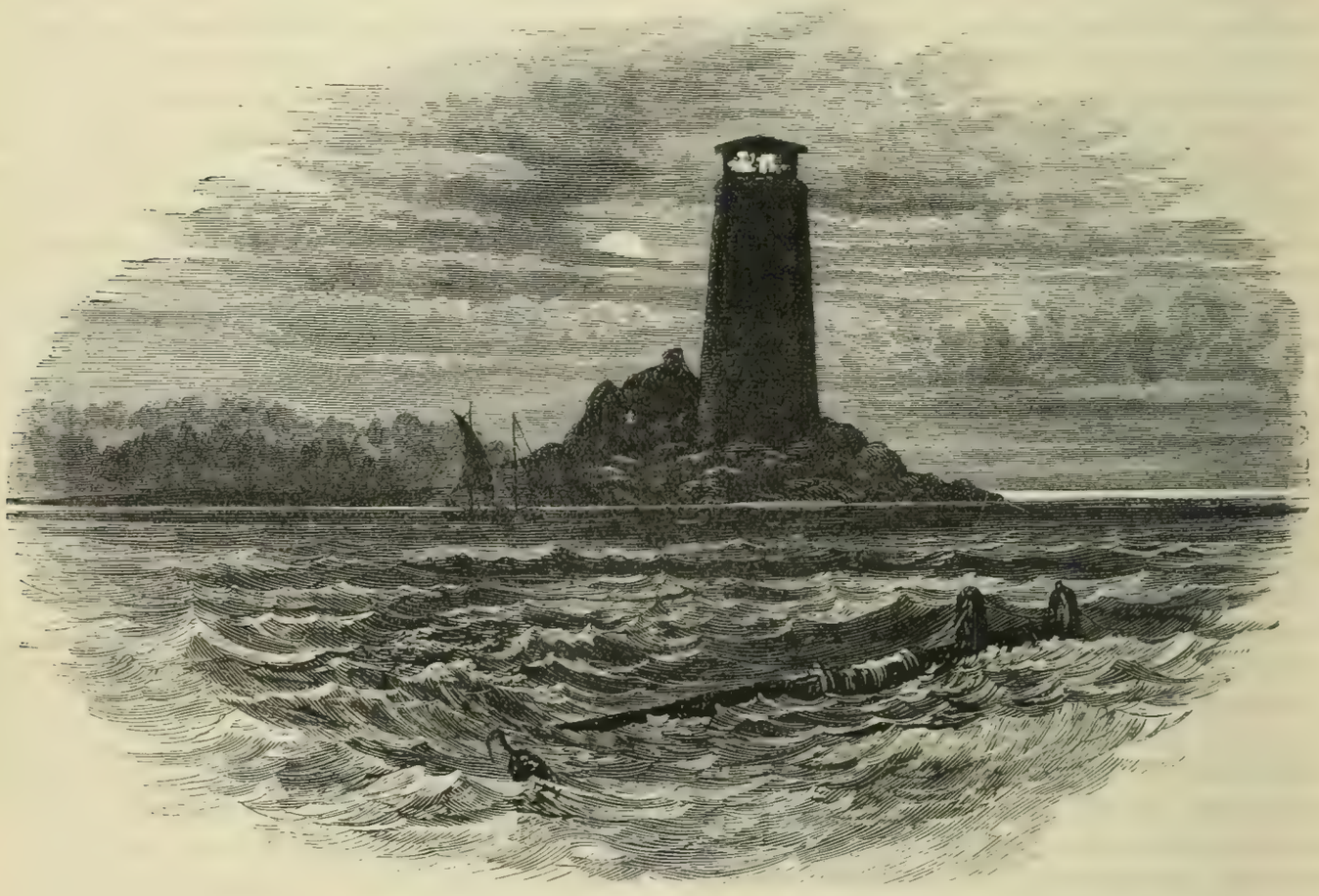
Nearly four thousand adventurers, with their families, sailed from England in the early summer of 1749, under the direction of Colonel Edward Cornwallis (uncle of the celebrated Lord Cornwallis), and arrived in the harbour of Chebucto, situated about midway between Cape Canseau and Cape Sable. As a haven for ships, the harbour could not readily be surpassed; but the surrounding country presented the most gloomy prospect to the emigrants, even at that season of the year. Vast woods of oak, fir, pine, and birch, spread down to the water's edge with one sombre continuity of shadow. Beneath the wild and dusky canopy of entangled branches, a soil sterile and rocky seemed to defy culture. The land was a solitude; not a clear spot was visible in the whole dreary waste of forest. It was necessary to begin the work of colonisation from the very beginning; and it was also desirable to be prepared, in a military sense, against all emergencies. Two regiments of infantry from Cape Breton, and a company of rangers from Annapolis, joined Governor Cornwallis in a little while; and the site of a new town was ultimately decided on. It lay close to the harbour, on an ascent which commanded a prospect of the entire peninsula, and which was well supplied with rivulets. Before the approach of winter, at least three hundred timber houses had been roofed in, and the whole had been surrounded by a strong palisade. The town thus commenced was called Halifax, after the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. At another locality, now called Lower Horton, a blockhouse was raised, and roughly fortified; and a second fort was erected at Pesaquid, near Windsor. The settlers maintained their ground, but for a long time the scheme did not answer. This was certainly owing to no want of liberality on the part of the English Parliament; for pecuniary grants in aid were made year after year, and in 1755 had amounted to £400,000. The failure was partly to be attributed to the hostilities of the Indians, who were incited by the French to make frequent attacks on the emigrants, partly to the want of familiarity with regular occupations which might have been anticipated in a number of disbanded soldiers and sailors. The fisheries were neglected; agriculture made no progress; and the colony was maintained by the bounty of Parliament, and the expenditure of the military and naval forces stationed there.

The French population of Nova Scotia had in 1730 taken an oath of fidelity and submission to English rule, and had received a promise of freedom in the exercise of their religion, and of exemption from bearing arms against their own countrymen or the Indians. They were called the French Neutrals, but their neutrality was of a very questionable order. Being, as regards religion, considered as belonging to the diocese of Quebec, they had frequent relations with Canada, and of course sided with their comrades on every occasion of dispute. In time of war, they co-operated with the Indians, furnished intelligence to the authorities in Canada, harassed the English settlers, and plotted to undermine the English power. However natural this conduct on their part, it was equally natural for the new possessors of the soil to object to such intrigues, and to seek means of self-protection. The French colonists were therefore informed, shortly after the arrival of the English colony, that they would be required to take an unconditional oath of allegiance. Sooner than do this, they professed their willingness to sell their lands and effects, and depart for France, where new homes would be provided for them. But Cornwallis would not listen to such terms, and demanded unconditional allegiance, on pain of confiscation of all their property. The Micmac Indians were at the same time required to conduct themselves with greater circumspection: they replied in a tone of defiance. "The land on which you sleep," said the Micmac chief to Cornwallis, "is mine. I sprang out of it as the grass does; I was born on it from sire to son; it is mine for ever." Thus bearded, the council at Halifax—the infant town, then only just beginning to take form out of the dense woods, for it was no later than the 1st of October, 1749—voted a resolution describing all the aborigines of the peninsula as "so many banditti, ruffians, or rebels;" and Cornwallis offered for every one of them, alive or dead, ten guineas, to be paid on producing the savage or his scalp. It was a cruel and disgraceful measure; but it had not been passed without provocation.

The same year saw the first actual colonisation of Vermont. As early as 1724, the Massachusetts Government had established Fort Dummer in this

* Smollett's History of England.

territory; but the region was claimed by the French, who gave to it, on account of the green mountains scattered over its surface, the name by which it is still known. Nothing like a regular settlement took place; but the land was coveted by many. New Hampshire and New York also conceived that they had a claim to the country; and, in 1749, Benning Wentworth, the Governor of the former of those colonies, assigned to certain persons a township, six miles square, situated four-and-twenty miles to the east of Hudson's River, and six miles north of the northern boundary of Massachusetts. He continued for some years after to confer grants of land on the western side of the river Connecticut, being under the impression that New Hampshire extended by right as far west as Massachusetts. Vermont, therefore, became the subject of complicated disputes, which were not finally adjusted until after the War of Independence. But the cession of the township in 1749, by the act of Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, must be regarded as the commencement of what afterwards developed into a separate State.



CANSEAU POINT.

The establishment of the English colony at Halifax greatly annoyed, and even alarmed, the French. They planted on the isthmus connecting the south-eastern with the north-western part of Nova Scotia a force of soldiers under the command of La Corne, a man of extreme views and violent passions. The French inhabitants of the village or small town of Chiegnecto, or Beaubassin, now Fort Lawrence, had given shelter to La Corne throughout the winter of 1749–50; and, although the place lay beyond the limits which that officer was directed to defend, he required the people to take the oath of allegiance to Louis XV. The inhabitants of even remoter settlements were commanded to renounce subjection to England, and to seek refuge with the French. Thus, at the commencement of 1750, a French army, strengthened by Indian auxiliaries, occupied the whole tract of country from Chiegnecto along the north side of the Bay of Fundy to the river Kennebec; and the French Neutrals in territory confessedly English were incited to quit their lands, and reinforce the rival Power. The Indians, also, had again appeared in arms against the settlers in Halifax and the vicinity; and the situation seemed so menacing that Cornwallis contemplated making a speedy attempt to recover Chiegnecto. He needed assistance, however, and he sought for it from the Government of Massachusetts. It was answered

that, by the constitution of the province, the Assembly could do nothing without being first convinced of the necessity of raising supplies. Such a conviction, it might have been supposed, would not have been very difficult to arrive at; but Massachusetts was content to do nothing, though its own safety was not very remotely concerned. Shirley had by this time gone to Europe, to act as one of the English commissaries in the approaching discussions with France as to the disputed boundaries in America; and Spencer Phipps, the Lieutenant-Governor, had no great influence with the Assembly at Boston. In reply to his suggestion that an expedition should be sent to Nova Scotia, it was stated that Massachusetts itself would need all its forces for self-protection; that an encroachment on that province had just been made by the French, in the direction of the Penobscot; and that attempts to seduce the Six Nations were being renewed. Cornwallis was therefore left to do what he could with the force at his disposal.

He sent from Halifax a party of four hundred men, who, at sunset on the 20th of April, 1750, arrived not far from the entrance to what is now called Cumberland Basin, near the little town of Chiegnecto. On the following morning, the French priest, La Loutre, set fire to the church; the inhabitants burnt their houses to ashes; and all escaped across the river Messagouche into a district less certainly English. Lawrence, the English commander, landed on the northern bank of this stream on the 22nd, and had an interview with La



NIAGARA AND THE BEAVER DAMS. (*From Moll's "New and Exact Map,"* 1715.)

Corne, but without obtaining any satisfactory assurances. The position held by that officer was a very strong one; he was said to have under his command two thousand five hundred fighting men, including Indians; and Lawrence felt that he had no choice but to withdraw, leaving the French in possession of the isthmus. In the following August, Chiegnecto, which had by that time been again occupied by the Acadians, was seized by another military force from Halifax, after a sharp skirmish; and Fort Lawrence was built by the English on the southern bank of the Messagouche. The French, however, were strongly fortified on the opposite bank, and they held with a firm grasp the whole of continental Nova Scotia. Thus, while negotiators were preparing to discuss the question of boundaries, blood had already been shed, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was virtually at an end.

CHAPTER LXI.

Meeting at Paris of the Commission for the Settlement of Boundaries—Vicissitudes of Nova Scotia—The Arguments of the English and of the French—Proceedings of the Ohio Company—Explorations of Christopher Gist in the Western Territory—Interview of Gist with the Indians—Repudiation of the French Alliance—Dissensions in the English Ministry—Resignation of the Duke of Bedford—Collision at Sea with French Vessels—Dealings of French and English with the Indians—Proceedings in England with reference to the American Colonies—Representations of the English Ambassador at Paris—Illusive Promises of the French Government—Tragical Incident at New York—Early Life of George Washington—His First Military Employment—Expedition to Fort Le Bœuf—Interview with the French Commanding Officer—Perils and Hardships of the Return Journey.

England and France had, by their military representatives, already come to a rupture in Nova Scotia when, in September, 1750, the commissioners appointed by both Powers to settle the question of boundaries met at Paris. The shedding of blood at Chiegnecto rendered a peaceful settlement of the disputed points all the more unlikely; but in truth it was at no time probable. Each side was avaricious of terrritory and influence; neither side was disposed to bate a jot of its most extreme pretensions. The original rights of the two Powers were extremely difficult to ascertain, and the artificial rights conferred by treaties had inherited some portion of the primitive obscurity. It is probable that the whole coast of that part of America was discovered by the Cabots in 1497; but the English neither explored nor took possession of the disputed country, which was first examined and colonised by the French in 1604. The land called by the French Acadie, and by the English Nova Scotia, was granted in 1621 to Sir William Alexander; but the French held their ground, and, by the Treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, the territory was made over to them. It was again seized by the English under the rule of Cromwell, and again handed over to France by the Treaty of Breda in 1667. The country once more passed into the hands of the English during Queen Anne's war, and was ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. But the definition of boundaries was at that time left to be settled by some future arrangement, and had ever since remained undetermined.

Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, was placed at the head of the English commission of 1750, and at the first sitting he presented a memorial claiming for his country all the land east of the Penobscot and south of the St. Lawrence, on the ground that it was included within the ancient limits of Acadie. The French, on the other hand, not only denied that the north-western or continental part of Nova Scotia (now called New Brunswick) formed at any time a part of Acadie, but laid claim even to a large portion of the peninsula as well, urging that the term Acadie never extended beyond a narrow strip of land lying on the Atlantic between Cape St. Mary and Cape Canseau. On behalf of the English, it was shown that the French themselves, in various official documents—treaties, commissions to local officers, despatches from ambassadors, &c.—had given to Acadie the very limits for which Great Britain was now contending. In particular, it was proved that, in the year 1662, when France revived her claim to the province in question, after its conquest by Cromwell, which had been neither adopted nor repudiated by the restored monarchy, the French Minister at the court of London assigned the river St. Lawrence as the northern boundary of the country, and Pentagoet, on the borders of New England, as the western. At the Treaty of Breda, France thought her right to this territory, and the general designation of Acadie, so clear that she desired no specification of limits in that document, but was content with the simple statement that Acadie should be re-

stored; and, in a dispute which afterwards arose as to the execution of the treaty, France reasserted the foregoing as the limits of Acadie, and ultimately obtained possession of the country so defined. On many other occasions, she either alleged or admitted the same boundaries; and by the Treaty of Utrecht she was understood to transfer, as Acadie or Nova Scotia, the same tract of country as that she had previously received. The French commissioners of 1750, however, contended that the ancient limits of Acadie, referred to in that treaty, were different from those contemplated by the Treaties of St. Germain and Breda, and were to be interpreted by old maps and the statements of historians, from which, they said, it appeared that the geographical term in dispute was originally restricted to the south-eastern part of the peninsula. They added that the commissions of the French Government to which the English agents had referred were to be understood as indicating Acadie and the surrounding country, not Acadie only; that New France was a province in itself; and that many places claimed by the English as parts of Acadie were named in French commissions of government as belonging to New France. Furthermore, they argued that the opinions of a State with regard to the limits of any country could not be inferred from declarations made during the negotiation of a treaty; and that the express restitution made by the Treaty of St. Germain, and the possession taken by France in consequence of the Treaty of Breda, were facts of no import or value in the matter then under discussion.*

These arguments were very far from convincing the English commissioners, who showed that the French historians, Champlain and Denys, themselves assigned to Acadie the very limits now asserted by England. Even some of the French maps confirmed this view, though others gave different boundaries to the disputed territory. Smollett, who writes with considerable heat and vehemence on this question, charges the French with having used every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, to defeat the manifest justice of the English claim, and with producing false maps and charts of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented. The same assertions are made by another historian with more detail. It is alleged that M. Bellin, the geographer, who had published a set of maps of the country, afterwards issued another set, as the first were held to be too favourable to the English contention. Shirley pointed out this variation to M. Bellin, and told him that a hundred copies of the first maps were dispersed in London; on which the geographer, after a momentary start of surprise, observed, "We in France must follow the commands of the King."† It is well known that the French were in the habit of putting forth false maps, to confuse the real boundaries of their possessions, and mislead rival claimants; and it is very possible that the trick was resorted to on the present occasion. The English claim certainly seems much better supported than that of the French. In the estimation of the latter, the name Acadie meant two very different things, according as they were to receive or to relinquish territory.

While these matters were being discussed at Paris, events in America were drawing nearer to a climax. The occupation of the Ohio valley by the English was regarded by the French with great jealousy, and the tribes in alliance with the former were threatened with serious consequences. To many in New York it seemed a necessity to form some species of union among the several colonies, as a measure of self-protection, or Ohio would be lost. Clinton, the Governor of New York, proposed to the Governors of other colonies in alliance with Indian nations that they should send commissioners to meet the native chiefs at Albany; but the invitation was not generally accepted, owing, as Clinton expressed it, to the penurious temper of the American Assemblies. The territory granted to the Ohio Company, and the savages inhabiting it, were thus endangered; but the members of the association made the most of their opportunities. The Indian hunters, who had traversed the whole country, and knew every winding of its streams, and every fold of its woody hills, pointed out to the white men a passage to the river Ohio by Will's Creek. Other discoveries followed, and the directors of the Company gave instructions to a well-known explorer, named Christopher Gist, to examine the western country to the Falls of the Ohio, to collect whatever information might be required by intending settlers, and to look out for a large tract of level land. He started from the Potomac on the 31st of October, 1750, crossed the Alleghanies, and plunged into a wide country, scattered over with the villages of Indian tribes, some adhering to the English, and others to the French. But the Governor of Canada had by that time announced that he would treat as enemies any English subjects who should settle near the Ohio, or even trade with the Indian inhabitants of that region; and he had already

* Smollett's History of England.

† Smith's History of New York.

seized and imprisoned some of the traders. The forts erected by the French between Quebec and New Orleans were being turned to account as places of confinement for adventurous Englishmen and Anglo-Americans who presumed to trade with the natives beyond a certain limit. The Wyandots urged Gist to make a similar stand on behalf of his own nationality; to bring great guns, and build a fort. They were so angry at the capture of the English traders that they would have revenged it by killing three French deserters, if Gist would have allowed them. Yet the question of giving support to the English they referred to the decision of a general council. In the early part of 1751, Gist, now accompanied by Croghan, the representative of Pennsylvania, whom he found among the Wyandots, pursued his way, and, crossing the Scioto, entered a region which had never before been traversed by white men. The country for the most part was level and richly wooded. Small streams, welling from unknown sources, seemed to thread the land with silver; here and there, large prairies spread out from the edges of the woodlands, presenting a fair expanse of wild grasses and wild flowers; turkeys, deer, elks, and herds of buffaloes, were to be seen in every direction. Still pressing westward, the explorers swam their horses over the Great Miami, and floated their goods and saddles across on a raft of logs. Entering a village of the Picqualennees, with the English colours flying, they were received as honoured guests in the house of the sachem, and were allowed to plant their flag upon the roof.

The friendship of these Indians was an important point to secure; for the Miamis formed a confederacy even more powerful than the Six Nations, with whom they were in amity. Their influence reached to the Mississippi, and, having long traded with the English, they were disposed to a friendly alliance. A grand council was held; speeches were made, explanations given, and presents exchanged; the calumet was smoked; and, finally, articles of peace and mutual support were drawn up between the English of Pennsylvania, on the one side, and two of the Indian tribes, on the other. Four Ottawas now approached with a present from the Governor of Canada. Being admitted to the council, they desired a renewal of friendship with the French; to which the chieftain of the Piankeshaws replied, "The path to the French is bloody, and was made so by them. We have cleared a road for our brothers, the English, and your fathers have made it foul, and have taken some of our brothers prisoners. This we look upon as done to us." Subsequently, in the presence of the Ottawa ambassadors, the war-chief of the town of Picqua (which contained some four hundred families, and, for an Indian town, was a place of considerable strength) stood up, and, apostrophising the French as if they were present, said:—"Fathers! you have desired we should go home to you; but I tell you it is not our home, for we have made a path to the sun-rising, and have been taken by the hand by our brothers the English, the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots; and we assure you that in that road we will go. And as you threaten us with war in the spring, we tell you, if you are angry, that we are ready to receive you, and resolve to die here before we will go to you. That you may know this is our mind, we send you this string of black wampum." The French colours, which up to that moment had been standing side by side with the English in the chief house of the town, where the council had been held, were taken down, and the Ottawas were dismissed. Then the confederated tribes burst into the raging war-dance and the wild music of their race, and the warriors recited their martial deeds, and boasted of what they would do in the future. Gist left on the 1st of February, and, after examining a good deal more of the magnificent country now included in the western States of the American Union, returned to the eastern settlements in the early spring.*

The action of the English Government with respect to France and Nova Scotia was hampered by dissensions among the Ministers, and by considerable doubt as to what should be done with the colonies themselves in the matter of their internal order. The Duke of Bedford, Secretary of the Southern Department, and therefore Minister of the Colonies, was at issue with the Duke of Newcastle, who held the seals of the Northern Department. Newcastle had himself presided over the former from 1724 to 1748. He had been appointed by Sir Robert Walpole, and had carried out his illustrious master's policy of interfering as little as possible with the American plantations—more, perhaps, from indolence than from liberality of sentiment. It is asserted that during his whole term of office he believed New England to be an island, and sent despatches to it under that designation; and Horace Walpole—whose statements, however, are always open to the suspicion of badinage—says he did not know but that Jamaica was in the Mediterranean. However this may be, he had no serious rupture with the colonies, and, on finding the conduct of affairs growing difficult,

* Bancroft, and the authorities cited by him.

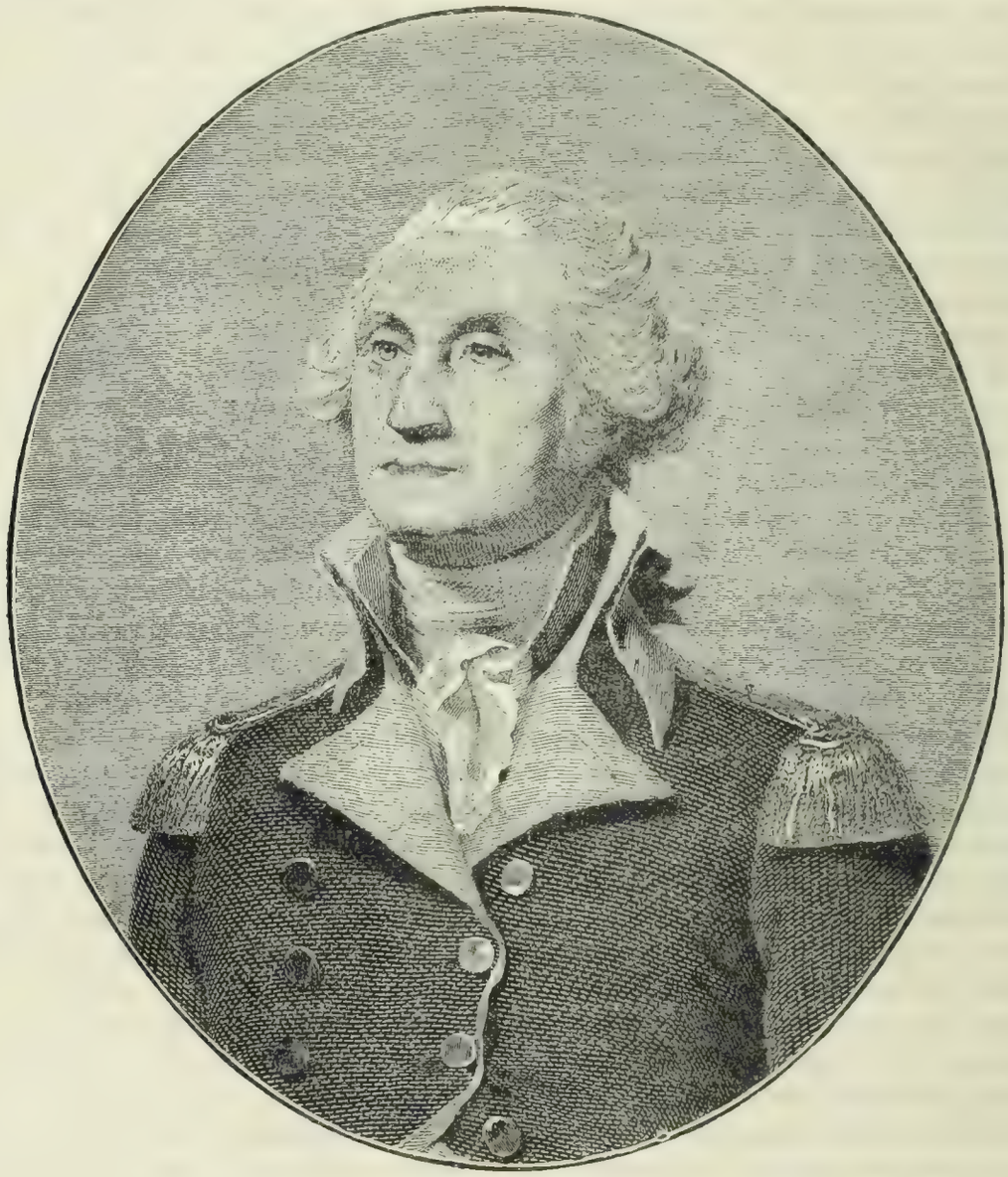
ne prudently withdrew from the Southern to the Northern Department. His successor in the administration of the plantations was a man of superior ability, of more force of character, of greater industry, and of more distinct ideas as to how the dependencies of the Crown should be managed. In place of the easy acquiescence of Newcastle, he exhibited a restless desire to assert in America the authority of the mother country. It was not long before the two Secretaries, Newcastle and Bedford, were at issue with one another. Newcastle greatly desired to get rid of his colleague; and the Prime Minister, Henry Pelham (the Duke of Newcastle's brother), thought the Earl of Halifax the person best adapted to the post. On the subject of war with France, Halifax had very different ideas from his superior, the Duke of Bedford. He was in favour of a vigorous policy in support of the English claims with respect to Nova Scotia, and would at once have sent ships of war to the spot, without waiting for the chance of an accommodation by the commissioners at Paris. Bedford dreaded the expense of a war, and thought that some pacific compromise might be reached. But it so happened that the Colonial Minister was no favourite with the King. Newcastle, therefore, found in the Royal ear a ready recipient of all his complaints, which he lost no opportunity of depositing there; and Bedford, coming to a knowledge of these intrigues, obtained an audience of the sovereign, in June, 1751, denounced the conduct of his fellow-Minister, and resigned. Halifax, however, did not obtain the seals of the Southern Department, as he had hoped. Newcastle was jealous of his rising talents, and the Earl of Holderness was appointed to the vacant place; but Halifax was at the same time assured that the whole patronage and correspondence of the colonies should be vested in the Board of Trade and Plantations, of which he was the President. The Ministerial dissensions culminating in these changes led to the abandonment of those measures for the abolition of the American charters, and for the introduction of the Church of England into the colonies, which had formed part of the policy of the Duke of Bedford, and of which some account has been given in a previous Chapter.

The chances of war were increased by a collision at sea which occurred, towards the close of 1750, between a French brigantine and an English ship of war off Cape Sable, on the south coast of Nova Scotia. The French vessel, which was accompanied by a schooner laden with provisions and warlike stores, was proceeding from Quebec to the river St. John's, when she was encountered by the *Albany*, commanded by Captain Rous. Not taking any heed of the guns which were fired to bring her to, and showing signs of resistance, the brigantine received a broadside and a volley of small arms. A sharp fight ensued, and in a little while the French vessel was compelled to strike her colours. On the side of the English, three men had been killed; on that of the French, five. Thus, blood had been spilt, both on land and by sea, while the negotiations of the commissioners were yet undetermined. The brigantine was afterwards taken to Halifax, and condemned in the Admiralty Court. The French were furious at this act of war while peace was yet nominally existing between the two nations. They complained that they had been insulted and plundered, and that their countrymen had been slain in resisting a piratical attack. But it should not be forgotten that the vessels were engaged in the transport of warlike stores; that they refused to stop when required to do so after the usual fashion in such cases; that they prepared for action before the English fired in anger; and that the whole conduct of the French in Nova Scotia, for some time past, had been such as to create a virtual state of war. France, consequently, seems to have had small ground for just complaint; but it is obvious that such an incident made the final rupture all the more certain.

Still, both sides hung back from avowed hostilities; yet they made their preparations none the less. The Iroquois, assembling in council at Albany on the invitation of Clinton, the Governor of New York, promised eternal fidelity to the English; while, on the other hand, the French made attempts, through the agency of their ever-active priests, to convert the Six Nations. In 1751, they launched an armed vessel on Lake Ontario; they fortified their trading-house at Niagara, and endeavoured forcibly to prevent the congress of the Indians at Albany; and they concerted plans for taking vengeance on the Miamis, whom Gist had brought to the English alliance. Two Frenchmen, at the head of two hundred and forty converted Indians, with thirty Frenchmen as a reserve, appeared before the town of Picqua one morning in the summer of 1752, while the greater number of the people were away hunting, and required the surrender of the English traders. It was refused, and the French then attacked the native fort (which had recently been strengthened by the English), and got possession of it, after a gallant defence. One of the English traders was killed, and five were taken prisoners. Fourteen of the Miamis fell during the action, and the ruler of the Piankeshaws, who had supreme command of the whole con-

federacy, was seized by the Indian allies of the French, slaughtered in cold blood, and eaten. This act of treacherous ferocity made the Miamis, the Delawares, and the Six Nations, still more determined to stand by the English, and a special messenger was despatched to the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia with a belt of wampum, the scalp of a French Indian, and a feathered pipe,

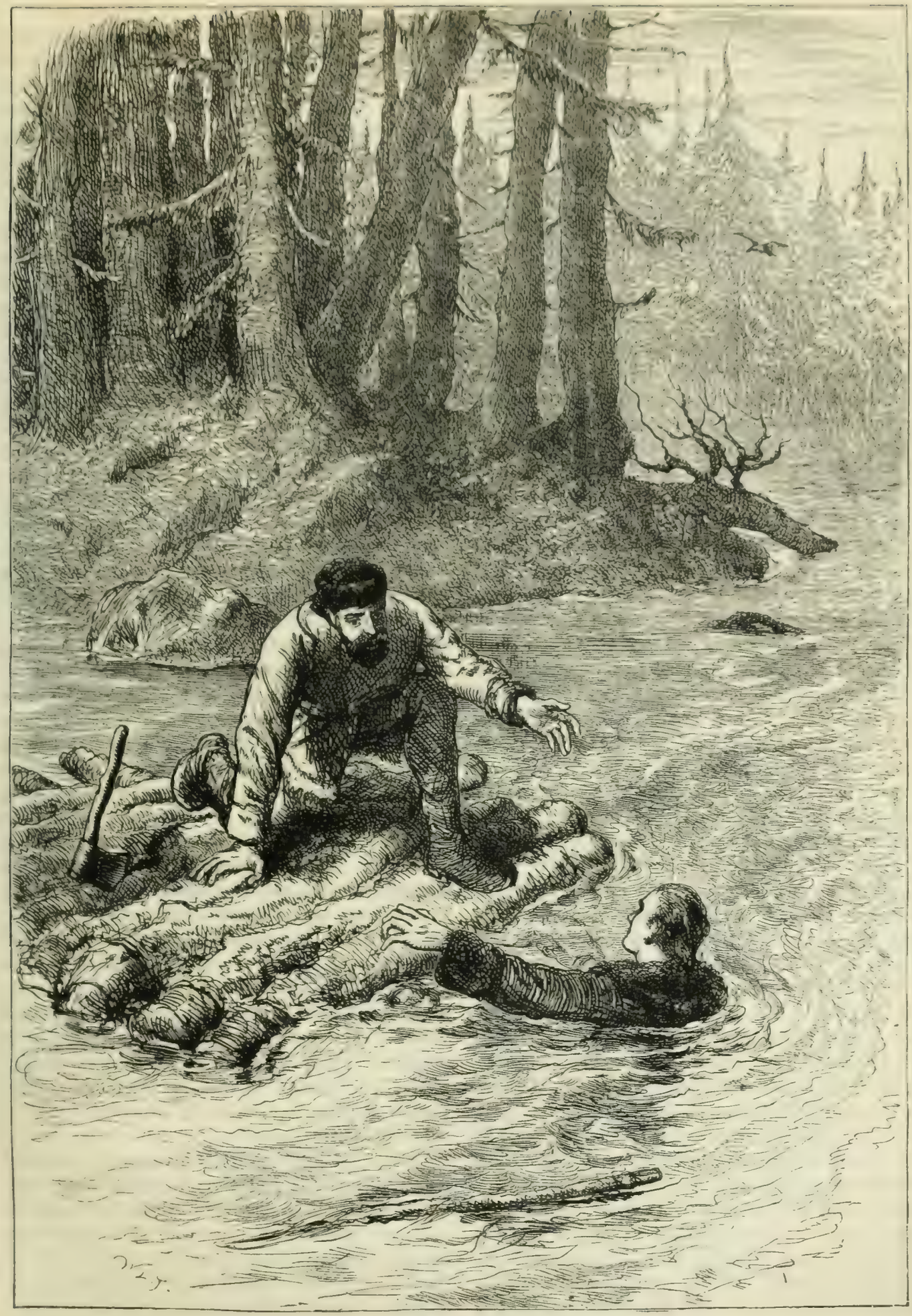
Lord Halifax was eager for an aggressive policy, and he was warmly supported by one of his colleagues at the Board of Trade, the brilliant and energetic Charles Townshend, author of the memorial on the limits of Acadie which Shirley had presented at the Paris conference, and, in the opinion of competent judges, the greatest living master of American affairs. Chiefly by his per-



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

together with assurances of friendship, and earnest entreaties for arms and assistance. The Lieutenant-Governor at that time was a certain Scotchman, named Dinwiddie—a man of intelligence and vigour. In December, 1752, he made a report to the Board of Trade on the state of affairs, asking for instructions as to his conduct towards the French, recommending a barrier of western forts, and urging the advantage of cultivating the friendship of the Miamis. The western tribes had already given permission to the Virginians to build a fort at the junction of the two rivers—the Alleghany and the Monongahela—which form the Ohio.

suasion and that of Halifax, the Board advised the Secretary for the Southern Department to occupy the eastern bank of the Ohio at once, in anticipation of the manifest designs of France. It was at the same time suggested that taxes should be laid on North America by the mother country. A general stamp-act for America, and a modification of the acts of trade, were among the expedients proposed. It was desired to obtain a revenue, out of which settled salaries could be fixed on the Governors, and the cost of Indian alliances might be defrayed. In the prosecution of these ideas, the wise maxims of Sir Robert Walpole (then dead)



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE ALLEGHANY.

were forgotten or disregarded. It must be admitted, however, that the Americans had done much to provoke this mistaken policy by their parsimonious and disrespectful treatment of the representatives of the Royal authority, and their lamentable want of union among themselves. The projects of colonial taxation were much discussed before Parliament took any steps in the matter; but at length, in the spring of 1753, it was proposed in the House of Commons to abolish the export duty in the British West Indies, and to substitute imposts on all West Indian produce brought into the northern colonies. The measure was not then passed. It was postponed, that various necessary inquiries might be made; and in the meanwhile the colonies went on in their state of chaotic independence, threatened by the encroaching power of the French, yet undetermined in their own minds as to how they should resist it.

The Imperial Government was as much at fault as were those of the plantations. The King in Council decided that the valley of the Ohio was in the western part of Virginia, and that the attempts of the French to erect a fort in those parts were to be treated as an act of hostility. The Governor of Virginia was directed to call out the whole or a portion of his militia; to build forts on the Ohio at the expense of the colony; and to repel the enemy. But no assistance was sent over in the shape of troops, ships, or money; nothing but a few guns from the ordnance stores reached Virginia from England. The other colonies were required to render mutual aid in resisting all encroachments of France on the territory of England; yet the King's Government did not even give the promise of assistance. The hands of the Ministry were tied by the fact that war had not yet been declared between France and England; but events were moving towards that end.

In the latter part of 1753, Lord Albemarle, the English Ambassador at Paris, presented to the French Government a memorial requiring in peremptory terms that satisfaction should be afforded to the injured subjects of Great Britain; that the fort erected at Niagara should be evacuated and destroyed; that positive orders should be issued to the French commanders in America to desist from further encroachments and attacks on the British settlements and colonists; that all Englishmen taken prisoners should be set at liberty and indemnified; and that the wrong-doers should be severely punished. Still, the French monarch hesitated as to war. His Ministers returned a courteous but evasive reply. The English Ambassador was assured that orders should be sent to the Governor of Canada, of such a nature as would infallibly prevent all future cause of complaint; and the British subjects seized in America, and then in France, were at once released. The instructions sent to Canada, however, were violated by the local authorities, and it is probable that this was done in accordance with a private intimation to that effect.

A tragical incident at New York gave a sombre colour to the closing months of 1753. Sir D'Anvers Osborne, brother-in-law of the Earl of Halifax, was appointed Governor of that province, and left England with instructions originating with Lord Halifax and Charles Townshend, and confirmed by the Privy Council in presence of the King. The mind of the new Governor had, previous to starting, been to some extent unhinged by a private grief; and during the voyage he seems to have been overcome by a feeling of nervous apprehension as to the impossibility of his carrying out the policy he had been appointed to enforce. The preamble to the written instructions he carried with him described the New York Assembly as an undutiful, disloyal, and factious body, which had repeatedly violated the Royal prerogative by usurping a control over the expenditure of the public money. Osborne was to insist on the reformation of all such abuses, and particularly to require the establishment of a definite revenue for the service of the Government, and the appropriation of a fixed salary to his own office. All money raised for the support of Government was, by his Majesty's express command, to be disposed of by warrant from the Governor, with the consent of the Council, and not otherwise. The money was to be levied, as before, by the Assembly, the members of which were from time to time to see the accounts of expenditure; but if any member of the Council, or Ministerial officer holding a place of trust or profit, should in any manner whatever encourage, advise, or concur with the Assembly in passing, any act or vote whereby the Royal prerogative might be limited or impaired, or any money be raised or expended by methods different from those prescribed, the functionary so offending should be degraded from his office by the Governor.*

In the prolonged leisure of his passage across the Atlantic, Osborne had time to think over these instructions, and to discover in them the danger of a rupture with the colonists, such as he might not be able to deal with successfully. The people of New York equalled those of New England in the tenacity with which they clung to their privileges, and the stubborn determination with which they

* Smollett.

resisted whatever appeared to them an excess of the Royal prerogative. Osborne began his work in a mood of despondency. On the 10th of October he took the oaths of office at New York, and the very same day received an address from the city council, plainly intimating that they would not suffer any infringement of their liberties, civil or religious. Next day, Osborne met the Council of the province, and communicated his instructions to them. With an expression of face and a tone of voice indicating great mental distress, he asked if those instructions would be obeyed. He was told that the Assembly would never comply with such requisitions. Heaving a deep sigh, he turned round, leant against the window-frame, and in a bewildered way exclaimed, "Then, why have I come here?" The task was impossible to a man of his nature, or to one in his then condition of mind. He spent the night in arranging his private affairs, and was found next morning hanging in the garden attached to his residence.* The chief authority then devolved on the Lieutenant-Governor, James Delancey, a native of New York, of Huguenot origin. The custom of annual grants, he assured the home Government, could never be surrendered; but the popular party in the Assembly relinquished their former claims to executive power, and consented that all disbursements of public money (excepting for the payment of their own clerk and their agent in England) should require the warrant of the Governor and Council.† The instructions to Osborne were in some improper way made public, and a feeling of bitter antagonism to England was thus aroused. The New York Government shortly afterwards replied to the strictures of the mother country by charging Clinton with embezzling public funds, and concealing the fraud by false accounts; with deriving undue profits from extravagant grants of land, and from grants to himself under fictitious names; and with selling civil and military offices. These accusations, however, were never investigated. The province, likewise, made complaint that its Legislature had been directed to obey the King's instructions, which, though a rule of conduct to the Governor, could not be made the measure of obedience to the people, to whom the rule of obedience was positive law: The English Government signified its displeasure at this complaint by rejecting the address which contained it; but nothing was done towards enforcing the King's orders.

Amidst all this indecision and wrangling, the Government of Virginia made one vigorous attempt to counteract the movements of France—an attempt especially worthy of remark from the fact of its first bringing on the scene the most conspicuous figure of American history. The illustrious George Washington was at that time a young man in the twenty-second year of his age. He is supposed to have descended from an old English family, connected with the counties of Northampton, Lancaster, and Durham; but his precise ancestry is now a matter of doubt.‡ His great-grandfather had settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia, about the year 1657. The father of the future first President died while George was only ten years old, and his education was conducted partly by his mother, and partly at one of the ordinary schools of the province. It was nothing more than the usual middle-class education of the eighteenth century; but it included enough of mathematics to enable Washington to act as a land-surveyor. Of the classical languages he did not even learn the rudiments; and although, at a subsequent date, he endeavoured to acquire a knowledge of French, he appears to have failed, either from natural inaptitude, or from want of time. Those were days in which mere acquisition was not so highly valued as it is now; yet future generations may think themselves fortunate if they have always a George Washington to their needs. The boyhood of this great man showed many evidences of that methodical precision which was always one of his characteristics. While yet quite early in his teens, he constructed diagrams and prepared tabular statements. He wrote a neat, stiff hand; he compiled "Rules of Behaviour in Company and Conversation"; he surveyed the fields and plantations about the school where he was staying, and entered his measurements and calculations in a field-book with great exactness. In athletic exercises he was always foremost, and it was a favourite diversion of his to form his schoolmates into companies, and engage them in sham fights. His ambition was to enter the English navy; but his mother dissuaded him, and he began his work of land-surveying. When only sixteen, he was employed to examine the valleys of the Alleghany mountains—a task

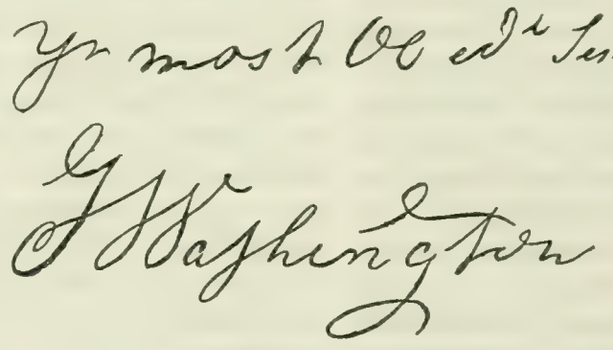
* Smith's History of New York.—The notification of the death in the Obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1753 is curiously expressed. It runs :—"Sir D'Anvers Osborne, Bart., Governor of New York, soon after his arrival there; *in his garden.*" The italics appear in the original.

† Bancroft.

‡ See "An Exposure of a Serious Error in the Pedigree of Washington," by Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester, published in the *Herald and Genealogist*, Vol. IV., pp. 49—63 (London, J. G. Nichols, 1867), wherein the author disproves the descent of Washington as hitherto accepted, and leaves the illustrious President, for the time, without an ancestor.

which was continued during the next three years, and performed with admirable skill and completeness. It was no light or easy task, for the country was a wilderness, and the severities of the weather had no mitigation in those wild passes and unsheltered glens. He wrote to a schoolboy friend that on such occasions he was his own cook, and had no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip; that he rarely slept on a bed, and regarded a bear-skin as a splendid couch; that he frequently passed the night on a little hay, straw, or fodder; and that he often camped in the forest, and was glad to warm himself by the bivouac-fire. It was only for a few weeks at a time that he could endure this life of hardship and deprivation; but after an interval of comparative rest and comfort, he would again seek the desert, carrying his instruments of science into the region of savage mountains, and the neighbourhood of savage men.

When Washington was about nineteen years of age, Virginia was divided into military districts, as a measure of protection against the advance of the French. Over each division an adjutant-general, with the rank of major, was appointed. Washington was commissioned to one of these districts, and set diligently to work to study military tactics under his brother and some other officers who had served in the expedition against Carthagena and in the West Indies. He was so good a soldier two years later (though part of his time had been spent in a voyage to Barbadoes, and a residence there of some months) that, when the number of military divisions in Virginia was reduced to four, he was still left in command of one, and in this capacity had to train and instruct military officers, to inspect men, arms, and accoutrements, and to establish a uniform system of manœuvres. At one-and-twenty years of age, he was performing the work of an experienced major-general; and he was now selected by Governor Dinwiddie for a service which demanded great skill as well as daring. He was required to make his way across a mountainous desert, inhabited by Indians whose friendship could not, in all cases, be depended on; to penetrate to the frontier stations of the French; and to bring back information concerning their position and military strength, together with an answer from the French commander as to why he had invaded the British dominions during a time of peace. The expedition was all the more onerous as winter was coming on. It was the 31st of October, 1753, ere Washington started from Williamsburg; it was the middle of November when, with an interpreter, four attendants, and Christopher Gist as a guide, he left Will's Creek, and followed an Indian trail into the dim mysteries of an unknown forest. The path took the little company farther and farther into the wilderness of fallen leaves and arching shades; carried them over deep ravines and swollen streams, made additionally desolate by the sleet and snow which then began to fall; and at length brought them, after a hurried ride of nine days, to the fork of the Ohio, where the penetrating glance of Washington saw the finest capabilities for planting a commercial city.



AUTOGRAPH OF WASHINGTON.

The party swam their horses across the Alleghany, and slept that night on the north-west bank of the river. On the following morning, the chief of the Delawares conducted them through an open country to the valley of Logstown, where they were cordially received by the Indians, with whom they planned a series of operations against the French, in the event of the latter still refusing to quit the country. Accompanied by several of the natives, Washington and his friends again set forward, and reached the French post at Venango, where the officers very frankly avowed their resolve to take possession of the Ohio. They boasted of their forts at Le Bœuf, Erie, Niagara, Toronto, and Frontenac, and said that the English, owing to their dilatoriness, would be unable, though two to one, to prevent any enterprise of the French. From this point, the Virginian envoys made their way, across creeks so swollen by the December rains as to be passable only over felled trees, towards the fort of Le Bœuf, situated at Waterford. Rain and snow fell on them with pitiless severity; they were often engulfed in miry swamps, and were so ill-provided with food as to be compelled to kill bucks and bears for their sustenance. On gaining Fort Le Bœuf, they found it surrounded by the rough, log-built barracks of the soldiers. In front lay fifty birch-bark canoes, and a hundred and seventy boats of pine, ready for the descent of the river; while, close by, materials were collected for building more.

St. Pierre, the commander of the fort, was a man of great courage, of large experience, and of so much integrity that he was at once feared and beloved by the savages. With the loyalty of a soldier, he refused to discuss with young Washington the abstract question of right. He had been placed there by his chief, and would execute the orders he had received. To the letter from Dinwiddie which Washington delivered, requiring the evacuation of the place, and the relinquishing of other recent encroachments in the same quarter, St. Pierre replied by a direct refusal, and an intimation of his purpose to seize every Englishman within the Ohio valley.

Having executed his commission, Washington, with his companions, turned homeward. The return journey was worse than the journey out; for it was now the depth of winter, and, having to cross many creeks and small rivers, the envoys suffered severely from the rigour of the season. Once, a canoe which they now had with them was driven against the rocks; at other times they were obliged to carry it across the half-frozen streams; often they waded through water which congealed upon their clothes. Snow fell heavily, and a bitter frost set in. Washington and Gist, separating themselves from the others, struck across the open country towards the Fork of the Ohio, steering their way by the compass. But the deadly cold was not the only peril they had to encounter. Hostile Indians lay in wait for the travellers, and one fired at Washington as he passed. He was taken prisoner, and Gist was for putting him to death, but his companion would not allow it. The captive was released at night; but the two white men, dreading further treachery, continued walking throughout the hours of darkness, and all next day until the night again closed in. Then, lying down under the shelter of the forest, they slept for awhile, feeling safe now from the attack of lurking foes. The Alleghany was crossed on a raft laboriously constructed out of trees which they had first to fell. The passage of the river was rendered difficult and dangerous by floating ice, and Washington, in manœuvring the raft, was thrown into the benumbing current. He and his companion got to a small island, and passed the night there: in the morning, the river was entirely frozen over, and they crossed on foot.* On the 16th of January, 1754, Washington again found himself at the Virginian capital. The journal of his expedition, which was published shortly afterwards, gave his countrymen a very high idea of his sagacity, self-reliance, and powers of observation; and his minute description of the fort which he had visited—of its form, size, construction, and number of cannon—advanced his reputation as a military critic. That winter's journey had brought a new actor on the stage of the world.

CHAPTER LXII.

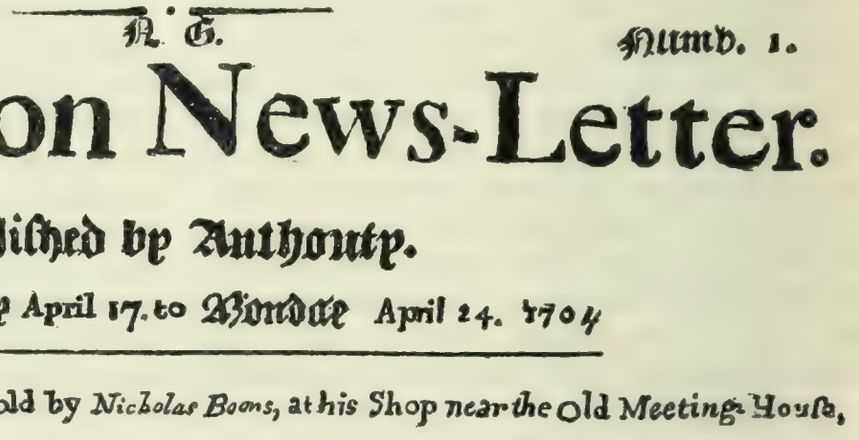
Benjamin Franklin—His Early Career, Genius, and Character—Congress at Albany in 1754—Franklin's Proposals for a Federal Union of the Provinces—Chief Features of the Plan—American and English Objections to it—Franklin's Opinion of the Project in Later Years—Plan of the British Government—Proposals by Franklin for the Representation of America in the British Parliament—Franklin on the Prospects of Western America—Want of Union among the Colonists on the Subject of Colonial Defence—Hostile Movement of the French—Despatch of Washington to the Great Meadows—His Defeat of the French, and Subsequent Surrender at Fort Necessity—Warlike Preparations of the English Government—Despatch of Troops to America—Plan of a Campaign—Negotiations between France and England, and Actual Commencement of Hostilities.

WHILE the boy George Washington was studying at school, surveying the outlying fields, or marshalling his young comrades in the ranks of mimic battle, a man old enough to be his father, but who nevertheless lived to see the Federal Republic of America fairly launched, was already exercising a remarkable influence on the course of affairs in that part of the world. In Benjamin Franklin we have a type of the young American genius, unfettered by tradition, unimpressed by authority, trying all things by the simple rule of utility, believing nothing but the actual and the rational, not much inclined to reverie, yet seeing with clear eyes the future greatness of the land. It was fit that this representative of a trading community should come of plebeian stock. Washington, who was to be the sword of the Republic, and in a certain sense its king, belonged to the landed gentry of Virginia—to that body which has always been the aristocracy of America. Franklin, who was to head the long and ever-increasing list of its authors and its men of science, was born of homely parents in the country of equality and toil, of thought and speculation—in that New England which Puritans had founded, but which was fast outgrowing the arbitrary bounds of Puritanism. He was the son of Josiah Franklin, a native

* Bancroft.

of Ecton in Northamptonshire, who, flying from the ill-usage of the Dissenters in the reign of Charles II., settled at Boston, where he engaged in the business of a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler. In the chief city of Massachusetts, Benjamin was born in January, 1706. When a boy, he, like Washington, had a wish to go to sea; but love of books lured him from that desire, and he became a printer in the office of his elder brother. He was an author at fifteen years of age, writing sharp little satirical pieces for the columns of his brother's newspaper, the *New England Courant*—the fourth journal established in America. It is a curious sign of the advance which had by that time been made in freedom of expression, that this paper spoke of religious knaves as the worst of all. The Puritan circles were in a ferment at such audacity. Old Increase Mather, dreaming of the fine persecuting days of his youth and middle age, said he could well remember when the civil government would have taken effectual means to suppress "such a cursed libel." In spite of this reminiscence, the cursed libels went on; and when the Council appointed a censor over James Franklin's press, the Representative Assembly refused to sanction it. At length, however, in January, 1723, the clamours of the frightened ministers compelled the Legislature to appoint a committee of inquiry, who summoned the printers to appear before them. Benjamin was dismissed with an admonition; but James was kept in gaol for a month, and his paper was censured, and forbidden to reappear without being previously supervised.

This was the first conflict of Benjamin Franklin with authority on a matter of speculative opinion. But the young thinker had not merely been amusing his time in the composition of irritating remarks on sanctimonious wrong-doers. The very same papers which contained these exercises of a pungent wit, had been in part set up by the clever young compositor, had been worked at press by the same hands, and again by the same hands had been delivered at the houses of the subscribers. Nevertheless, Benjamin did not get on well with his brother. The boy occupied the position of an apprentice, and it is said that James exercised the rights which were at that time commonly supposed to be inherent in a master, and beat the lad whenever he thought him remiss in his duty. A clever young fellow, strong enough to make a little commotion in the state, will not submit to be beaten, even by an elder brother; and Benjamin Franklin fled from the printing office and from his native city, to seek his fortune elsewhere. Failing to get employment at New York, he walked to the city of Burlington, in New Jersey, rowed himself down the Delaware to Philadelphia (a distance of fifteen miles), and, with no more than a dollar in his pocket, landed at the Quaker city, half exhausted with hunger and fatigue. He was but seventeen years old at the time, but his whole previous life had been a training for great things. From his childhood he had been a persistent reader. Often sitting up half the night, that he might devour whatever books he could procure,—at one time depriving himself of animal food, that he might devote his savings to the purchase of literature,—perpetually studying the *Spectator*, that he might form a pure and correct style,—acquiring the Socratic method of argument from a translation of the "Memorabilia" of Xenophon, and using that formidable weapon of confutation with so much effect as to make himself a very alarming antagonist to all who were less skilful,—this son of the Boston tallow-chandler was an intellectual force of a certain kind long before he was twenty. No doubt he had the conceit and presumption which are common in clever youths; but he was storing up, after his own fashion, the power that was to operate in many ways on the rising Republic of the West. No doubt he was blamable


R. G. Numb. 1.

The Boſton News-Letter.

Publiſhed by Authority.

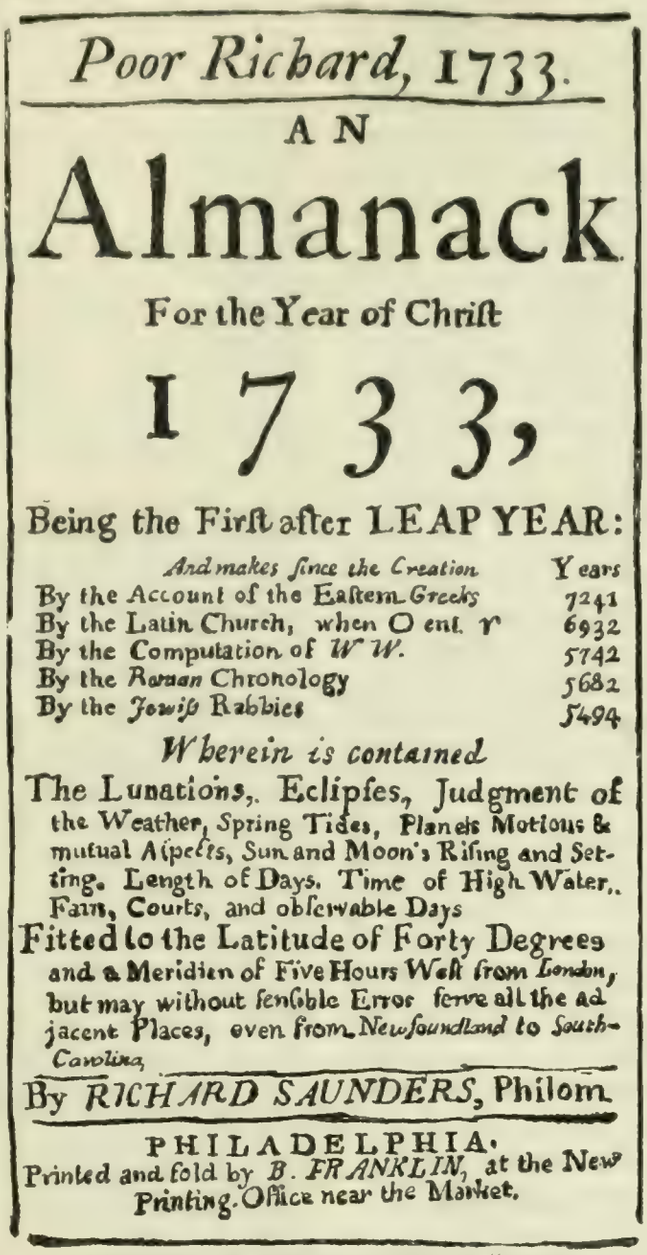
From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704

Boſton: Printed by B. Green Sold by Nicholas Boone, at his Shop near the Old Meeting-Houſe,

FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL HEADLINE OF THE BOSTON NEWS-LETTER.

in some important respects; but the substantial integrity of his nature survived his faults, and his cheerful serenity of soul never deserted him.

The father of Franklin was a rigid Calvinist; but the boy very soon abandoned the parental faith. From writing philippics against hypocritical professors of religion, young Franklin soon went on to question the received bases of religion itself. He doubted the truth of Christianity, and made no concealment of the fact. While yet a mere youth, he wrote a pamphlet to prove that, as God is absolutely good and wise, as well as powerful, there can be no such thing as evil in the world; and that consequently vice and virtue are not real distinctions, but merely distinctions in terms.* He held this absurd doctrine, however, in common with many religious sects of former times; and he soon abandoned it. His heterodoxy on other points was far more deep-seated. At the head-quarters of Puritanism, he converted enthusiastic young men to the principles of infidelity, but was afterwards dissatisfied with their conduct under that new impulse. He himself formed a connection which had the sanction neither of law nor of religion; and the offspring of this union was the William Franklin to whom the celebrated autobiographical Memoirs were addressed. Yet Benjamin Franklin was no voluptuary; nor, though he had repudiated Christianity, was he an Atheist. A belief in God and in the immortality of the soul remained with him to the close of his life. But the practical genius of the man disinclined him to mysteries; his evenly-balanced, self-centred, unexcitable character could see nothing but hysterical exaggeration in those transports of the devotional mood which are natural to a Pascal or a Wesley. He was mainly interested in the practical business of life, and was content to leave the deeper matters of the spirit to the elucidation of a future state. With the Socratic method of arguing, he had acquired something of the mental habits of Socrates, and seems to have adopted, in effect, the reply of the latter to the question of Phædrus, whether he believed Boreas carried off Orithya from the banks of the Ilissus: "I have no leisure for such matters; I am not yet able, according to the Delphic precept, to know myself." The nature of Franklin was deficient on the poetical side; but he came at a time when prosaic work was needed. After the turmoil of religious disputation by which the seventeenth century had been agitated throughout its entire course, especially in America, this calm, clear, cold intellect was an admirable corrective and tonic.



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1733,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR:

And makes since the Creation	*Years*
By the Account of the Eastern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when O ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W.*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewish* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting. Length of Days. Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and observable Days

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees and a Meridian of Five Hours West from *London*, but may without sensible Error serve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*,

By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing-Office near the Market.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF "POOR RICHARD'S ALMANACK."

It was in Philadelphia that Franklin first became a printer on his own account; but he had previously visited England, and worked as a journeyman in a London office. This was in 1725, when he was only nineteen: by the middle of 1726 he was back in Philadelphia, and it was in that city that he made his first advances to independence. His industry was boundless; no labour that was honest he considered beneath him; he never stooped to the vulgar folly of setting himself above his work. The ingenuity of his mind and the readiness of his hands made him so varied a master of his craft that he could cast types, make printer's ink, cut wood-engravings, and execute vignettes in copper. Opening an office of his own, he was chosen by the Pennsylvanian Assembly to be their printer. Philadelphia was his foster-city, and he owed to it

* Of this pamphlet, only a hundred copies were printed, for private distribution; and Franklin afterwards destroyed as many as he could get at, thinking the dissertation might do harm. It is believed that only one copy of the original edition is now in existence; but the essay has been reprinted as a curiosity.

more than to the city of his birth. It was there that he speculated and wrote; it was there that he started a newspaper; it was there that he published "Poor Richard's Almanack," and delighted the thrifty with the proverbial philosophy of money-getting. In Philadelphia he resided the greater part of his life, advancing education, founding libraries and philosophical societies, promoting social improvements, and making those experiments in electricity which have tamed the lightning, and converted it from the brilliant terror of the heavens into the orderly servant of man. He was not an idealist in science; he brought it down, literally, to the fireside, and to the lamp upon the table. But, though nothing of a poet, he loved music, and invented the harmonica, the knowledge of which he is said to have concealed from his wife until the instrument was perfect, when, waking her with it at night, she thought it was the music of angels.

In America, most men are politicians. Franklin had too wide a sympathy with his fellow-men not to take a deep interest in the forms and principles of political life. He was what in these days is called a Liberal; but he was not a demagogue. In the outset of the dispute between the colonies and the mother country, he was in favour of some arrangement by which the connection of the child with the parent might be maintained. When in London in 1768, he wrote with indignation of the mob-law then prevalent, and spoke of George III. as the best king with whom any nation was ever blessed (an opinion which he afterwards retracted), and the political constitution of England as the most admirable in the world. In 1754—the year at which we have now arrived in the progress of American History—the thoughts of Franklin were engaged on a scheme for the union of the colonies of North America, which appeared to him a result very necessary to be effected in the existing state of affairs. The disunion of the plantations was becoming a scandal to the old country, and a danger to themselves. The French, with the unity of aim and concentration of power which belong to despotism, were making such rapid advances, both in the north and west, that the very existence of the English settlements was threatened. Besides their contention with respect to Nova Scotia and Louisiana, they claimed half of New York, and a large portion of New England; and it was obvious they would leave no device untried, whether of artifice or force, for securing the triumph of their alleged rights. Yet the English colonies were wanting in the spirit of co-operation. They could not agree with one another; they could not agree even in matters of internal administration. While the enemy was almost at their doors, they wrangled over the conditions of the common defence; and while the urgent question of the hour was how to resist a foreign conquest, they thought it the highest evidence of patriotism to humiliate the servants of the Crown, and irritate the Government at home by displays of ill-timed opposition.

A movement in a better direction was at length begun. A congress of commissioners from every colony north of the Potomac met at Albany on the 19th of June, 1754, for the consideration of measures of defence. At this congress it was agreed that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary; and a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution for a perpetual confederacy of all the provinces. Franklin, who appeared as the representative of Pennsylvania, in the Assembly of which he had for some time sat, had already meditated on this subject, and had brought the heads of a plan with him. The idea was one which he had long favoured. When a young man, nearly twenty years before, he had formed a species of club, called the Junto, the members of which were limited to twelve, who were all to do their utmost towards the promotion of patriotism and the virtues of citizenship. When it was desired by some that more members should be introduced, Franklin opposed the suggestion, and, instead of it, made a proposal in writing that every member, separately, should endeavour to form a subordinate club with the same rules, but without any hint of its connection with the Junto. The plan was carried out, and five or six sub-societies were established. These were secretly influenced, in their view of public affairs, by the opinions of the central body, which they unconsciously supplied with information on a good many special subjects. There was here the germ of that idea of federal union, combined with local independence, which Franklin was afterwards to apply to the art of government. The plan for a union of the American colonies which he now suggested, and which in its general provisions had been anticipated by Dr. Coxe's scheme, put forth in 1741,* and to some extent by a proposal of William Penn's in 1697, was an elaborate production, containing what may fairly be regarded as the first draught of the constitution ultimately adopted by the United States.

The discussion of this plan was suspended while negotiations were carried on with the representatives of the Six Nations who had been invited to attend the congress. The native warriors were

* Preface to "A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French La Louisiane," by Daniel Coxe.

urgent for immediate union and action. "Look at the French," they said; "they are men; they are fortifying everywhere, while you are like women, without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come, and turn you out of doors." The lamentable hesitation and division of the English colonies had had a very prejudicial effect on some members of the Six Nations. Half of the Onondagas had withdrawn from the English alliance, and gone over to the French; and the Mohawks were beginning to complain that their lands had been taken from them by the Ohio Company without compensation. The good understanding with the Western Indians was therefore in great peril of being destroyed, and the danger of French successes grew all the more alarming and imminent. The chiefs who attended at Albany, however, gave the most earnest assurances of their fidelity, and at length departed with numerous presents, and many expressions of good will.

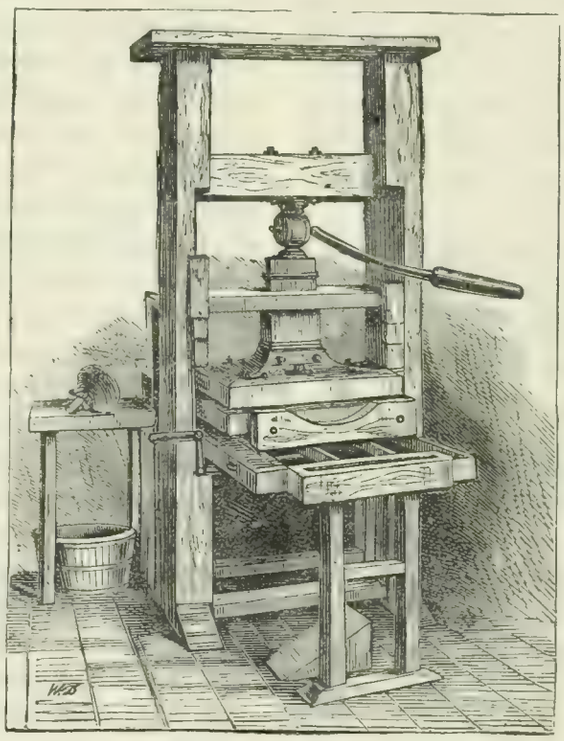
When the Federal scheme was again brought forward, the project of Franklin was accepted, and its author was instructed to put it into definite shape. On the 10th of July, he produced the finished plan, which was read paragraph by paragraph, and closely debated. By this plan it was proposed that application should be made to the English Parliament for an act to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a President appointed by the Crown, and by a Grand Council, consisting of members chosen by the several provincial Assemblies. The number of representatives from each province was to be directly proportioned to the amount of its contributions to the general treasury; yet no colony was to have more than seven representatives, nor fewer than two. Thus, Massachusetts and Virginia were to have seven members each at the Federal Council; Pennsylvania, six; Connecticut, five; New York, Maryland, North Carolina, and South Carolina, four each; New Jersey, three; New Hampshire, two; and Rhode Island, two: in all, forty-eight. The whole executive authority of the Federation was committed to the President, whose consent was also necessary to the sanction of bills passed by the Council. The functions and prerogatives of the Federal Government were—to declare war and make peace with the Indians; to conclude treaties with the tribes; to regulate trade with those bodies, and to purchase lands from them; to settle new colonies, over which a controlling legislative authority was to be exercised until they should be erected into separate provincial governments; and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and pursue all other measures necessary to the common defence. The expenses of this establishment, and of its several operations, were to be provided for by laws enacting such duties, imposts, and taxes as, in the opinion of the President and the Grand Council, might seem to be least burdensome to the people. These legislative ordinances were to be transmitted to England for the approbation of the sovereign, and, if not disallowed within three years, were to be considered as passed. All officers in the naval and military service of the colonies were to be nominated by the President, and approved by the Council; but in the case of civil officers this process was to be reversed. The Council was to be elected triennially, to meet once a year, to choose its own Speaker, and neither to be dissolved nor prorogued, nor to be kept sitting longer than six weeks at any one time, without its own consent, or the special command of the Crown. The domestic constitution of each province was to remain untouched, and every colony was to retain the right of defending itself on sudden emergencies—the expenses, if approved of, to be afterwards defrayed by the Federal Government.

Much debate ensued on these propositions, which found their warmest supporters among the delegates from New England, and their most uncompromising opponents in the representatives of Connecticut. To the latter it appeared that the authority conferred on the President, and the power of general taxation, were highly objectionable. They feared that so concentrated a government would prove detrimental to the liberties of the colonies, and at the same time unfit them to conduct with vigour a defensive war along a frontier so extensive as their own. The requisite revenue, it was suggested in the course of the debate, might be derived from a duty on spirits, and a general stamp-tax; but Connecticut liked neither. Franklin himself saw faults of detail in the scheme; but he could not at the time get it into better shape. At length, the Commissioners agreed to the proposal by a large majority, and copies were ordered, that every delegate might lay the plan before his constituents. A copy was also to be transmitted to the Governor of each colony not represented in the congress, and in a little while the subject was debated by the provincial Legislatures. By them it was received with unanimous disapproval. They regarded with the utmost jealousy what they appear to have considered an attempt to abridge their individual liberties by the domination of a central power. They even resolved to oppose the expected endeavours of the English Government and Parliament to carry the project into effect. But it soon appeared that the Ministers

of the Crown were equally inimical to Franklin's idea, though for reasons totally different. To the rulers of England it seemed that the plan would confer too much power on the representatives of the American people. It was looked upon as the first step towards the entire independence of the colonies; an unfortunate error in some respects, for it can hardly be doubted by any thoughtful politician that, if the scheme had been adopted by the several provinces and by the home Government, and if it had been fairly carried out, without any undue interference by the mother country, the colonies now forming the United States might still be possessions of the British Crown. But the Ministers of George II. were incapable of taking a statesmanlike view of colonial affairs, and the plan was destroyed in its inception.

Franklin, however, obtained great popularity in one quarter for the suggestion he had put forth. Although the Legislature of New York, in common with all the other Legislatures, rejected the proposed Federation, the people of New York, in many instances, saw in it a noble idea, full of grand possibilities for the future. In returning to Pennsylvania from Albany, Franklin stopped at the former capital of New Netherland, and received a large number of visits from gentlemen who desired to congratulate him on his plan. Franklin always retained a liking for the Albany project; and, writing in his Memoirs even after the independence of his country had been accomplished, he said:—"The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves: there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided." This opinion of one of the chief actors in the American revolution is especially noteworthy, as showing that even Franklin desired to perpetuate the union of the colonies with the parent State, if the latter would only consent to recognise the just and reasonable liberties of the provincials. The Albany scheme was the work of a far-seeing statesman. It may have required amendment in some of its details; but in the main the plan was excellent, and it was a mistake on both sides, as far as events could then be apprehended, to reject it.

The necessity of combination was urged by Franklin in his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. In the issue for May 9th, 1754, he observes, with reference to the capture of some Anglo-Americans at the Fork of the Ohio:—"The confidence of the French in this undertaking seems well grounded in the present disunited state of the British colonies, and the extreme difficulty of bringing so many different Governments and Assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual measures for our common defence and security; while our enemies have the very great advantage of being under one direction, with one council and one purse." At the end of the article is a woodcut representing a snake separated into parts, to each of which is affixed the initial of one of the colonies, while at the bottom, in large capitals, is the motto, JOIN OR DIE—a device afterwards adopted with much effect at the beginning of the Revolution.*



PRINTING PRESS USED BY FRANKLIN.

The idea of some species of union was not altogether repudiated in England. The Cabinet conceived a plan, whereby the general defence of the colonies was to be entrusted to an Assembly consisting of all the Governors and a certain number of the Provincial Councillors, who were to draw bills of exchange on the English Treasury for whatever money might be requisite for carrying their measures into effect, the mother country to be reimbursed by taxes imposed on the colonies by Act of Parliament. This scheme was communicated by the Government to Shirley, of Massachusetts; but the latter refrained from submitting it to the Legislature, knowing that its unpopular provisions would excite the most vehement opposition. He nevertheless mentioned the heads of the project to Franklin, who strongly condemned a measure which would have taxed the American people without their consent, and would

* Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. III. Boston, 1840.

have handed over to a body composed of Governors and other officials, the greater number of whom were appointed by the Crown, the conduct of all affairs bearing on the general interests of the provinces. The letters from Franklin to Shirley, in which the matter was discussed, brought out some fresh ideas of the great American, which, however worthy of consideration, were not so practicable as those embodied in the Albany project. Setting forth with the proposition that the restrictions imposed by Parliament on the commerce of the provinces were a species of secondary taxes, which, being submitted to by the colonists, should be accepted by England as an equivalent for direct Parliamentary imposts, Franklin argued that, if the home Government desired to impose direct taxes on the colonies, representatives from America should be admitted into the British Parliament, and that at the same time all the old statutes that had been passed in restraint of American trade and manufactures should be repealed until the new Parliament, with its American members, should think fit, for the general good, to re-enact some or all of them. By this method, Franklin thought that American interests would be sufficiently represented to prevent flagrant acts of injustice, and he hoped to create a great English Empire, governed, in an Imperial sense, from London, with local Legislatures for local needs, and the whole bound together by common laws and common liberties, and by the cohesion of mutual profit and support.

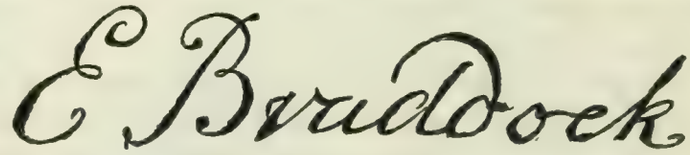
In one of his letters to Shirley on this subject, Franklin expounded, with that admirable clearness and force of illustration for which he was remarkable, the principles that should govern the commercial relations between a mother country and her colonies. "It is, I suppose," he wrote, "agreed to be the general interest of any state that its people be numerous and rich; men enow to fight in its defence, and enow to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge: for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power. But it seems not of so much importance whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches British subjects; but is it of any importance to the state whether the manufacturer lives at Birmingham, or Sheffield, or both,—since they are still within its bounds, and their wealth and persons still at its command? Could the Goodwin Sands be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country [query, county?] thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants, would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, or of making their own shoes, because a merchant or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them? Would this be right even if the land were gained at the expense of the state? And would it not seem less right if the charge and labour of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves? And would not the hardship appear yet greater if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in the Parliament enacting such impositions?"* Franklin was here employing his favourite Socratic method of arguing with great force and point.

The theory of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament had in it something grand and lofty; but it is doubtful whether it would have worked well in practice. Under the best of circumstances, America could hardly have received representatives sufficient to give her much influence in the English House of Commons. The distance from one country to the other was too great to admit of an active interchange of ideas between the American members and their constituents; and the division of interests was too marked to allow of all being properly managed by a single Parliament. At a later date, Franklin saw that this plan of Imperial representation was not adapted to the conditions of the case. The English Government also, after a few attempts to induce the colonists to accept its views, relinquished its plans for raising a revenue in America, the administration of which was to be in the hands of Crown officers. The intellect of Franklin was at all times much concerned in the growing fortunes of his native land. At the period of the Albany congress, he was very solicitous that the grand region behind the Appalachian Mountains should be cultivated and turned to account. In less than a century, he prophesied, it must become a populous and important dominion. He advised that two new colonies should be formed in the west, with governing powers for the direction of their own affairs; and he indicated Lake Erie as the fittest site for one, and the valley of the Ohio for the other. The American mind was beginning to be penetrated with a desire to spread beyond the sea-board into the interior of the continent.

While the Albany congress was sitting, further measures were being taken by the Virginian

* This short series of letters first appeared in a London paper in 1766, during the dispute between the mother country and the colonies. It is included in Sparks's edition of the Works of Franklin.

Government to resist the progress of the French in those western territories; and, still earlier in the year, the general subject of French aggression was discussed, though without much effect, by the Governments of other provinces. Some of these voted money for defensive operations; others refused to do anything. Virginia resolved on borrowing £10,000, and at the same time appealed to the Royal bounty for assistance. The English Ministers ordered two independent companies, stationed at New York and Charleston, to take part in the defence of Western Virginia; but such a force was quite inadequate to meet the danger. In Massachusetts, Hutchinson and Oliver — the commissioners from that province to the Albany convention of 1748—joined in soliciting the interposition of the King for the removal of the French forts erected within Anglo-American territory; and Shirley assured the home Government that there would be no general plan for the defence of America unless his Majesty himself fixed for each colony the quota of men or money which it was to contribute to the common cause, and the whole were compelled, by some effectual method, to conform to that determination. Pennsylvania and Maryland were at issue with their proprietaries in regard to internal regulations, and did nothing towards the defence; and although New York voted a thousand pounds to Virginia, it refused to assist in repelling the French from a post which lay within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. New Jersey would not even send commissioners to the congress at Albany.* What wonder if American officials, perceiving such a total defect of voluntary unity, wrote home to the Government that an enforced unity was indispensable to save the English possessions from utter ruin?



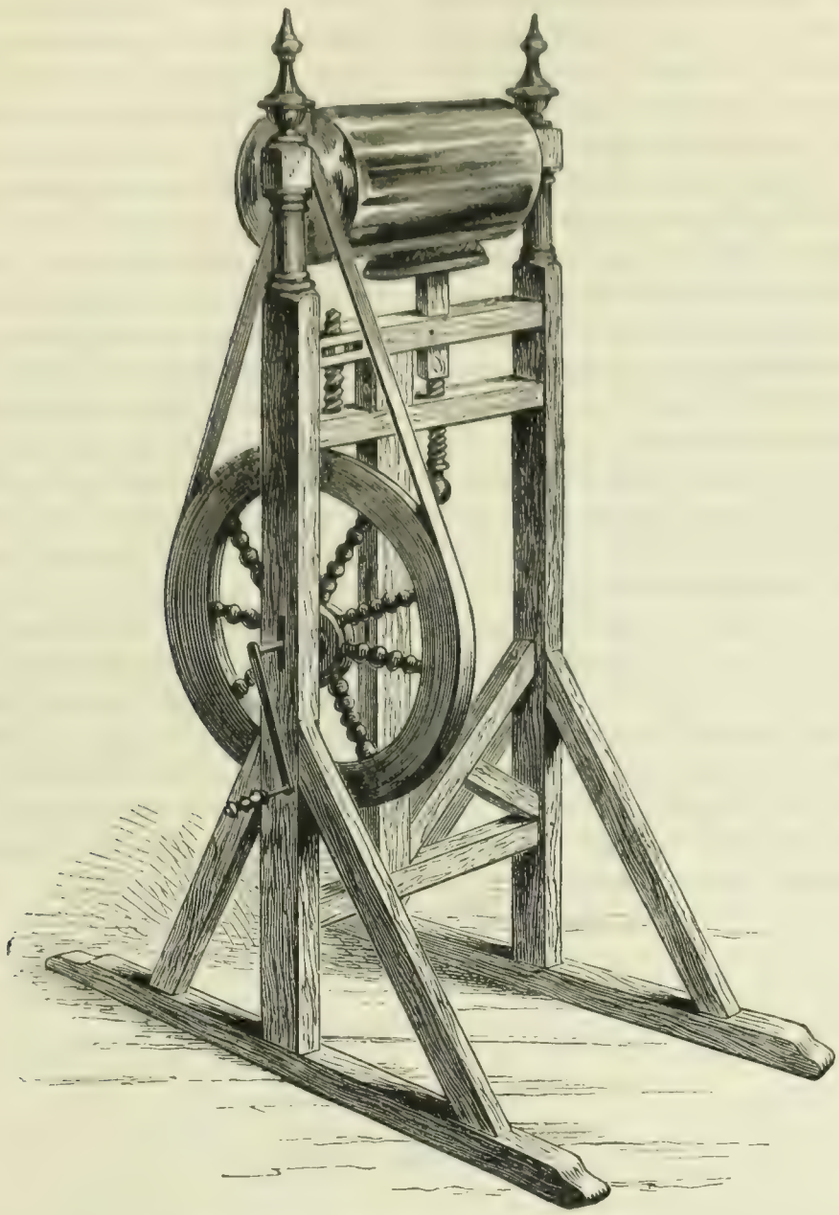
AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL BRADDOCK.

The French were not long before they struck a blow. Thirty-three men had been stationed by the Ohio Company in the fort at the junction of the river Ohio with the Alleghany and the Monongahela; and while the Virginian Government was thinking about sending a small force under Washington to strengthen the position, the French commander, Contrecœur, marched down to the spot on the 17th of April, and summoned the English to surrender. Being far too feeble to resist, the thirty-three occupants of the fort capitulated and withdrew. Contrecœur then occupied the post, strengthened it, and gave to it the name of Duquesne, after the Governor of Canada. Information of the fact was speedily conveyed to Washington by the Indians, who implored succour. Washington had by that time been made a lieutenant-colonel, and had under him a small regiment of a hundred and fifty men, ill-disciplined and insubordinate. At the head of this company he started for the scene of action. The men were insufficiently supplied with clothes and food; they had no tents with them, and it was the wet season. Washington, however, pushed on, and, guided in his actions by repeated intelligence from the Indians, took up a position on the Great Meadows, where he cleared the ground of bushes, and formed an entrenchment. On the 27th of May, Gist, the explorer, joined him, and reported that he had seen the trail of the French within five miles of the American camp. The enemy was reported to be six hundred strong, with eighteen pieces of cannon.

It seemed to Washington, however, that the safest plan would be to attack the detachment of French troops which was said to be then marching towards the Great Meadows; and accordingly, with only forty of his own men, he started on a dark and rainy night, conducting his little force in single file along a narrow track to the camp of a native ally, who furnished a contingent. Again the party set out, and discovered the position of the French, concealed among bushes. The Virginians sought to surprise them; but the French, seeing the approach of a hostile body, ran to their arms. Washington promptly gave the word to fire, and, rushing forward at the head of his men, compelled the French to surrender, after a fight lasting a quarter of an hour. The French commander and nine others were killed, and twenty-one made prisoners. Washington afterwards erected a small stockade fort on the Great Meadows, and, having received an accession of troops from New York and South Carolina, advanced towards Fort Duquesne. The addition to his numbers was not an unmixed good; for the captain of the Carolinians—who formed what was called an independent corps, with a commander appointed by the King—quarrelled with Washington on the ground of precedency, and this necessarily led to a weakening of the little army, and a derangement of plans. With great rapidity, the Virginian lieutenant-colonel made a road of about thirteen miles, through a gorge in the mountains, to Gist's settlement; but on the 1st of July he was compelled, by information that the French had been largely reinforced,

* Bancroft.

to fall back to Fort Necessity, the stockade at Great Meadows, which he endeavoured to strengthen by the formation of a ditch. On the 3rd of July he was attacked by six hundred French and one hundred Indians, who, securing one of the eminences by which the position was flanked, poured a galling fire into the fort. It was returned with great spirit; but the position of the French was so much superior to that of the English, that of the former only three were killed to thirty of the latter. The French commander at length proposed a parley, fearing that his ammunition would run out. On the following day, the 4th of July—a day shortly to be made famous in American annals—the Virginian garrison, with their arms and effects, withdrew from the fort, and were allowed to retire within the undisputed frontier of the English possessions. Not only did the French consider it prudent to make these concessions, but they undertook not to advance any further, nor even to retain the evacuated fort, but to retire to their former station at Monongahela. Two officers were left by Washington in the hands of the French, as hostages; and he then began his retreat, but was terribly harassed by the hostile Indians, who plundered his baggage, and killed several of his people. Although, on the whole, Washington had failed in his enterprise, he had exhibited so much courage and capacity that the Virginian Assembly passed a vote of thanks to him and his troops. But the first operations on the English side foreboded ill. The valley of the Mississippi was now solely in the possession of France.



FRANKLIN'S FIRST ELECTRICAL MACHINE.

As soon as the collision was known at London, the English Ambassador at Paris was instructed to complain of it to the French Ministry as an open

violation of the peace; but no satisfaction was offered. French writers have alleged that the Virginians, in the first instance, treacherously fell on a detachment of the Canadian forces proceeding to deliver a summons to Colonel Washington to quit the fort he had built on the Great Meadows, and that that officer even acted with great and wanton barbarity. It would be a vain task to inquire into the contradictory statements put forth by both sides on this comparatively minor question. The main fact with which history is concerned is, that an actual state of war had been created between England and France while their respective Governments were still deliberating in the hope of a pacific settlement. The situation was full of peril for England. She had no military force of any consequence in America. She was on bad terms with several of the colonies; and the colonies were wrangling among themselves as to which should do the least towards repelling the enemy, or were quarrelling with their Governors on matters of internal rule which might have been proper subjects for discussion at another time, but which surely could have been postponed to a more fitting season. The time, however, had now come when the English Ministry determined to send a military force to the plantations.

In January, 1755, General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry; and, at the request of the English commander, a convention of the provincial Governors assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland, to settle a plan of military operations. The French Government still continued to give pacific assurances to the Government of England, and was told, in reply to inquiries, that the armaments despatched to America were intended only for defence. Proposals were made on both sides for an adjustment of boundaries, and for the creation of a neutral territory between the possessions of the two States. But no agreement could be arrived at, and every day brought the inevitable war still closer. So full of dissimulation were the French Ministers that their own Ambassador at London, the Marquis de Mirepoix, was convinced, by proofs submitted to him by the English Government, that he was made the instrument of a deception. Being personally a man of high honour, he immediately left for Versailles, and reproached the Ministry with their misconduct; but he was ordered to return to London with fresh asseverations of the most friendly feeling. Immediately afterwards, however, the English Government was informed that a powerful French squadron was ready to sail for America from Brest and Rochefort; and in fact the ships soon departed, carrying four thousand troops, and a large quantity of military stores. They were followed by an English fleet under the command of the celebrated Admiral Boscawen, by whom a portion of the French squadron was attacked off Newfoundland, and captured. Yet all this while no declaration of hostilities had been made on either side, and diplomatists still talked of peace, as if war were not already a fact.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Position of France and England in America in the year 1755—Preparations for the Coming Struggle—Discontent among the Colonists at some of the Measures of the English Government—State of Parties in England—Demand of the King that the Colonies should establish a Common Fund for the General Defence—Opposition on the Part of the Plantations—Arrival of General Braddock in America—Demand of Colonial Governors for Taxation by the English Parliament—Relative Position of England and the Colonies on this Question—Plan of a Campaign—Character of Braddock—His Arrogance and Boastfulness—The March from Will's Creek towards Fort Duquesne—Neglect of Proper Precautions—Attack on the Advancing Column by an Enemy in Ambush—Desperate Struggle—Defeat of the English Forces, and Death of Braddock—Incidents and General Results of the Action.

To a disinterested observer in the year 1755, the chances of victory in the approaching struggle on the continent of America must have seemed to lie with France rather than with England. The French monarch had a far larger army at command than his rival. He was already in possession of the greater part of the disputed territory; and his actions had the force and concentration which belong to undivided counsels. Whether he could boast the additional strength of a just quarrel, will always be a subject of difference. His claim to Acadie was of the most doubtful merit; but something was to be said in favour of his pretensions to Louisiana. The French had cer-

tainly been the first to penetrate into the vast region which went under that general designation; and it may have seemed hard that they should not be suffered to retain what they had won from the desert. But the term Louisiana was applied in a vague and uncertain way to a territory of indefinite extent and unexplained limits. When the English passed beyond the Appalachian Mountains, they found themselves in a country unpeopled save by wandering tribes of Indians. A few forts had been erected by the French at great distances, not only from one another, but from any of their settlements, with the design, there could be no doubt, of menacing the English colonies, and forbidding their people to make advances westward. But the red men denied that the country belonged to either France or England, and many were disposed to favour the latter rather than the former. The land, they said, was theirs, to sell or to give away as they pleased; and their support was courted equally by both parties to the quarrel. It was in truth a struggle for absolute supremacy in America between two great and jealous Powers; and it was not likely to be settled by the special pleadings of diplomatists sitting round a table, and interpreting, with the ingenuity of lawyers, the doubtful words of treaties, and the obscure geography of unexamined lands.

After the attack by Admiral Boscawen on the French squadron despatched to America, Louis XV. recalled his Ambassador from London; yet he did not declare war. George II. assured his Parliament, when bringing the session to a close on the 25th of April, that the hope of peace was not even then abandoned, but that he would never purchase it at the expense of submitting to encroachments on his dominions. So real was the state of war, notwithstanding these pacific asseverations, that the English Government gave orders that all French ships, whether outward or homeward-bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports. The dockyards rang with the industry of shipwrights, building in all haste additional ships, for which the House of Commons had made special provision. The press for seamen was carried on with extraordinary vigour, and premiums were offered by the Government, and by many of the large cities and towns, to all who should voluntarily enlist as soldiers or sailors. One fact is certain—that the war was in the highest degree popular. The Government asked for a loan of a million, to be raised by way of lottery: nearly four millions were at once subscribed. The old national feeling of antagonism to France again burst out with renewed fury; and the only fear was lest the Ministry should not be sufficiently prompt in vindicating the national claims.

In America, however, the proceedings of the Government were not in all respects approved. An Act of Parliament extending the provisions of the English Mutiny Act to North America, and declaring that all troops raised by any of the colonial Governors or Assemblies, should, whenever they acted in conjunction with the Royal forces, be subject to the same system of martial law and discipline as that which existed in the British army, excited great discontent in the colonies. The measure, in its passage through the two Houses, had been strongly opposed by the Massachusetts agent in England, who, in a petition to Parliament, represented "that his Majesty's American subjects were generally freeholders, and persons of some property, and enlisted not for a livelihood, but with intent to return to their farms or trades as soon as the particular services for which they might enlist should terminate; that the officers were persons in similar, though better, circumstances; and that all of them,—being chiefly influenced to take up arms by a regard to the honour of the King, the defence of their country, and the preservation of their religion and liberties,—had but little preparatory exercise for war, and were therefore unsuitable subjects for the operation of the rigorous code of discipline adapted to the government of his Majesty's standing forces." The argument was plausible; but it is difficult to see how a proper degree of discipline could have been maintained by a system of greater laxity and indulgence. Another cause of vexation to the Americans was found in a communication made some time before to the provincial Governments, by which it was ordered that all officers commissioned by his Majesty, or by his commander-in-chief in North America, should take precedence of those whose commissions were derived from the colonial Governors or Assemblies, and that the general and field-officers of the provincial troops should have no rank when serving with the general and field-officers commissioned by the Crown. Many of the American officers were very indignant at this arrangement, and Washington resigned his commission, but shortly afterwards accepted the appointment of aide-de-camp to General Braddock.

A change in the English Ministry had taken place in the spring of 1754. The Premier, Henry Pelham, died on the 6th of March in that year, and was succeeded in the chief position by his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, who had for some time held the seals of the Northern Department. The Earl of Holderness, who had followed the

Duke of Bedford in the Southern Department, where he proved very inefficient, was transferred to the corresponding Secretaryship, and his recent post was filled by Sir Thomas Robinson, a subordinate at the Board of Trade, who now became the leader of the House of Commons. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, thought so meanly of Robinson's abilities that he said the Duke might as well have sent his jack-boot to lead the popular representatives. Newcastle had offered the post to Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland; but that statesman declined to accept it unless he were made acquainted with the names of those who received the secret service money. It was not long ere Pitt and Fox, though both holding office under Government (the first as Paymaster General, and the second as Secretary-at-War), formed a private coalition against their superiors, which Newcastle, on discovering its existence, broke up by introducing Fox into the Cabinet as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and leader of the House of Commons, in both of which capacities Robinson had proved a failure. Pitt still maintained his attitude of hostility to the general policy of the Government under which he filled a subordinate position, and the greater part of 1755 passed away in the distraction of cabals and intrigues, which seriously diminished the national force at the commencement of a very grave conflict. The old King himself disliked Newcastle, but did not see his way to getting rid of him. The Duke was not popular with the nation; he was thought to be too subservient to the French, and to hesitate about declaring war, out of timidity or interested motives. But he had a great majority in Parliament—a majority secured, so far as the Lower House was concerned, by that affluence of bribery which Hogarth so admirably satirised in his Election Caricatures. The Whig party was still predominant in the aristocracy and in Parliament, and neither the King nor the nation was strong enough to resist the combination of a few titled families.

The Cabinet was divided between Ministers inclined to war, and Ministers disposed to compromise in the hope of preserving peace. But there was little or no difference of opinion with respect to the necessity of compelling the colonists to make provision for their own defence. The mutual jealousies and factious opposition of the provinces had in truth forced on the mother country a degree of interference which might not otherwise have been adopted, and which at any rate would have had far less justification. Men of very different views felt the truth of this. Thomas Penn wrote from England, on the 10th of June, 1754, that if the several Assemblies would not make provision for the general service, an Act of Parliament might oblige them. James Delancey, of New York, reported that in all probability the colonies would differ in their measures and disagree about their quotas, and that without the interposition of the English Parliament nothing would be done. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, advised a poll-tax on all the colonists, "to bring them to a sense of their duty;" and other Governors wrote home, begging for compulsory legislation. These representations had their effect. By a circular from Sir Thomas Robinson, dated October 26th, 1754, the Governors of all the colonies were informed of the King's pleasure that a fund should be established for the common benefit; and when Braddock went out with his army, he was furnished with orders to exact such a revenue. During the winter months of 1755, the necessity for some rigorous measure became still more apparent. The Indians of Canada had tampered with the Six Nations so effectually that some had already forsaken the English alliance, and were sending English scalps into the dominions of the enemy; yet the provincial Governments were sitting absolutely still. The French were already, at two or three points, drawn up in hostile array on soil which was claimed as Anglo-American; yet, after the feeble attempt of the Virginians, they were allowed to do as they pleased, and the disunion of the colonies grew every day more extreme. Mr. Bancroft, who writes with a very strong feeling against the English Government and in favour of his own countrymen, has nevertheless shown how complete was the dead-lock to which, in the face of imminent danger, the frowardness of the local Legislatures had brought the affairs of the country. Sharpe, of Maryland, who had been temporarily appointed to the chief command in America, vainly solicited aid from one province after another. New Hampshire took every opportunity to pass acts contrary to the King's instructions. New York was disinclined to provide quarters for the Royal troops, and intimated that she would contribute to a general fund only when others did. New Jersey treated with the utmost contempt the repeated solicitations of the Governor.* Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina did indeed vote sums of money, but coupled the grants with conditions, trenching on the Royal prerogative, which they well knew beforehand would not be accepted. If the design of the colonists had been to lay themselves at the

* Bancroft's History, Vol. III., chap. 7.

feet of France, and invite subjection, they could hardly have acted differently.

General Braddock reached America towards the end of February, 1755, and on the 14th of the following April held a congress at Alexandria, in Virginia, at which Commodore Keppel also was present. The provinces represented were Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The first subject discussed was the vexed question of a colonial revenue. Braddock was a man of violent temper, and he expressed himself angrily that no such fund was already formed. The provincial Governors replied that the Assemblies had opposed all their representations on the subject, and that such a fund could never be established in the colonies without the aid of Parliament. Having, they added, found it impossible to obtain, in their respective jurisdictions, the proportion expected by his Majesty towards defraying the expenses of his service in North America, they were unanimously of opinion that it should be proposed to his Majesty's Ministers to find out some method of compelling the colonies to do as desired, by assessing the several governments in proportion to their respective abilities.* The upshot of the discussion was that Shirley assured his colleagues, on the authority of the English Government, that a common fund must either be voluntarily raised, or assessed in some other way. The opinion on this point was unanimous among men holding any official position. The testimony of the authority already cited may again be referred to, as embodying facts contrary to the writer's sympathies and leanings. "I have had in my hands," says that authority, "vast masses of correspondence, including letters from servants of the Crown in every Royal colony in America; from civilians, as well as from Braddock, and Dunbar, and Gage; from the popular Delancey and the moderate Sharpe, as well as from Dinwiddie and Shirley; and all were of the same tenor. The British Ministry heard one general clamour from men in office for taxation by Act of Parliament. Even men of liberal tendencies looked to acts of English authority for aid. 'I hope that Lord Halifax's plan may be good, and take place,' said Alexander of New York. Hopkins, Governor of Rhode Island, elected by the people, complained of the men 'who seemed to love and understand liberty better than public good and the affairs of state.' 'Little dependence,' said he, 'can be had on voluntary union.' 'In an Act of Parliament for a general fund,' wrote Shirley, 'I have great reason to think the people will readily acquiesce.'"† There was really some ground for supposing that the opposition of the Assemblies did not express the unanimous feeling of the colonists. Hauke, an American then in London, wrote a work in which he advocated a moderate taxation of the plantations by Parliament.

The idea continued to gain ground in England. In July, 1755, the Earl of Halifax pressed on the Cabinet the adoption of a general system of taxation, to ease the mother country of the heavy expenses with which it had recently been burdened. Various plans were suggested, but a stamp-duty seems to have been that which was most favoured. Rumours of what was contemplated soon got over to America, and Massachusetts instructed its agent in England to oppose anything that should have the slightest tendency to the raising of a revenue by the act of the English Parliament. The dislike to such a measure, though it may have had its supporters, was most natural in any American colony; and nothing could be said against the indignation it aroused, if the plantations had done what they ought in the matter of defence, and had not exhibited, on every possible occasion, such an eager readiness to defy the representatives of the Crown, and thwart the most reasonable expectations of the parent State. It is easy to argue as if the colonies alone had any interests or rights in the matter. They had indeed interests and rights of a very important kind; but the mother country likewise was concerned. If the American settlements had lapsed into a state of anarchy for want of some bond of union among themselves, or had been conquered by the French in the absence of all means of self-protection, the consequences, in respect of mere physical suffering, would doubtless have rested mainly on themselves; but a blow of a very serious nature would at the same time have fallen upon England, and it was not to be expected that she would stand calmly apart, and risk the chances of such a blow, without making any attempt to ward it off. No dependency has a right to divorce itself entirely from the interests of the Empire to which it belongs; but this was what the American colonies were now doing. They had been required to raise a revenue for defence against a foreign enemy by taxing themselves. They not only neglected to do so; they refused. The enemy was within the gates, and the Imperial Government was driven to think of some other method. Taxation without representation is certainly a most undesirable expedient: when resorted to, as it was

* Minutes of Council held at the Camp at Alexandria, Virginia, April, 1755.

† Bancroft.



BRADDOCK'S FORCES SURPRISED BY AN AMBUSCADE.

a few years later, to relieve the taxation of the parent State, it is tyranny. But exceptional measures may sometimes be justified by exceptional circumstances, and it must be acknowledged that the position of England was at this time most perplexing.

Before the breaking up of the conference at Alexandria, the general plan of a campaign was matured. It was resolved that four simultaneous expeditions should be undertaken. The first was to be directed against Fort Duquesne, in the Ohio valley, by Braddock himself at the head of the Royal troops; the second, consisting of American regulars and Indians, commanded by Governor Shirley, on whom the King had conferred the rank of a British General, was to attempt the reduction of the French fort at Niagara; the third was to be sent against Crown Point, and was to be composed of militia drawn from the New England colonies; while the fourth, under Lawrence, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce that province. The departure of Braddock was delayed by the default of the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when the commander was ready to march, were found not to have provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for the troops, nor an adequate supply of carriages for the transport of materials. A mistake had been made in not selecting Pennsylvania, rather than Virginia, as the base of operations; for the former province was in a much better condition to supply what was wanted than the latter. Owing to this unfortunate blunder, the regiments lingered at Alexandria for several weeks, during which time the men were in actual distress for want of necessaries; and May had arrived ere they set out for the Ohio. The expedition was ill-omened from the first, and it was fated to a melancholy termination. It was only by the help of Pennsylvania, obtained through the agency of Franklin, that the supplies were at length furnished, and it was not until after the army had started that its necessities were fully provided for. The soldiers were unfortunate in their commander. Nothing could be said against the courage of Braddock, whose intrepidity was equal to anything that might be required of it; nor was he deficient in a technical knowledge of the formalised rules of warfare. But he was entirely wanting in that intuitive genius which enables a man to adapt himself to new conditions, and delivers him from



RUINS OF TICONDEROGA FORT.

the tyranny of routine. He had been brought up in the English Guards, and would have had actual hostilities conducted after the manner of a review. His ideas of discipline were so strict and despotic that he was very unpopular with his men; and he was so confident in the infallibility of his own judgment that he would not listen to the advice of others. Of his character as a man, Horace Walpole gives some details which would make out that he was utterly depraved and brutal, without honour and without natural affection.* But Walpole was a scandal-monger, and it would not be fair to accept all his stories with absolute reliance. He admits that, when Governor of Gibraltar, Braddock made himself adored where scarce any Governor was endured before.†

While still in England, the General had received a set of instructions from the Duke of Cumberland, Commander-in-Chief of the British army, specially warning him against falling into an ambush. The caution was reiterated, after his arrival in America, by Franklin, who pointed out the skill with which the Indians contrive these hidden dangers. But Braddock only laughed at the advice. The savages, he told Franklin, might be formidable to the raw militia of the colonists, but not to regular troops, highly disciplined in all the methods of warfare. Instead of making use of his Indian allies to guard against the tactics of hostile Indians, with which they were necessarily better acquainted than he could be, he so disgusted the native warriors by his arrogance that the greater number forsook his army, and returned to their own tribes. He subsequently irritated the colonists by describing them as devoid of courage, or of any military qualification. He wrote home that he expected little assistance from them; and to Washington he exhibited the most unreasoning obstinacy and the most irascible temper. In the fulness of his self-confidence, he had announced to the English Ministry in the early spring that he should be beyond the Alleghanies by the end of April, and that they might expect tidings of his success in June. Notwithstanding the delay which incommoded his plans, he boasted to those around him of all that he was about to do. He told Franklin, while halting for carriages at Fredericktown, that after taking Fort Duquesne he should proceed to Niagara (though this was to be Shirley's exploit), and, having taken that, should advance to Frontenac. General Duquesne, he added, could hardly detain him above three or four days, and then he could see nothing which need obstruct his march to Niagara. His overweening conceit counted on victories for which he had made no due provision.

The march was long and toilsome. Twenty-seven days elapsed ere the army had reached Will's Creek (now Cumberland), on the borders of Virginia and Maryland; but, when there, it was reinforced by two independent companies from New York, under the command of Horatio Gates, an Englishman who was afterwards to play an important part in the War of Independence. Here also Washington joined the expedition, and matters at length seemed in training for effective action. On the 31st of May, five hundred men were sent forward to open the roads, and to store provisions at Little Meadows. Sir Peter Halket followed with the first brigade, and Braddock himself started on the 10th of June. The force altogether consisted of about two thousand two hundred men, and, if it could have started earlier in the year, would probably have accomplished valuable results. The garrison of Fort Duquesne at that time was known to consist of no more than two hundred men; but in the intervening period the French had been strongly reinforced, and friendly Indians had been summoned to their assistance. The English forces moved forward in a thin, extended line, nearly four miles long. It was a difficult and a dangerous march. Thick woods shrouded the path to right and left, and the chance of a surprise by lurking Indians was never absent. The road passed over mountains and across deep ravines, frequently intersected by rivers and creeks. A rapid and dashing movement, as far as the circumstances of the case permitted, would have been the best policy; but Braddock must have everything done according to the military code. Washington, who was very ill at the time, but whose faculty of observation seems never to have deserted him, wrote to his brother that, instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook. On the 19th of June, however, the General found it necessary to proceed with greater despatch. On arriving at the Great Meadows, he learned that the French were expecting a further reinforcement of five hundred troops; and he therefore resolved, on the advice of Washington, to advance rapidly at the head of twelve hundred picked men, together with ten pieces of cannon and the necessary ammunition and provisions, leaving the remainder of the army, under Colonel Dunbar, to follow with the heavy baggage by slow and easy marches.

Having previously acted with undue particularity, Braddock now erred as much on the side of

* Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, Aug. 21st, 1755.

† The same to the same, Aug. 28th.

carelessness. He took scarcely any precautions in the way of reconnoitring the dense woods which flanked his road, though his devotion to military punctilio was still apparent in other matters. The distance from Cumberland to the fork of the Ohio is nearly a hundred and thirty miles, and a large part of this had yet to be traversed. On the 8th of July, the army arrived at the junction of the Monongahela and the Youghiogeny. Fort Duquesne was then only twelve miles off, and the perils of the expedition were obviously increased by the proximity of the enemy, and by the distance of Braddock from his supports, which were nearly forty miles behind him in the heart of the forest through which he had come. Halket entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ his Indians in scouring the thickets, so as to guard against any ambuscades that might have been formed. But Braddock, as if under the influence of some fatality, resumed his march early on the following morning, without obtaining information as to the French position, or sending out scouts to reconnoitre the woods which still burdened his track with their ominous and secret shadows. Washington in vain represented to him that the silence and apparent solitude of that leafy desert could not be accepted as any evidence that danger was far removed. In vain did he offer to search and occupy the woods in front and on the flanks. Braddock's professional pride would not permit him to accept the help of Indians in guarding the progress of a regular army, or to adopt the advice of an amateur soldier and an American.

Weary and out of condition, owing to the bad food they had had on the march, the troops pursued their way towards the catastrophe which pedantry and presumption had prepared for them. Twice fording the Monongahela, owing to the windings of the stream, they stood at noon between that river and the Alleghany, about seven miles from the junction of the two in the greater current of the Ohio. The chief commander now threw forward a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gage, who was accompanied by a working party of two hundred and fifty, with guides and flanking parties. Along a path not more than twelve feet wide, this detachment advanced into the uneven, woody country lying in the direction of Fort Duquesne. Braddock himself was following, with the artillery, the baggage, and the main body of the army divided into small columns, when the Indian war-cry burst forth from the surrounding thickets, and from the high grass which closely covered the more open ground, while at the same moment a heavy and quick fire struck the front and the left flank of the advanced guard, and drove them back on a party which was being formed in the rear. The adversaries were so well concealed that not a man could be seen, even at the moment when their fire leapt flaming and echoing out of the dim recesses of the surrounding covert. The vanguard left two six pounders behind them, and in their hurried retreat spread confusion amongst their comrades of the second detachment, who were trying to form near a rising ground to the right. Both companies soon lost cohesion, and were scattered wildly amongst the trees, their movements having no other unanimity than that of flight. Thus the first party drove in the second, and the two together, in their united recoil, shattered and dismayed the rest. Braddock placed himself at the head of his troops, and behaved with desperate but unavailing courage, though, it is said, not with the necessary coolness, nor with that judgment which could alone have retrieved the fortunes of the day. A stand, however, was made for some time. The artillery opened fire into the woods, aiming at random against a foe who even now could not be seen. The French-Indians wavered and broke as the roar and blaze of the great guns startled the dusky lairs in which they couched. De Beaujeu, the French commander, was killed, and Dumas assumed the direction of the attack. He rallied the savages, and sent them to make a second assault on the English flank; but for a time the issue was doubtful. It even seemed as if the English might prevail; for, having now recovered their self-possession, they presented a compact body to the enemy, and maintained their ground, firing with regularity, but receiving much more mischief than they dealt.

For two hours there was scarcely any change in the position of the armies. Now that the English had re-formed, they showed no lack of courage; but considerable lack of discretion was still apparent. Bewildered by the murderous fire which smote them on all sides from the ambush of the forest, and which proceeded from an enemy whose numbers and precise position were a mystery, they gave little heed to the commands of their officers, but fired in platoons as fast as they could load, and with so random an aim that many of their shots were lost. Braddock's orders were that the infantry should form in line, and advance. But the circumstances did not permit of this precision of movement. The General was thinking of his review tactics, and either could not or would not adapt himself to the unwonted circumstances with which he had to deal. A rapid and irregular charge, without regard to the exactness of military

routine, might have resulted in the dispersion of the adversary's forces; but this did not suit the formalism of Braddock's mind. The consequences were fatal. Men and officers fell in great numbers; the officers, in particular, were picked off by the Indian marksmen, and suffered terribly. The valour of these gentlemen was magnificent, but useless. Again and again they re-formed the front ranks, organised small charging parties, and advanced at their head, in the hope of seizing on the hill which overhung their right flank, and recovering the lost cannon. But their men would not always follow, and it is even asserted that they fired on them from the rear, though this may have been accidental, in the confusion of the struggle. Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six (including Sir Peter Halket) were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. Half the men were dead or disabled; yet Braddock held his ground with desperate tenacity. Wherever the danger was most extreme, he was present; but his courage could not make up for his want of judgment. He had five horses shot under him; his secretary was killed at his side; both his English aides-de-camp were disabled early in the engagement; the American alone remained to convey his orders. That Washington should have escaped is wonderful, for the savages singled him out for attack, and four balls lodged in his coat. "Some spirit guards his life," exclaimed an Indian warrior. If it were permissible to speak after Pagan fashion, one might say that it was the young Genius of America.

At length, when the action had gone on for about three hours, Braddock received a shot through the right arm and the lungs, and was carried off the field by Colonel Gage. With the fall of the General a complete rout ensued. "What makes the rout more shameful," said Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann (August 28th), "is, that instead of a great pursuit, and a barbarous massacre by the Indians, which is always to be feared in these *rencontres*, not a black or white soul followed our troops, but we had leisure two days afterwards to fetch off our dead." The provincial forces were among the last to leave the field, and, being rallied by Washington, covered the retreat of the regulars. The flight of the latter was in the last degree discreditable. Panic had seized on them, and they rushed precipitately along the path by which they had come, leaving in the hands of the enemy their artillery, their provisions, their baggage, and even the private papers of their commander. All attempts to rally them were vain: they imagined dangers where none really existed, and did not feel even partially reassured until they had rejoined the camp under Dunbar. "Pray don't let any detachment from Pannoni's be sent against us," wrote Walpole to Mann, our Minister at Florence; "we should run away." Pannoni's was a coffee-house frequented by the Florentine nobility, who at that time were not famous for valour. The charge of cowardice, however, was unfair. Troops who, under such circumstances, could stand their ground for three hours could not have been wanting in courage, however much, when all was lost, they gave way to that sense of panic which sometimes visits the best soldiers in moments of disaster. Yet it must be admitted that Wolfe had a very poor opinion of the British Infantry of that day. Speaking of Braddock's defeat, in a letter to his father, he said that he knew their discipline to be bad, and their valour to be precarious. "They are easily put into disorder," he added, "and hard to recover out of it. They frequently kill their officers through fear, and murder one another in their confusion. Their shameful behaviour in Scotland, at Port L'Orient, at Mêlle, and upon many less important occasions, clearly denoted the extreme ignorance of the officers, and the disobedient and dastardly spirit of the men." It would appear, however, that the inability to see where the enemy lay concealed was the real cause of Braddock's defeat. During the whole action, not more than a hundred French and Indians were seen by any of the English army; some declared that they saw not one.

The French at Fort Duquesne had been made aware of Braddock's advance by their scouts, and they resolved to meet the adversary on the road. Their Indian allies at first shrank from joining them on such an expedition, but were at length persuaded by the representations of De Beaujeu. The force detached for this purpose consisted of barely two hundred and thirty French and Canadians, with six hundred and thirty-seven natives. They fell in with the English earlier than they expected, at a point about seven miles from Fort Duquesne. The favourable position they occupied enabled them to escape with a small loss in killed and wounded; while the English and American ranks were thinned in a fearful proportion. Seven hundred and fourteen privates were killed or wounded. The Virginians, who showed great valour, were mown down like grass; in one of their companies, only a man was left. Washington behaved throughout with that extraordinary coolness which was among his most admirable qualities. Lord Halifax, a few months afterwards, spoke of him with high praise; but as yet his name was unknown in England.

Braddock, mortally wounded, beaten, and humiliated, was carried to the spot where Dunbar had been left in command of the reserve. During the greater part of the first day he remained silent and depressed, overwhelmed by the terrible misfortune which had visited him. At night he roused himself, and exclaimed, like one waking from a dream, "Who would have thought it? We shall know better how to deal with them another time." Many had thought it, and had anticipated what would happen; but he would not be ruled. Now, with life fast ebbing, he calculated on turning his experience to advantage in the future. The "other time," however, was not to come for him. It is said that he employed his last breath in dictating a panegyric on his officers—a trait of generosity which in part atones for his faults. After lingering four days in great agony, he expired; and his grave may still be seen, about a mile west of Fort Necessity. The day before his death, Dunbar, after destroying the remaining artillery, and burning the public stores and the heavy baggage to the value of £100,000, had begun a further retreat to Fort Cumberland. Thence he fell back hastily to Philadelphia, finding his troops still infected by the unreasoning fear which had winged their flight. The Governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania besought him to assist in defending their frontiers, and offered him aid in men and money if he would once more advance against Fort Duquesne; but this he refused to do. The first important operation of an English army upon American soil had ended in nothing but disgrace and ruin.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Preparation of an Expedition against the French in Nova Scotia—The Original Colonists of that Part of America—Habits and Customs of their Descendants—Longfellow's Description of Acadie and the Acadians—Treatment of the French Colonists by their English Conquerors—Appearance of the English Fleet and Army off Beau-Séjour—Capture of French Forts, and Establishment of English Rule over the Whole of Acadie East of the St. Croix—Determination of the English Authorities to remove the Native Population—The People assembled on the Sea-shore, and driven on board Ship—Hardships suffered by the Acadians in their Dispersion over the English Colonies—Operations of the French and Indians on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania—Shirley's Unsuccessful Expedition against Niagara—Advance of General Johnson against Crown Point—Collision with the French under Dieskau—Death of Hendrick, the Indian Chief—Defeat of Dieskau's Troops—Inaction of Johnson, and Abandonment of the Crown Point Expedition.

The mortification felt both in England and America at the failure of Braddock's expedition, was in some measure soothed by a success which was obtained in the north, though this was followed by an exercise of power involving misery and suffering to a large number of persons. The New England colonies had agreed with the mother country, on condition of being reimbursed their expenses, to despatch an army against the forts and settlements established by the French in Nova Scotia. Massachusetts alone equipped about 7,900 men, amounting to nearly one-fifth of the able-bodied males in the jurisdiction. A detachment of these took part in the movement, and the colonial forces altogether, including those furnished by other plantations, consisted of three thousand militia, to which were added three hundred regular troops and a small train of artillery. The chief command was in the hands of Colonel Monckton, an English officer of experience, while the New England levies were led by Colonel Winslow, a descendant of the famous Edward Winslow who took so large a part in the formation of the New Plymouth settlement. With this force it was resolved to strike a blow at the French, such as might make them recede from the position that they had taken up on soil which the English claimed as theirs under the Treaty of Utrecht. The encroachments of the French had been so systematic and audacious that it was high time to resist their manifest design of gradually winning back, in defiance of express engagements, the whole province which had formerly gone under the name of Acadie. At a time of peace, and while the conflicting claims were still being debated at Paris, they had adopted military measures for vindicating their alleged rights; and they could not with reason complain if the sword to which they were so ready to appeal was drawn against them, though war was not yet declared, and the monarchs of England and France still professed their willingness to avoid a rupture.

Acadie had been originally peopled by Breton

peasants, who must have found in the indented bays, the rocky coasts, the jutting promontories, the inland forests and desolate tracts, of the peninsula and its adjoining territories on the continent, much to remind them of the wild and picturesque land from which they came. They had settled there as early as 1604; other French people followed; and their descendants, though made English subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht, still retained their French language, customs, and dress, as well as the religion of their ancestors. So little were they interfered with by their new masters that they were not even called upon for taxes, or required to maintain any magistrate of alien race. A small English garrison and a few English families at Annapolis kept up the show of British dominion; but in the interior the French colonists were left entirely to themselves. Their trifling affairs were managed by the parish priest; for M. le Curé was a great man amongst those simple villagers, with whom religion was a profound and active influence, and the most abiding sentiment of their natures. Primitive in all their ways, and leading pastoral and rustic lives between the forest and the sea, they were a happy and a virtuous people, to whom the anxieties of cupidity and the heat of licentiousness appear to have been totally unknown. Like the New Englanders, they married at an early age; and when a youth grew up to maturity, a house was built for him by the general contributions of his neighbours, a portion of land was cleared and sown for his use, and he was supplied with all the necessaries of existence for a year. Persistent industry had made Acadie a habitable and in some respects a pleasant country. Dykes shut out the salt tides from the marshes which bordered them. The pastures were rich with herds and flocks, and the cultivated fields bore heavy crops of grain, which rendered famine an impossibility. In front was the fierce Atlantic, pouring, in noise and foam perpetual, into the rifts and creeks of a precipitous and shattered coast; behind was the primeval forest, full of obscurity and dread, yet waiting to be explored by man. Between the two were the small villages and clustered farms of a race whose men subdued the ground by plough and spade—whose women fashioned at the spinning-wheel and the loom the coarse but serviceable stuffs which formed the garments that they wore.

The chief of American poets has described this pastoral country with so pictorial a pen that every detail rises before us as we read:—

"In the Acadian land, on the shores of the Basin of Minas,
Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand Pré
Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.
Dykes, that the hands of the farmers had raised with labour incessant,
Shut out the turbulent tides; but at stated seasons the flood-gates
Opened, and welcomed the sea to wander at will o'er the meadows.
West and south there were fields of flax, and orchards, and corn-fields,
Spreading afar and unfenced o'er the plain; and away to the northward
Blomidon rose, and the forests old, and aloft on the mountains
Sea-fogs pitched their tents, and mists from the mighty Atlantic
Looked on the happy valley, but ne'er from their station descended.
There, in the midst of its farms, reposed the Acadian village.
Strongly built were the houses, with frames of oak and of chestnut,
Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reigns of the Henries.
Thatched were the roofs, with dormer-windows; and gables, projecting
Over the basement below, protected and shaded the doorway.
There, in the tranquil evenings of summer, when brightly the sunset
Lighted the village street, and gilded the vanes on the chimneys,
Matrons and maidens sat in snow-white caps, and in kirtles
Scarlet and blue and green, with distaffs spinning the golden
Flax for the gossiping looms, whose noisy shuttles within doors
Mingled their sound with the whir of the wheels and the songs of the maidens."*

The number of the Acadians in the middle of the eighteenth century has been so variously stated, and on information so imperfect, that it is not worth while to repeat the doubtful and contradictory figures. It was certainly not a large community, yet it counted several thousands. The sentiment of French nationality was very strong amongst the people, and there can be no doubt that they aided their countrymen beyond the borders whenever there was any mischief to be inflicted on the English. They were called the French Neutrals, because, while professing loyalty to the foreign rule, they refused to fight at any time against the soldiers of France. This reservation they were permitted to make, and they seem to have been treated by their conquerors, up to the present date, with great consideration, and even with generosity. Their priests, however, probably thinking that no faith should be kept with heretics, constantly incited them to conspire against the English; and they obeyed their priests in all things. Accordingly, their neutrality was a delusion, and the English authorities, after a long period of for-

* Longfellow's Evangeline.



WINSLOW READING THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

bearance, were compelled to regard them as enemies. The military commander at Annapolis began to treat them with haughtiness and rigour. Their property was occasionally seized for the public service, and they were not permitted to make bargains for compensation. Once, when some of them delayed in supplying the Annapolis garrison with firewood, they were told that if they did not comply within a reasonable time the soldiers should seize their very houses for fuel. It was found necessary to take from them their boats and fire-arms, lest they should assist the French; and the resort to these measures, inevitable as they may have been under the circumstances, necessarily increased the disaffection of the Acadians. At length, orders were sent out to the English military officers to punish the people at discretion if they behaved ill, and, if the troops were annoyed, to take vengeance on the nearest person, whether the offender or not. An alien and hated rule is certain to result in tyrannies such as these, which are of course quite beyond defence; but, in fairness to the authorities, it should be recollected that the Acadians had done their utmost to forfeit the previous kindness of their masters, and that the English would probably never have been in Acadie at all, had not the French, by their egregious pretensions to lands already belonging to their rivals, and by the ferocity with which, through a long course of years, they desolated New England villages and massacred their inhabitants, compelled the seizure of some outlying territory as a simple measure of protection.

In the spring of 1755, the French were established in two forts on the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Nova Scotia with the mainland. One of these forts was a small stockade at the mouth of the little river Gaspereaux, near Baie Verde; the other was the fortress of Beau-Séjour—a work of some importance, mounted with twenty-six pieces of cannon, and standing on an eminence to the north of the river Messagouche, on the Bay of Fundy. De Vergor, the commander of the latter, took no proper measures for strengthening his works; and he was much disconcerted when, at the close of May, 1755, he saw the English fleet sailing into the bay. The forces were disembarked without molestation, and, after a short period of rest, were led across the Messagouche towards the fortress they had come to attack. The passage of the river was disputed by a number of soldiers, of Acadian fugitives from English rule, and of Indians, who fired on the advancing force from a blockhouse and a strong breastwork of timber which they had planted on the farther bank. The New England troops attacked these obstructions with great spirit, forcing their defenders to fly; and here all active resistance terminated. The French now seemed paralysed. They did nothing more to repel the danger, but, after suffering an investment of four days, surrendered the position by which they had hoped to defend the isthmus. The garrison of Beau-Séjour were sent to Louisburg; the Acadian fugitives received an amnesty. The name of the place was changed to Fort Cumberland, in honour of the Royal Duke then at the head of the British army; and shortly afterwards the little post near Baie Verde capitulated on the same terms. The French fort on the St. John's, against which three frigates and a sloop were sent, was abandoned and burnt by its occupants, who destroyed their cannon, devastated the surrounding country, and left the English in possession of a waste. The whole of Acadie east of the St. Croix had been rapidly subjugated; and only twenty men had been killed—only twenty wounded.

Yet the danger to English rule continued, owing to the antagonism of the Acadians themselves, fomented and embittered by the bigotry of the priests. Lawrence, the Deputy-Governor of Nova Scotia, had written to the Lords of Trade, nearly a year before, that if the people refused the oaths of allegiance they would be much better away; and the Board had replied that by the Treaty of Utrecht they were to continue in the occupation of their lands only on condition of their becoming British subjects. They could not, it was added, place themselves in that position without taking the oaths required of subjects; and it might therefore be a question whether their refusal to take such oaths would not invalidate their title to the lands they held. The opinion of the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia was to be consulted on the point, and "future measures" were hinted at, for which that opinion might serve as a foundation. Lawrence remembered this in the summer of 1755, and intimated to such of the French colonists as had openly appeared in arms that they could not be allowed to keep their lands unless they took the oaths of allegiance to the English monarch without those qualifications by which they had previously retained, to some extent, their character as Frenchmen. They unanimously refused—a decision to their credit, when we recollect what their nationality and their sympathies really were, but one which imposed on the English authorities the necessity of self-protection against avowed disloyalty. It was therefore resolved to remove the offenders, and disperse them among the English colonists, where they could not combine to the injury of their conquerors. The French Ambassador in London,

taking up their case in May, 1755, begged that they might have time to remove from the peninsula voluntarily, carrying their effects with them; but this was refused. It is obvious that, had the request been granted, the Acadians would have gone to Canada, and, in the war which had now virtually commenced, would have recruited the hostile ranks of the adversary. A French historian (Raynal) even affirms that the French colonists, fearing that their religion would be subverted by the English, were already preparing to emigrate to the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The resolution of the English authorities was one of a very exceptional and painful character; but it had been provoked by the bad faith of the colonists themselves. In July, the inhabitants of Minas and the adjacent country, pleading with Lawrence for the restitution of their boats and guns, declared that, notwithstanding their possession of weapons, their consciences would engage them not to revolt. Their consciences, however, had not restrained them before, and in all probability would have been equally powerless in the future. Lawrence upbraided them in terms of unnecessary sharpness; said that they wanted their canoes for conveying provisions to the enemy; and reminded them that by the law of England Roman Catholics were not permitted to carry arms. At the eleventh hour, the Acadians offered to take the oath unconditionally, but were told that, having once refused, it was not competent to them to alter their resolve. Assuredly an oath taken under such circumstances could have had very little value; but its value would have been of the slightest under any circumstances. It would have been more gracious, and perhaps wiser in the highest sense of wisdom, to accept the oath, and keep a strict watch on the malcontents. The danger was now less than it had been, because of the expulsion of the French from the north-western parts; yet it was impossible to feel assured that they would not come back in force, and in that case they would have found active allies in the Acadians of the peninsula. Chief Justice Belcher, in the opinion for which he had been asked, spoke strongly in favour of removing the French colonists. They were rebels, he said, and had now become recusants; they had forfeited their possessions to the Crown by their non-compliance with the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht; and on the departure of the fleet and troops they might again become dangerous. It was therefore finally determined to transport them elsewhere. Notice having been given to the Governors of the several colonies to prepare for their reception, a proclamation was issued, ordering the whole of the offending population to assemble on the 5th of September at their respective villages. At Grand Pré, four hundred and eighteen men came together, and were marched into the church, the doors of which were closed and guarded. Winslow then placed himself in their midst, and said:—

"Gentlemen, I have received from his Excellency Governor Lawrence, the King's commission, which I have in my hand, and by his orders you are convened together to manifest to you his Majesty's final resolution as to the French inhabitants of this his province of Nova Scotia, who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it you yourselves best know. The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive. I shall therefore, without hesitation, deliver you his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely:—That your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown; with all other your effects, saving your money and household goods; and you yourselves to be removed from this his province. Thus it is peremptorily his Majesty's orders that the whole French inhabitants be removed; and I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can, without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power that all those things be secured to you, and that you be not molested in carrying them off; also that whole families shall go in the same vessel, so as to make this remove, which I am sensible must give you a good deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and I hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security, under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honour to command."*

This announcement took the unhappy people by surprise. If they had ever had any suspicion that they were to be dispersed over the continent, their doubts had been removed by the time that had elapsed since the subject was last discussed. The authorities had purposely suspended the execution of their design until the harvest had been gathered

* Minot's History of Massachusetts.

in, as the crops would be useful to the army; and the villagers seem to have been quite ignorant of the object for which they were called together. The blow was terrible in its completeness and its suddenness. They were never to return to their homes; never again to see the fields they had cultivated. Surrounded by soldiers, they were kept to one spot until the day of embarkation, and were presently joined by their wives and families. On the 10th of September they were drawn up by the soldiery six deep, and as many as could then be moved were compelled to go on board the vessel waiting for them. Husbands and wives, parents and children, were separated from one another, and in some instances, it is said, were separated for ever. This was probably unintentional; one cannot imagine a motive for such cruelty, and the embarkation took place under the direction of Winslow, who did the utmost he could to soften the stern instructions of Lawrence. But the hardship was none the less because it was not designed, and it is probably this circumstance, as depicted by Longfellow in his pathetic poem, that has drawn such a flood of indignation on the heads of the English officials, even in England itself, and has prevented so many people from looking at the facts with any calmness of judgment. Those who remained behind were kept near the sea-shore, waiting for other ships, until December. Insufficiently supplied with food, half-clad, and with very imperfect shelter against the savage cold of that northern region, these miserable wretches suffered alike in body and in mind. Before the last were got on board, several had attempted to escape, and some had actually found their way to Canada, and other places where they were able to evade their pursuers. Near Annapolis, a hundred heads of families fled to the woods, and were hunted down by soldiers. Many were shot, and an officer has left it on record that the troops hated the unfortunate peasants so much that they were glad of any pretext for killing them. Some lurked in the forests of Nova Scotia, or found refuge in the huts of friendly Indians. But nothing was spared by Lawrence and his colleagues to drive them back again. The country was laid waste to prevent their obtaining food, and several were in this way forced to deliver themselves up. Even if we admit that the deportation was justifiable in itself, as a measure of protection against persons who neglected no opportunity of opposing English rule, it cannot be denied that the act was carried out in the most cruel and relentless spirit.

Altogether, nearly seven thousand persons were transported. They were scattered amongst all the English colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. One thousand arrived in Massachusetts Bay, where, being entirely without means, and incapable of earning their living among a people speaking a foreign tongue, and following ways very different from their own, they became a public charge. In South Carolina, more than a thousand were cast on shore, to seek their fortunes as they could. None of them would ask for compensation from the British Government, for they indulged a hope that the King of France would never make peace until he had effected their re-establishment in Acadie. Those who had been sent to Georgia escaped to sea in boats, in the hope of getting to their native country, but, on reaching New England, were stopped and turned back by orders from the north. Those who dwelt in Pennsylvania presented, in 1757, a petition to the Earl of Loudoun, then the English commander-in-chief in America, praying for some redress; but the only reply was that the Earl seized five of their principal men, and sent them to England with a request that they might be kept from ever again becoming troublesome by being consigned to service as sailors on board ships of war. The Lords of Trade regretted that the whole French population of Acadie had not been removed to other lands; but it would appear that in the end the greater number were dispersed. Large tracts of land were left so utterly desolate that the forest once more asserted its mastery, and the ocean, breaking through the dykes, spread itself at will over cultivated fields. The live stock belonging to the people were seized by the English, and large numbers of horned cattle, hogs, sheep, and horses fell into the hands of the military, and were disposed of to advantage. For some years, the unfortunate Acadians pined in want and misery in the English colonies of America. Some managed to get to France, or to the French settlements; but the greater number died of sorrow in the land of their exile.* It is one of the saddest stories in history.

The defeat of Braddock laid the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania open to the desolating incursions of the combined French and Indians, who, dividing themselves into small bodies, inflicted great injury on the more scattered and less protected townships. A large addition to the Virginian militia was made by the Assembly, and the force thus raised was commanded by Washington. But the Legislature grudged the necessary outlay for adequately meeting the necessities of the time, and little was done towards repelling the invaders.

* Minot. Bancroft. Grahame. Notes to Longfellow.

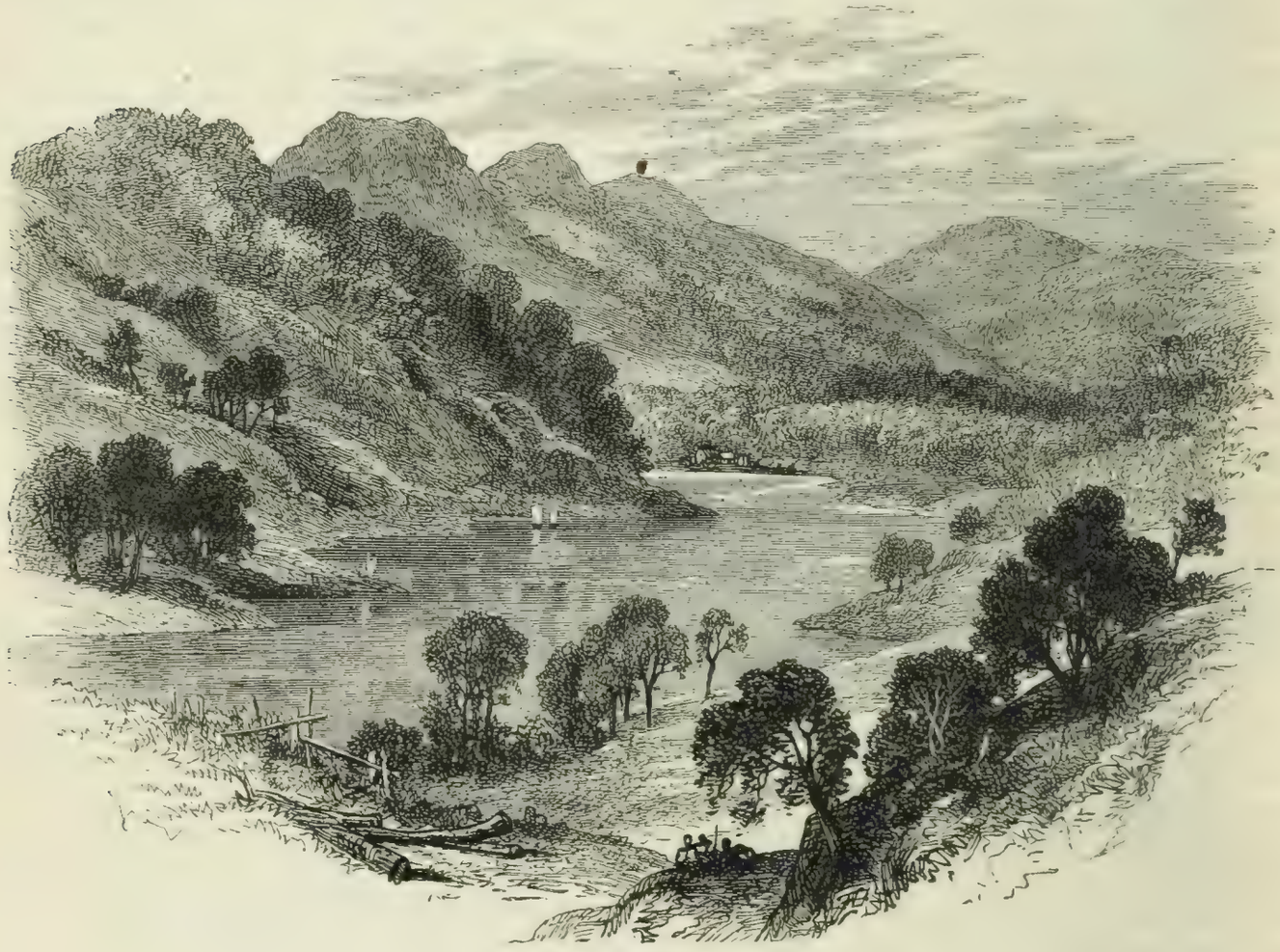
The men were badly clothed, without tents, and exposed to all extremes of weather. On one occasion they clamoured loudly for permission to return to their families, when William Winstone, a lieutenant of one of the companies, mounted the stump of a tree, and poured forth such a passionate harangue, made up of rebuke and exhortation, that they begged to be led against the enemy. Washington did all that was possible under the circumstances; but the French continued to prevail.

Another disappointment was to be experienced in connection with the enterprise against Niagara under the command of Shirley, who since the death of Braddock had become chief commander of the forces in North America. The troops designated for this expedition, and the regiments set apart for the attack on Crown Point, were ordered to assemble at Albany. Those whom Shirley was to conduct in person, consisted of various regiments of regulars from New England, New York, and New Jersey, and one corps of Indian auxiliaries. As the General was advancing on Oswego, his progress towards which had been greatly retarded by several causes, his army was dismayed by hearing of the defeat of Braddock. In consequence of this disastrous news, the sledgemen and boatmen, who had been engaged in the transport of stores and provisions, began to desert in large numbers. The Indians also showed great reluctance to follow their commander, and it cost Shirley no small amount of time and trouble to regain their favour and restore their confidence. His efforts in the end were only partially successful. So greatly was his army reduced by desertion, and so little were his Indian followers to be depended on, that when he arrived at Oswego, on the 21st of August, a further delay was found to be indispensable. After a time, he pressed on towards Niagara; but a succession of heavy rains, the breaking out of sickness in his army, and the dispersion of those few Indians who up to that point had been more faithful than their countrymen, obliged him to abandon the expedition. He therefore returned to Albany with all his forces, leaving Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with seven hundred men in garrison, and instructions to defend the place by the erection of two additional forts.

Not much better fortune attended the expedition against Crown Point. General (afterwards Sir William) Johnson, the commander of this expedition, was an Irish gentleman, long settled on the Mohawk river, in the western parts of New York, where he was universally respected for his benevolence, and much loved by the Indians, whose language he had acquired, and whom he always treated with a humane regard to their interests and feelings. Johnson was a member of the New York Council, and a man of considerable influence in the affairs of the province; but he was not in all respects well fitted to the post he was about to occupy. In June and July, some six thousand troops under General Lyman assembled at a spot between the river Hudson and Lake George, about forty-five miles north from Albany, where they built a fort, first called Fort Lyman, and afterwards Fort Edward. The French, on their part, were far from inactive. Numerous regulars, Canadians, and Indians were gathered together in the fortress at Crown Point, then in a very dilapidated condition. Dieskau, their commander, determined to lead an expedition against Fort Edward; but his guides took the wrong route, and at nightfall on the 4th of September the men found themselves on the road to Lake George. Johnson, with the main body of his forces, had already been moving in that direction for some days, and, learning from his scouts that the French were approaching, he sent out a party, consisting of a thousand provincials, under the command of Colonel Williams, and of two hundred Indians, led by Hendrick, an old Mohawk sachem, with instructions to intercept the return of the French, whether they succeeded or failed in their attack on the camp at Fort Edward. For the defence of the camp itself, Johnson made no provision, beyond sending orders to the commander there to call in all his out-parties, and keep his whole force within their entrenchments; nor did he ascertain the number of troops whom Dieskau had under his command.

The party despatched by Johnson on the 8th of September marched on till they came to a defile, where the French and their Indian allies had concealed themselves on both sides of the way, in the midst of trees, brushwood, and rocks. Before the Americans were well within the defile, the French Indians suddenly started up before their brethren, the Mohawks, but forbore to fire. The Canadians, however, attacked with great spirit, and the Americans were driven back. Colonel Williams was killed on the spot; so also was Hendrick, who, being mounted on horseback, presented an easy mark. An American writer says of this brave warrior that "his head was covered with white locks, and, what is uncommon among Indians, he was corpulent. Immediately before Colonel Williams began his march, he mounted a stage, and harangued his people. He had a strong, masculine voice, and, it was thought, might be distinctly heard at the distance of half a mile. Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, who was present, and heard this

effusion of Indian eloquence, told me that, although he did not understand a word of the language, such was the animation of Hendrick, the fire of his eye, the force of his gesture, the strength of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflexions of his voice, and the natural appearance of his whole manner, that himself was more deeply affected with this speech than with any other which he had ever heard. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 25th, 1755, he is styled 'the famous Hendricks, a renowned Indian warrior among the Mohawks;' and it is said that his son, being told that his father was killed, gave the usual Indian groan upon such occasions, and, suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore that his father was still alive in that place, and that there stood his son." *



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The retreat of the Americans, though rapid, was not disorderly. Nathan Whiting, of Newhaven, took command of the troops, and kept them well in hand, rallying them every now and then, and turning to fire. The camp formed by Johnson was without any entrenchments; but, on the noise of musketry being heard, trees were hastily felled for a breastwork, and these, with the waggons and baggage, formed an extempore defence. Two or three cannon were placed in position; but the soldiers were ill-armed, being totally unprovided with bayonets. As the sound of the firing grew nearer and nearer, it became evident that the detached party was in full retreat to the camp; and shortly afterwards the discomfited troops came rushing into the enclosure. Dieskau's men were not far behind. They soon appeared, marching in regular order up to the English position; and so great was the confusion amongst those who defended that position that it would probably have been taken with but little trouble, had it been attacked at once, as Dieskau desired and intended. The Indians, however, hung back; then the Canadians hesitated; finally, all but the regular troops dispersed themselves among the pine-trees, or crouched among the brakes, where they fired from a safe distance. With the professional soldiers who remained, Dieskau bravely attacked the works, and the fight was prolonged for some hours, with great courage and determination on both sides. The New England soldiers proved excellent marksmen, and the French regulars suffered terribly. Dieskau

* Dwight's Travels.

was three times wounded—the last time mortally. He was found leaning against the stump of a tree, and was feeling for his watch, to surrender it, when the soldier who had discovered him, thinking he was searching for a pistol, fired, and inflicted a fatal injury. On the English side, Johnson was wounded, though not seriously, early in the action. Retiring to the rear, he left the command to Lyman, and, after an obstinate struggle, the enemy by pursuing the disheartened French and investing Crown Point, which had now only a small garrison. Shirley pressed him to resume active operations, and at least to dislodge his adversaries from Ticonderoga before they had time to fortify that post. But he lingered at his camp, keeping his men needlessly employed in routine duties that ended in nothing, and finally erected a useless fort of wood (Fort William Henry)



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Americans leaped over their defences, and drove back the enemy. The unfortunate Dieskau, now dying, was left, with the whole of the baggage and ammunition, in the hands of the victors. Towards sunset, the defeated forces were rallying some distance off, when they were routed by a small party of New York and New Hampshire militia, commanded by Captains Folsom and M'Ginnes, who were proceeding from Fort Edward to the relief of the camp. But M'Ginnes paid with his life for his share in this crowning glory.

Johnson should at once have followed up his success by pursuing the disheartened French and investing Crown Point, which had now only a small garrison. Shirley pressed him to resume active operations, and at least to dislodge his adversaries from Ticonderoga before they had time to fortify that post. But he lingered at his camp, keeping his men needlessly employed in routine duties that ended in nothing, and finally erected a useless fort of wood (Fort William Henry) at the southern extremity of Lake George. As winter approached, he determined, by the advice of a council of war, to abandon until a more favourable season the contemplated attack on Crown Point, and all other active operations; then, having left six hundred men as a garrison in Fort William Henry, he dismissed the New England militia to their homes.

The enterprise had certainly been signalised by a temporary and brilliant success; but, as regards its main design, it was as great a failure as Braddock's or Shirley's.

CHAPTER LXV.

Relative Position of France and England in the Summer of 1755—Actual War and Nominal Peace—Seizure of French Ships and Merchantmen—Withdrawal of the French Ambassador from London—Endeavours of the English King to obtain Allies—Opposition of the Elder William Pitt to the Policy of the Court—Acts of Parliament for Increasing the Military Forces in America—Discontent in the New England Colonies at the Results of the War—Neglect of American Officers by the English Government—Growth of Population in America—Shirley on the Future of the Colonies—Treaty between South Carolina and the Cherokees—Dissensions in Pennsylvania—Franklin and Governor Morris—Increase of the Military Feeling at Philadelphia—Precautions against the French and Indians—Further Demands for Taxation by the English Parliament—Plan for a New Campaign—Lord Loudoun appointed to the Chief Command of all the North American Forces—Delay and Disappointment—Loss of Oswego—Renewed Disasters.

In the middle of July, 1755, England and France had, as a matter of fact, been at war in America for more than five years, counting from the first hostile operations of the French in Nova Scotia; and during the latter part of that time the struggle had assumed formidable dimensions. Yet the two nations were still nominally at peace. Battles had been fought, both by sea and land,—armies and fleets had been engaged,—fortified positions had been attacked and defended,—ships and merchant-vessels had been seized, and blood in no small measure had been shed; and still no declaration of war had been made—still the respective Ambassadors of the two Powers remained at the Courts to which they had been accredited. In attacking French ships at sea, and in ordering the capture of French trading vessels, England had certainly proceeded after a very high-handed fashion; but it is undeniable that the series of military aggressions had been begun by France, and that the French Government, after many hostile acts in Nova Scotia, had sent out a large armament to America for the furtherance of its designs. The operations of the English fleet were consequent on these proceedings of the French; but of course it was not to be expected that the latter would admit their justice. They protested against the capture and confiscation of their ships in time of peace as a system of piracy on a grand scale; and the King of France withdrew his Ambassador from London on the 22nd of July. The energy of the English navy, however, suffered no abatement. Eight thousand French seamen were soon in captivity; immense numbers of French merchantmen, whalers, and fishing-smacks were seized, and the English King's share of the spoils amounted, in itself alone, to nearly £700,000. On the 21st of October, Louis XV. wrote personally to George II., demanding ample reparation for what he described as Boscawen's insult to the flag of France, and for the piracies of the English men-of-war, committed, as he expressed it, in defiance of international law, the faith of treaties, the usages of civilised nations, and the reciprocal duties of monarchs. It was evident that an open rupture could not be long delayed; yet both sides continued to hesitate. The French hoped to recover in a clandestine way, and without the risks of avowed war, the territory they had lost in America by treaty engagements. The English were glad to procrastinate, in order that time might be found for concluding alliances against France on the continent of Europe.

Allies were not easily obtained. The Ministry were ready to subsidise Russia by heavy annual payments, and a treaty to that effect was actually ratified; but the arrangements never came into operation. The support of the German Powers was also sought, but at the expense of driving the elder William Pitt into confirmed opposition. He had for some time, as the reader is aware, dissented from much of the policy of the Duke of Newcastle, though holding the post of Paymaster of the Forces in the Government of that nobleman; and he now became still more violent in his antagonism. Fox was won over from a similar posture of hostility by being made Secretary of State; but Pitt, notwithstanding offers of preferment and flattering messages from the King, denounced the contemplated treaties with the utmost passion of his eloquence. He enlisted Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the same side, and on the 20th of November both were dismissed from office. It was the great object of Pitt so to develope the resources of the country as to make it independent of entangling alliances with continental Powers, and able to dispense with the disgrace of paying Hessian and Hanoverian troops to fight the battles of England. His policy was essentially an English policy, as opposed to the German tendencies of the King. It had the support of the great majority of the nation; but for the present the interests of the Court prevailed.

An Act of Parliament was now passed, enabling the King to grant the character and pay of military officers to a small number of foreign Protestants residing and naturalised in the colonies. It was proposed to incorporate these emigrants into a separate regiment; and it was urged in support of

the Act that many of the foreigners settled in America had served in foreign countries, and acquired experience in the military profession. The plan provoked considerable dissent on the part of a minority in the English Parliament, and the agent for Massachusetts joined in the opposition. The malcontents alleged that the employment of foreigners would be viewed with jealousy by the native Americans, and that the Bill was inconsistent with the Act for the further settlement of the Crown, and the better securing of the rights and liberties of the subject, which expressly provided that no foreigner, even though he should be naturalised or made a denizen, should be capable of enjoying any office or place of trust, civil or military. The objections, however, were ineffectual, and the measure was carried. Another Act empowered the King's officers to recruit their regiments by enlisting the indented servants of the colonists, on compensation being given to the masters; and the naval code of England was extended to all persons employed in the King's service on the lakes, great waters, or rivers of North America.

New England was bitterly disappointed at the results of the war thus far. She had of late abandoned the hesitating policy to which for a time her Governments seemed committed, and had exhibited energy, devotion, and liberality. When Johnson, alarmed at the intelligence of Dieskau's advance, communicated the news to the provinces whose troops he commanded, Massachusetts raised, with remarkable expedition, a large subsidiary force, and despatched it to the aid of the General; and although the danger was over before these auxiliaries could reach the scene of action, the promptitude with which they had been organised and sent out spoke well for the spirit of the people. The defeat of Dieskau created for a brief season the most sanguine expectations; but the subsequent inaction of Johnson speedily dashed these brilliant prospects to the ground. The French, with their usual celerity, strengthened the fortress of Ticonderoga, and their Indian allies ravaged the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire after the merciless fashion of their race. Excepting in Nova Scotia, therefore, the situation was actually worse than it had been, instead of better. The associated colonies, moreover, were offended by the demeanour of Johnson. In his reports of the action at Lake George, he wrote as if the whole merit of the victory belonged to himself; although his wound had compelled him to retire early in the contest, and the direction of affairs had then devolved on General Lyman, a native American. The mother country, imprudently as well as ungenerously, conspired in this neglect of the colonial officers. Johnson was made a baronet, obtained the appointment of Royal superintendent of Indian affairs, and received from Parliament a grant of £5,000. But the American commanders received neither honours nor reward, and the money presented to Johnson was in fact paid by the colonies, since it was deducted from a sum of £115,000 voted by the House of Commons to New England, New York, and New Jersey, in consideration of the burdens entailed on them by the war, and in acknowledgment (as the King expressed it in his message on the subject, early in 1756) of their faithful services. Even without this deduction, the amount was considered by the colonists very inadequate; but what annoyed them more was the slight put upon their officers. American commanders had displayed the most soldierly qualities, but were denied the recognition which would have been dearer to them than anything else.

This jealousy of the colonies proceeded in a great degree from fear. It was seen that a separate nationality was slowly struggling into existence in the western world; it was apprehended that that nationality might become the rival and the enemy of England. In 1755, Franklin had published at Boston—and the production had been reprinted at London—some observations on the existing state of affairs, which attracted very considerable attention. The rapid increase of the American population was one of the topics touched upon. Shirley was directed by the English Government to make inquiries, and he reported that the calculations appeared to be quite right. The people doubled themselves every twenty years. He added that, as the demand for British manufactures, with a corresponding employment of shipping, increased with even greater rapidity, the country possessed inexhaustible sources of wealth for a maritime Power.* Nevertheless, Shirley did not feel, or professed not to feel, those alarms as to the designs of the colonists which had disturbed the peace of English Ministers. He wrote to the Southern Secretary:—"Apprehensions have been entertained that they will in time unite to throw off their dependency upon their mother country, and set up one general government among themselves. But if it is considered how different the present constitutions of their respective governments are from each other, how much the interests of some of them clash, and how opposed their tempers are, such a coalition among them will seem highly improbable. At all events, they could not maintain such an independency without a strong naval force, which it must for ever be in the power

* Bancroft.

of Great Britain to hinder them from having. And whilst his Majesty hath seven thousand troops kept up within them, with the Indians at command, it seems easy, provided his Governors and principal officers are independent of the Assemblies for their subsistence, and commonly vigilant, to prevent any step of that kind from being taken." In that same year 1755, John Adams, the future successor of Washington in the Presidency of the United States, but then a humble teacher in a New England free school, wrote to a friend that, if they could only remove the turbulent "Gallics," the people of the American colonies would in another century become more numerous than the population of England, and that then all Europe would not be able to subdue them. "The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves," he added, "is to disunite us." The idea of independence was now being openly avowed: it had been cherished with greater caution for many years, even for some generations. That it should have acquired so much force by 1755, was attributable, in part, to the encroaching policy of the mother country, and to the sense of her own power which America was rapidly acquiring. Braddock's defeat had shown that English troops were not invincible. Lyman's success had proved that American officers and American soldiers could scatter the trained levies of France.

While the colonists were dreaming their grand dreams of the future, the French were preparing for further operations. In particular, they exerted their utmost arts to win over to their side as many as possible of the Indian nations. They sent their emissaries among the Cherokees—a tribe previously attached with firmness to the English alliance. Observers have noted in the Cherokees a greater constancy than usually distinguishes the red race. They were not given to roving; indeed, they appear to have been established from time immemorial on the lands they occupied in the middle of the eighteenth century. The French they greatly disliked for their fickleness and levity; yet now they listened to the envoys of that nation, and began to speculate on a change of friendship. The chief warrior of the Cherokees, not approving of these tactics, sent a message to Glen, the Governor of South Carolina, informing him of what was going on, and advising a conference with the tribe, with a view to the renewal of former treaties. The advice was taken. In the course of 1755, a conference was held in the country of the Cherokees, at a distance of two hundred miles from Charleston, and lasted about a week. It terminated in a fresh agreement of amity, and in an arrangement by which a large tract of territory was ceded by the Indians. This cession resulted in the removal of the tribe to a greater distance from the English, and enabled the Carolinians to spread far inland. Governor Glen built a fort, to which he gave the name of Fort Prince George, at a spot on the Savannah three hundred miles from the capital of South Carolina, and within gunshot of the Indian town of Keowee. The renewal of the old friendship with the Cherokees was exceedingly opportune. It checked the French in one direction, and excluded a danger which for a moment had seemed imminent.

The difficulties of the time were increased by political dissensions in Pennsylvania. Governor Hamilton had resigned his office in 1754, and had been succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris, son of a former Governor of New Jersey. Morris held his position about two years, and by 1755 had got into a series of violent disputes with the Assembly, owing to the resolution with which he endeavoured to enforce the unpopular edicts of the proprietaries, who, acting in concert with the Board of Trade at London, sought to take into their own hands the management of the revenue from excise, to restrain and regulate the emissions of paper money, and to exempt their own large revenues and estates from all taxes on provincial property. Popular power, however, was very strong in Pennsylvania, and the arbitrary designs of the proprietaries were defeated. It would have been better could this result have been brought about with less of personal acrimony; but Morris and the Assembly indulged in furious abuse of one another, and in the most ample imputations of corrupt motives. Franklin, who as clerk to the Assembly drew up its official utterances on the several points in dispute, has himself recorded that each side laboured hard to blacken its adversary, but that the Assembly had the best of it. Strange to say, Morris and Franklin were all this while on very friendly terms, apart from their official characters. Morris was a lively, good-natured man, though fond of disputation—a habit which his father had encouraged from his childhood. Franklin also loved an argument, and was blessed with an imperturbable temper. Thus, as the latter has related in his Memoirs, they would interchange, in their public capacity, messages and answers that were always tart, and sometimes even indecently abusive; and then would meet at dinner, and bandy jokes over their wine.*

In one respect, the Assembly gave way. The Quakers themselves, alarmed at the advances which

* In "An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania" (London, 1759), Franklin relates with great minuteness the progress of these controversies.

the French were making, passed bills, in 1755, levying £10,000 for purchasing provisions for the troops appointed to march against Crown Point, and £50,000 in aid of Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne. When the unfortunate issue of the latter enterprise became known in England, it was said by many that the proprietaries, by withholding from the general defence of the colonies, in obedience to their Quaker notions, had contributed to the disaster, and ought thenceforth to be deprived of all governing power. The Penn family became alarmed, and sought to appease the popular wrath by directing their receiver-general to add £5,000 of their own money to whatever sum might be levied by the Assembly for the common defence. Upon this, the Assembly passed a new Bill, imposing an assessment of £60,000 on the province for military purposes, with an exemption of the proprietaries, in consideration of the sum granted by them. Another Act provided for the embodying and training of a regiment of provincial militia, to be raised by voluntary enlistment. The influence of the Quakers was rapidly declining, owing to the relative decrease in their numbers as colonists of other creeds established themselves in the province. A military feeling had grown up even in the City of Brotherly Love; and it was greatly increased by the state of affairs existing in 1756. The wild Indians on the frontier had invaded the remoter settlements, and murdered the defenceless white people; and there was no knowing how soon French drums might be beaten in the streets of Philadelphia, and French priests be seen administering the sacraments of the Romish Church. Even the Moravians, or at any rate several of them, expressed their adherence to the principle of defensive war, and erected fortifications about their settlements. At the same period, the Quakers of New Jersey consented, in numerous instances, to serve in the militia, and to march against the French and Indians. Franklin was one of the Commissioners deputed to apply the money voted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania. The north-western border was committed to his charge, and under his direction a fort was built among the dangerous defiles near the river Lehigh. The site of the fort was the village of Gnadenhutten. It had recently been desolated by the Indians, and the murdered inhabitants were found lying unburied near the ashes of their homes. On being afterwards recalled to Philadelphia, Franklin was chosen colonel of a regiment of twelve hundred men. The war-party had now a complete ascendency in the plantation that had been founded by William Penn; and the Quakers felt that they could no longer, in conscience, take part in the administration of affairs. They gradually resigned their seats in the Assembly, and refused to accept offices of government under a system which had departed so completely from what was intended by the author of their sect.

Meanwhile, the most important of the colonial Governors appointed by the Crown continued to urge the home Government to tax the plantations, as the only means of creating a military force of sufficient size and character to resist the encroachments of the French. Dinwiddie, of Virginia, even urged the dissolution of the local Governments. He told the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in a despatch written in 1756, that nothing would be done to remedy the disunited and distracted condition of the colonies until his Majesty took the proprietary Governments into his own hands. Without some such step, he observed, all expeditions would prove unsuccessful; but, if properly protected, those dominions might be the western and best empire of the world. As Virginia was not a proprietary but a Royal Government, Dinwiddie would seem to have contemplated a very general subversion of the independent administrations of America. Shirley, who now, in virtue of his new position as commander-in-chief of the forces in America, took precedence of all the Governors, suggested that a stamp-duty should be imposed, together with an excise and a poll-tax. As a measure of conciliation to the colonies, he desired that each colony should be left to raise at its own discretion the sum assessed on it; failing which, proper officers should be appointed to collect the revenue by warrants of distress, enforced by the imprisonment of defaulters. Such were the opinions which encouraged English statesmen to enter on the fatal path of colonial taxation. But they had acquired a disastrous force from the procrastination of the colonists in providing for their own defence.

Shirley did not long enjoy the chief military position. He was a civilian—a lawyer, more accustomed to the conduct of arguments than to the ordering of armies; and, although as a soldier he had exhibited some spirit and aptitude, it was thought advisable to supersede him by an officer of experience. He was succeeded, about the middle of June, 1756, by General Abercrombie, who was despatched to America with a reinforcement of troops, as the temporary representative of the Earl of Loudoun. On the 29th of July, that nobleman reached Albany, invested with exceptionally great authority. He had been appointed commander-in-chief of all the English forces on the continent of North America, and also Governor of Virginia.

England thus established in the New World a consolidated military power, co-extensive with the colonies themselves, independent of the colonial Governors, and superior to them.* Loudoun was instructed to make it known to the Assemblies that the King required of them a general fund, to be issued and applied as the commander-in-chief should direct, and provision for all expenses that might arise from furnishing quarters for the troops. The appointment was regarded in America as an exercise of arbitrary power, and the quartering of troops on the people, without the consent of the local Assemblies, was bewailed as an extreme hardship. But it is difficult to deny that the necessities and dangers of the time rendered such a measure unavoidable, and that the factious conduct of the colonists for years, together with their backwardness in providing for their own defence, left them little right to complain.

Before the arrival of Loudoun, it had been settled, in order to avoid the necessity of placing the provincial levies under English officers—an arrangement to which the former greatly objected—that the American companies should advance against the enemy, and that the regulars should follow, and occupy the forts and posts which the others had progressively quitted. Lord Loudoun was at first disposed to set aside this concession in the most peremptory manner; but at length a compromise was agreed to, and the native Americans were for the present allowed to act separately, as far as the interests of the service would permit. The plan of operations for the next campaign had been settled by Shirley at a council of provincial Governors held at New York towards the close of the previous year. Renewed attempts were to be made against Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne, by large masses of men. The French settlements on the river Chaudiere were to be destroyed; Quebec was to be threatened by an army which should advance to within three miles of its walls, and thus distract the French from succouring other points; and Ticonderoga was to be seized by a force proceeding over the ice during the period when the lakes are usually frozen. The last feature of the project was rendered impossible by the unwonted mildness of the winter; the others were delayed by a variety of causes, and it was August before Loudoun felt satisfied as to the numbers and condition of his army, and before he had received from England the arms, ammunition, implements, and other appliances necessary to warlike operations on a large scale. But even then nothing was done.

* Bancroft.

War had been formally declared in May, 1756—first by England, and shortly afterwards by France. It was evident that England meant to put forth her utmost maritime power against the enemy. She made it known that she would not permit neutral vessels to carry merchandise belonging to her antagonist. Frederick the Great of Prussia contended for the principle that free ships make free goods—a principle which has always been dear to the Americans, and which was adopted by the chief European Governments at the Peace of 1856, exactly a hundred years after the period we are now considering.† But in the reign of George II. very few Englishmen admitted the validity of such a position. The great strength of England was at sea, and she would not consent to give up the power of seizing her enemy's property wherever she could find it. Murray (afterwards Lord Mansfield), one of the greatest English lawyers of that time, had laid it down, some three years before, while occupying the position of Solicitor-General, that the effects of an enemy could be seized on board the vessel of a friend; and, acting on this advice, England declared all the harbours of France to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound to them to be lawful prizes. Holland especially suffered from the enforcement of this edict. Her ships were largely employed in carrying the colonial products of France, and in supplying that country with naval stores; and they were seized without mercy by English men-of-war, though the Treaty of Commerce between England and Holland, concluded in 1674, contained stipulations to the effect that the neutral flag should cover the enemy's goods, and that contraband of war should be limited to arms, artillery, and horses.

The Government of George II. was equally determined to be supreme in a military sense over the American colonies. The militia law of Pennsylvania was repealed by the King in Council during the year 1756, and the companies were broken up and dispersed. Volunteers were not allowed to organise themselves for defence, and various arrangements made between the Pennsylvanians and the Indians, for securing the frontier, were condemned by Lord Halifax as violations of the Royal prerogative. The northern provinces were forbidden to negotiate with the natives, and the relations of the colonists with the red man were

† "II. The neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.—III. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag." (Declaration respecting Maritime Law, signed by the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, assembled in Congress at Paris, April 16th, 1856.)

entrusted to Sir William Johnson, who, in this matter as in others, was subordinate to Lord Loudoun.* Not long before, England had complained, and with justice, that the colonists would take no steps to protect themselves against the common enemy. It would seem as if she were now doing her utmost to break down the spirit of self reliance. That, in a time of war, all the forces should have been placed under one command, and that, in a matter affecting the character and stability of the whole empire, the command should

round by Abercrombie; but no orders for a forward movement were given, either by him or Loudoun, though more than ten thousand men stood in arms at Albany. The usual effects ensued. The soldiers got out of heart, and discase in a little while wasted their ranks. Great things were promised for the future, but there were those who apprehended a repetition of the disasters that had saddened the previous year.

The French, as usual, took advantage of their adversary's inactivity. Oswego appeared to them



FALLS OF THE ST. JOHN RIVER.

have been conferred on a professional soldier and a Royal officer, were reasonable and proper arrangements. But in some other respects the interference of the home Government with the colonists was arbitrary and impolitic; and it added largely to the feeling of disaffection which had been growing up for many years. The despotic method had not even the merit of success. Dilatoriness was the order of the day at Albany. Forty German officers were there, with a view to raising recruits for a Royal American regiment of four thousand men, to be commanded by Loudoun himself; but very little was done. The town was ditched and stockaded

* Bancroft.

a vulnerable point, and they determined to attack it with vigour. Situated on the south-east side of Lake Ontario, one hundred and sixty miles west-north-west from Albany, it was far removed from the English base of operations. The means of communication, however, were not difficult. The greater part of the distance could be performed by water-carriage, in a species of light, flat-bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, called by the inhabitants *bateaux*. These boats, which were of about fifteen hundredweight burden, were managed by two men with paddles and setting-poles, the rivers in many places being too narrow to admit of oars. A good waggon road existed from Albany

to the village of Schenectady, a distance of about sixteen miles. From that point the passage was by water-carriage sixty-five miles up the Mohawk river to the little falls, within a mile of which was a portage or land-carriage. The stream, though rapid in some places, was so shallow in others that at low water the boatmen were obliged to get out of their *bateaux*, and draw them over the rifts. The ground about the falls was too marshy to admit of the passage of any wheel-carriage; but some German settlers there had provided sledges, by means of which the loaded *bateaux* were drawn to the next place of embarkation on the river. They then proceeded up the Mohawk to the carrying-place near the head of the stream, fifty miles distant. Here there was a second portage, which in the summer months was generally about six or eight miles across; but this depended greatly on the state of the weather, varying according as it was wet or dry. The *bateaux* were then again carried on sledges, and afterwards floated about forty miles on the narrow stream called Wood's Creek, until they came to Lake Oneida, which in calm weather could be crossed with perfect ease and safety. From the western extremity of this lake issues the river Oneida, which, after uniting with the Seneca, about thirty or forty miles further on, forms the Oswego, which flows into Lake Ontario. But the stream, besides being full of rifts and rocks, was sometimes dangerous from the rapidity of its current; and, about twelve miles from Oswego, a fall of eleven feet perpendicular added to the perils of transit. At this point there was another short portage; after which the rest of the way to Oswego was quite easy.

On Lake Ontario, the French had erected two strong forts: viz., Frontenac, which commanded the St. Lawrence, where that river and the lake communicate; and Niagara, commanding the communication between Lakes Ontario and Erie. The English had been in possession of Fort Oswego for a considerable time; but, though its situation was peculiarly exposed to attack, nothing had been done to render it capable of defence, nor had any vessels fit for navigating the lake been constructed until the arrival of Braddock in 1755. By the summer of 1756, these preparations had been carried forward sufficiently to offer some hope of a successful resistance to any attempt that might be made; yet the subsequent course of events showed that appearances were deceptive. On the 12th of July, Colonel Bradstreet returned from Oswego, where he had left six months' provisions for five thousand men, and a great quantity of stores, though the garrison consisted of hardly sixteen hundred men. The French were determined to put forth all their power, while the English exhibited the most extraordinary apathy. General Webb, with the forty-fourth regiment, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march to the defence of the imperilled position; but he never stirred until it was too late. Oswego was left to take care of itself, though the designs of the French were by this time manifest. They had already made advances in that direction, and taken up positions which intercepted the communications. When the new French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, arrived at Quebec, it was evident that operations would be pushed forward with resolution and audacity. Montcalm was a Field Marshal of France; a fiery little man, active, restless, daring, intelligent, and possessed of military skill and knowledge. During the next three years he was to occupy a conspicuous position in the history of North America; and he perished, simultaneously with the English hero, Wolfe, at the taking of Quebec. But in 1756 he had only just arrived in Canada, as the successor of Baron Dieskau; and in the western world he had his reputation to make.

The activity with which he laid his plans, and proceeded to carry them out, should have been at once a warning and an example to the English. Without a moment's pause, either by night or day, he proceeded to Ticonderoga, and by two long marches on foot made himself and his troops acquainted with the ground they had to defend. Next, determining to reduce Oswego, he collected at Montreal three regiments from Quebec, together with a large body of Canadians and Indians, and immediately crossed Lake Ontario to the south-eastern shore. By the 10th of August, his army of about five thousand fighting men had arrived before the position they were to assail; and at midnight on the 11th, Montcalm opened his trenches. But in the first instance he directed his attack, not against Oswego itself, but against an outwork which Shirley had built on some high ground on the opposite bank of the Oswego river, and which went by the name of Fort Ontario. Into this fort the French commander poured a steady and continuous fire, to which the garrison replied with spirit until evening of the following day (the 12th), when, having exhausted their ammunition, they spiked their guns, and retreated to Fort Oswego. The height was at once occupied by Montcalm, who proceeded to attack the other and principal fort with great energy. Both works had been hastily and flimsily built of logs of wood; the collateral defences were unfinished, and the position altogether was ill-adapted to withstand a serious

attack. By this time it would have been a difficult matter for the commanders at Albany to send any succour to the besieged; for Montcalm had posted a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and Oswego, and had closed the lake by two large armed vessels, assisted by a battery which he had planted on the shores of a creek within half a league of the forts.

The advantageous ground from which he now directed his operations, enabled the French Marshal to concentrate a very destructive fire on the remaining position. Mercer, the commandant at Oswego, was speedily killed, and a breach was made in the outer walls. The garrison hoped for a while to procure aid from Fort George, situated about four miles and a half up the river, and occupied by a force under Colonel Schuyler; but, the attempt to open communications having failed, there remained no alternative but to surrender. The situation was hopeless. The men, as they stood at their guns, were destitute of cover; the works were incapable of resisting the French fire; the commander was dead, together with eleven others; the remaining officers were divided in their views, and the soldiers were in confusion. Montcalm was preparing to storm the entrenchments on the morning of the 14th of August, when the garrison demanded a capitulation, and surrendered as prisoners of war, on condition that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity. It has been asserted by Smollett, and by other historians who have followed him, that Montcalm shamefully violated these engagements; that British officers and soldiers were insulted by the Indians under his command, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage; that several defenceless men were massacred as they stood on the parade; that all the sick people in the hospital were scalped; and that the Marshal delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number lost by them during the siege. But it would appear that these statements were exaggerated, though it is not likely that they were altogether false. Lord Loudoun considered that the rumour of a massacre had no good foundation; but it is not denied that three and thirty of the prisoners were killed by the Indians in attempting to escape through the woods; and, knowing what we do of the habits of these savages, it is probable that wanton cruelties were inflicted. When the garrison arrived at Montreal, however, they had no occasion to complain of their treatment.

The spoils of the victors at Oswego included a hundred and twenty cannon, six vessels of war, three hundred boats, large accumulations of ammunition and provisions, and three chests of money. To satisfy the Indians of the Six Nations, within whose territory the forts at Oswego had been built, much to their annoyance, Montcalm demolished the works, and left the place a desert. Webb was by this time on his way to the relief of Oswego; but, on arriving at the carrying-place between the Mohawk river and Wood's Creek, he learned that the fort had already surrendered. Fearing that he would himself be attacked, he made the creek impassable, even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream. By a rather ludicrous coincidence, the French, believing that they were in danger from the English, resorted to the same device. Webb then retired to Albany, and the campaign of 1756, from which so much had been hoped, was at an end.

CHAPTER LXVI.

The Military Situation in America in the Latter Part of 1756—Troubles with the Indians—Colonisations in Georgia and Tennessee—Loudoun's Arbitrary Enforcement of Free Quarters for his Troops in New York and Pennsylvania—Recall of Governor Shirley to England—Unpopularity of the English Ministry—Position towards Political Parties of the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George III.—Influence of the Earl of Bute—Character and Objects of the Elder William Pitt—Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, and Accession of Pitt to Power—His Energetic Rule—Liberality of his Ideas towards America—State of Affairs at Fort William Henry—The Campaign of 1757 decided on—Unpopularity of Lord Loudoun—Contemplated Expedition against Louisburg—Delay at Halifax—Abandonment of the Expedition—Fort William Henry reduced by Montcalm—Massacre of English Troops by the French Indians—Gloomy Apprehensions in the Anglo-American Colonies—Continued French Successes—Spread of Republican Sentiments—Dispute with Lord Loudoun as to the Billeting of Officers—Address of the Massachusetts Assembly.

Loudoun had proved a failure—whether principally owing to his own incapacity, or to the incapacity of others, or to divided counsels, need not now be inquired. He had wasted the best period of the

year in hesitation and abortive attempts; and, as the autumn advanced, he found it prudent to dismiss his provincials, and send his regulars into winter quarters. The end of the campaign, if such it can be called, saw the French in a better, and the English in a worse, position than they had occupied at its commencement. Oswego had been lost, and the French had shown so marked a superiority during two successive years that it seemed only too likely they would assume the offensive in a third. Lord Loudoun admitted that he feared an attack, and, conceiving that his first duty was defence, he commanded Winslow not to proceed with his intended expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but to fortify his camp. General Webb, at the head of fourteen hundred English troops, and Sir William Johnson, with a thousand militia, were ordered to support Winslow; and the various commanders, concentrating their forces, stood in readiness for an assault which never came. For the present, the Anglo-Americans were more in danger from the Indians than from the French. On the western frontier, the savages, incited by their white allies, made a series of onslaughts of the most ferocious character, killing or carrying into captivity more than a thousand people. The advanced posts of Virginian settlers, beyond the Blue Mountains, were so devastated, despite the efforts of Washington to protect them, that the people fled in large numbers to the more eastern parts. Pennsylvania suffered equally, and found itself compelled to take military measures against the Delawares. A regiment of fifteen hundred men was raised, and about three hundred were sent against Kittaning, the principal Indian town on the Alleghany river, where the red men suffered a severe defeat. But in many localities the depredations continued, and the local Governments, for the most part, showed their usual disinclination to military expenditure. Even on the confines of Pennsylvania, the Indians, notwithstanding their discomfiture at Kittaning, continued to give trouble. Aided by the French, they sacked a small fort and settlement called Grenville, and carried fire and sword into the adjoining country. With the Delawares, however, a treaty of peace was concluded by the Governor of Pennsylvania; and at the same time Virginia effected an alliance with the Cherokees and Catawbas.

Thus the year wore on towards its close, without any material change in the position of the two belligerents. The general uncertainty of affairs did not entirely stifle the energy of colonising speculators. A band of private adventurers formed a settlement beyond the Alatamaha, and, creating an independent government, which they called New Hanover, held possession of the country as far as the St. Mary's, to the great indignation of the Spaniards, who complained that their territory had in this way been violated, though the lands were really within the limits of Georgia. A number of Carolinians penetrated into the interior of what is now Tennessee, and a little band of two hundred men constructed, on the river of the same name, at a distance of five hundred miles from Charleston, a fort which was called Fort Loudoun. The King's independent companies of infantry, embodied for the protection of the Carolinas and Georgia, were sent to garrison this position, and also the forts of Frederica and Augusta, together with Fort Prince George and Fort Moore, on the river Savannah. These secured the south; in the north, Fort Edward and Fort William Henry were put in a state of defence, and furnished with strong garrisons; and the Commander-in-chief then turned his thoughts towards the campaign of the following year. But before he could give his entire attention to this matter, he was compelled to encounter the colonists on the difficult subject of quartering his troops. Both in New York and Philadelphia he encountered considerable opposition to his orders in this respect. He was reminded in the former city that the billeting of troops on private citizens was opposed to the privileges of Englishmen, to the provisions of the common law, to the Petition of Right, and to specific Acts of Parliament. Loudoun averred on his honour—which he said was the highest evidence they could require—that free quarters were everywhere usual. The citizens still persisting in their opposition, the Earl retorted, with an oath after the fashion of those days, that if the people of New York would not billet his officers at once, he would order there all the English troops in North America, and quarter them himself upon the city. This put a stop to the matter. New York was compelled to submit, and Philadelphia, similarly threatened, was glad to effect a compromise.

Towards the end of the year, large bodies of troops, with a considerable supply of warlike stores, were despatched to America in fourteen transports, under convoy of two British ships of war. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, to whom some blame seems to have been attributed on account of the recent calamities—though he had really far less to do with them than others—was recalled to England, and soon afterwards appointed to the Government of the Bahama Islands. His sixteen years' connection with the affairs of Massachusetts had created in him a re-

gard for that province, and at a subsequent date he returned to it in a private capacity, and died there. His official character combined in an unusual degree a sincere respect for colonial liberties with a sense of what was due to the Royal authority, or rather to the predominance of the Empire over its dependencies. Shirley wished the Americans to be free and self-governed; but he did not forget that he was an Englishman. He thought there was an obligation of the colonists towards the mother country, as well as an obligation of the mother country towards the colonists. When he found so much remissness in the local Governments with regard to defence against the foreigner, he urged the King's Ministers to make provision by their own act for a proper military establishment, and to tax the colonies by the agency of the English Parliament, since they would not tax themselves for any such purpose. Yet, unpopular as this suggestion was, it does not seem to have diminished the general confidence in Shirley. In some respects he took the American side. He supported the military claims of Washington against the arrogance of professional military officers; and his zeal for the prosperity of the colonies seems not to have been doubted. It should be remembered to his honour, whatever his mistakes, that he never turned his lucrative offices to the enriching of himself.

The Americans now looked forward to the speedy opening of a more successful campaign; but the conduct of affairs in England was still in feeble hands. Newcastle became every day more unpopular. His Government, while preserving a majority in Parliament—by the help of bribery, as many said—could hardly keep itself together, for want of a definite policy and of mutual reliance. Henry Fox, the most capable man in the Cabinet, and the one in best esteem with the people, quitted his colleagues in October, 1756, finding he could do nothing to stem the tide of disgrace which was gathering round the Ministry. Murray, the Attorney-General, insisted on being made a peer and Lord Chief Justice, and was thus lost to the House of Commons. In Europe, as well as in America, the arms of England had met with failure and repulse. Vast expense was incurred; expeditions were sent out in vain; fortified places were surrendered; and even on the sea—the favourite element of Englishmen—no great success compensated for the numerous reverses that had occurred on land. Only in Hindostan was the grandeur of England asserted in power and in splendour. There, the genius of Clive flashed forth with sudden yet sustained brilliance, and made Englishmen once more the conquerors of Frenchmen, as in the days of Cressy, of Agincourt, and of Blenheim. But the achievements of Clive flowed from the enterprise of a private Company, and reflected little credit on the Ministry. The Duke of Newcastle had fallen on evil days, and possessed none of those faculties by which evil itself is made the stepping-stone to supreme fortune. He was a Whig, coming at a time when Whiggism, after its really important services to the people and to liberty at the period of the Revolution and of the Hanoverian succession, was growing effete, corrupt, and official. He was an aristocrat, removed by time and circumstances from the better traditions of the aristocracy, and retaining only its love of dominion and its contempt of the populace. His failure was due partly to himself, partly to the inherited difficulties of a system which was ripe for change.

He had the support of the King; but the King was old and infirm, and the rising men of the day were thronging about the rising star. The young Prince of Wales, George, son of the deceased Frederick, came of age in June, 1756, being then eighteen, the period at which princes attain their majority. Newcastle, acting on the wishes of his Royal master, would have separated his establishment from that of his mother. The youth vehemently opposed any such design, and, with the support of Pitt, declared that he would have the free choice of his own servants. The King reluctantly consented, and the coming Power scored a triumph over that which was departing. It was evident that the new King, whenever his reign began, would not favour the old Whigs. He had from an early age conceived a dislike to that party. To him it appeared that the Whig aristocracy was too powerful—that ever since 1688 the monarch had been little better than a gorgeous puppet in the hands of a few great families professing a certain set of opinions. To counteract this influence, which had unquestionably proceeded too far, he was not disposed to call on the people. Of the aristocracy he was jealous; but the people, as a political body, inspired him with alarm. His plan was to increase the power of the Crown while refusing additional power to the commonalty; to make the sovereign once more what he had been from the days of Henry VII. to those of James II. That in effecting this reactionary change he desired to preserve the accustomed forms of the Constitution—that he had no wish to do away with either the House of Commons or the House of Lords—does not disprove the reality of his design. Though a dull man, he had sense enough to discern the impossible. That he was dealing with an actual



ARRIVAL OF INDIAN AUXILIARIES AT THE FRENCH CAMP.

evil in the political state, and had some degree of justice on his side, does not show that his policy was good in the main, or other than a conspiracy against the liberties of Englishmen.

The agent by whom he hoped to carry these ideas into effect was a Scotch peer, the Earl of Bute, who had been one of the lords of the bed-chamber to Frederick, and who, after the death of that Prince, had been much consulted by his widow in the education of the youthful heir to the throne. Frederick had said of Bute that he was a fine, showy man, who would make an excellent Ambassador in any court where there was no business.* George II. called him a puppy; but perhaps that was only saying with blunt directness what the son had more civilly expressed by a periphrasis. Bute was a man who made great pretensions to learning and wisdom; but his pretensions were not very generally recognised. There could be no doubt, however, that he was a thorough courtier, and he saw that his interests would be better served by attaching himself to the future than to the present monarch. When his household was organised, the Prince of Wales retained the Scotch peer about his person, and showed him the greatest favour. In a few years he was to be the successful rival of Pitt; but for the moment he was glad of the friendship of that superb debater, and Pitt was glad of his.

The future Earl of Chatham was at that time the most masterly speaker in the House of Commons. Murray had been his equal, but Murray was now Lord Mansfield, and in the Upper Chamber. Pitt had been in the House for rather more than twenty years, and had been slowly winning his way, in spite of the opposition of the Court, whose enmity he had provoked in consequence of his taking the side of the late Prince of Wales against the King, in the quarrel which broke out between father and son. In subsequent years he increased this sentiment of personal dislike by the vehemence with which he opposed the Hanoverian leanings of the monarch; yet he had held subordinate positions in the Ministry from 1746 to 1755, and Newcastle now saw the necessity of obtaining his support, if he would save his Government from



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* Memoirs from 1754 to 1758, by the second Earl of Waldegrave.

utter ruin. The powerful Duke, with his large majority in Parliament, besought the assistance of the comparatively humble Cornish gentleman in managing his Administration. But Pitt refused to connect himself with a rotten and foundering bark. He saw that the day of his power was not far off, and he could afford to wait. In December, 1756, the Duke of Newcastle, yielding to his unpopularity in the country, and to the difficulty of carrying on his Government now that Fox had resigned, gave up his powers into the hands of the King, who, after a brief struggle with his antipathies, made Pitt Secretary of State for the Southern Department, with the Duke of Devonshire for nominal Premier, and a Cabinet composed of friends of Pitt and Bute, and of members of the party to which they belonged. The arrangement did not last. The King could not forget his old animosities, and in March, 1757, left Pitt no alternative but to resign. During the best part of a quarter of a year, the country was without a Government. No one would undertake the management of affairs, and at length the King was compelled to form an Administration in which the Duke of Newcastle resumed his old post of First Lord of the Treasury, with Pitt once more Southern Secretary, surrounded by his friends and supporters in the chief offices of the Government. This placed the conduct of the war, both in the Old and New World, almost entirely in his hands, and gave him virtually, though not nominally, the position of Premier.

In the forty-ninth year of his age—at a time of life when the judgment is mature, the intellect at its strongest, the experience of the world neither contracted nor superficial, and the energies as yet unimpaired—the elder William Pitt undertook to direct the fortunes of England during a crisis of great difficulty and no small discouragement. He was undoubtedly the favourite of the people. Though connected with the aristocracy through his mother (a sister of the Earl of Grandison), he was himself a commoner, the son of a simple country gentleman. He had always taken the patriotic side in the great questions of the day, and he was generally regarded as the only Englishman of note who was disposed to follow a thoroughly English policy in the relations of the country with foreign Powers. In his previous occupation of secondary posts, he had shown an honourable superiority to the corruption which then so generally prevailed. While far from wealthy, he had refused to enrich himself by indirect means; and no man ever entered on the service of the Crown with a more unstained reputation. His eloquence had been known for years; he was now to prove his capacity as an administrator. It was no easy task that he had undertaken. In feeble health, he had to encounter the enmity of the Court, the distrust of a House of Commons elected under different auspices, the jealousy of colleagues who were not always willing to act as subordinates, the opposition of defeated factions, and the innumerable and secret influences which conspire to fetter the hands of a Minister who is known not to enjoy the confidence of the King. George II., in moments of private confidence with his favourites, did not scruple to call Pitt a scoundrel. But he had the countenance of the Prince of Wales; and the Prince's private adviser told the new Minister that they thought alike. Bute, however, was a totally different man from Pitt, and shared neither his genius nor his liberality.

The country had been reduced by imbecility to the depths of degradation. Pitt resolved that it should once more take its proper stand among the nations of the world. He communicated his own energy to the several departments of State, and to the leaders of the armies. With the accession to power of the new Secretary, the long series of reverses soon began to decline, and victory again fell to English valour. America was not the first to feel this change of fortune; but in other matters she shortly experienced the excellence of the new rule. It was no part of the policy of Pitt to vex and irritate the colonies by needless interference. He opposed the projects of Lord Halifax for taxing the people of those provinces without their consent. It was at that time believed by many that a revenue of more than £60,000 a year might be obtained from a stamp-duty on vellum and paper, rendered the less unpalatable by a reduction of the duty on foreign rum, sugar, and molasses imported into the plantations. But Pitt refused his sanction to the scheme, conceiving that it would be both ungenerous and impolitic to take advantage of the Americans while they were engaged in a deadly struggle. He had the same feeling on the subject as Sir Robert Walpole, and left the taxation of America to Ministers of more courage and less sense than himself.

At the seat of war in the western world, the winter passed without any event of importance. The garrison at Fort William Henry maintained themselves in their position, and even made occasional sallies over the snowy desert and across the frozen surface of the lakes, attacking such French stragglers as they could find. The French, on their part, undertook to assault the fort, advancing by day and night over the icy expanse of Lake Champlain and Lake George, sleeping occasionally in the open air on bearskins spread on the

Boston now, carrying their provisions in sledges drawn by dogs, but failing in their attempt, owing to the vigilance of the defenders. These, however, were but trifling incidents: operations on a large scale were necessarily postponed until the arrival of a milder season. Plans for a campaign were discussed at a council of Governors which assembled at Boston in January, 1757. Lord Loudoun attended this conference, and gave great offence by attributing all the recent disasters to the misconduct of the American troops, or to the remissness of the provincial Governments, and by ascribing whatever safety was enjoyed to the superior conduct and discipline of the English regulars. With respect to the future, he required the New England provinces to provide an army of four thousand men, to be despatched to New York, where they were to unite with the quotas to be furnished by that province and New Jersey, and whence they would be conducted on an enterprise the nature and destination of which were for the present to be kept secret, but which, the Earl assured the council, would not be uncongenial to the views and wishes of the people of New England. This requisition, which was more moderate than had been expected, was agreed to; but Loudoun, who had never been liked, became still more unpopular, owing to the arrogance of his manners, and the total want of success which had attended his command. As in all men devoid of real energy, there was a fussy haste and air of despatch about him, which ended in nothing. A Philadelphian wittily said to Franklin, "He is like St. George upon a sign-post—always on horseback, but never advancing." He was such an utter disbeliever in public honesty, that when Franklin, in reply to some insinuations of his, gave him to understand that he had really not abused his position as a contractor for the army to fill his own pockets, Loudoun laughed at the assertion as a thing utterly incredible. It was an age of corruption and of deficient morality; and the Earl was quite in harmony with his time.

To the general armament, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania added contingents, and, early in the spring, six thousand American troops were ready for action. It was very generally expected that this force would be sent against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but, on the arrival in Nova Scotia of a large armament, consisting of sixteen ships of the line, besides transports and bomb-ketches, commanded by Admiral Holborne and Commodore Holmes, and containing six thousand soldiers under the direction of Viscount Howe, it was determined to effect the conquest of Louisburg. Loudoun departed for Halifax on the 20th of June, and arrived there on the 30th. He was now at the head of twelve thousand men, and a large and well-appointed fleet was at hand to second his efforts. At Halifax he dawdled away the summer, doing nothing of any consequence. He levelled the ground for a parade, he planted a vegetable garden as a precaution against scurvy; he exercised his men in mock battles and sieges; he did everything but enter on the real work of war. The men grew out of heart; the officers became scornful. Major-General Lord Charles Hay expressed his contempt so loudly as to be arrested; and the whole army was in a mood of muffled indignation.* Loudoun had discovered that Louisburg was stronger than he had supposed; and while he was making inquiries as to the exact position of the enemy there, it became stronger still. At length the army was embarked for its place of destination; but, before the ships sailed, the commander received information which determined him to relinquish the expedition altogether. The French were in force which seemed to him too great to cope with, and he departed for New York. On his way he was met by intelligence of a fresh disaster, to which his own bad management had contributed.

Montcalm, taking advantage of the exposed state of the English provinces, owing to Loudoun having drawn off his troops on an expedition which after all he never prosecuted, had advanced with an army of nine thousand men against Fort William Henry (situated at the south end of Lake George, a little east of the village of Caldwell, in Warren County, New York), and had reduced it. In the first place, previous to starting on this enterprise, he made his court to the Oneidas, the Senecas, and other savage tribes, and gained them over to his interests. These native warriors crossed the waters of Lake Champlain in two hundred canoes, with pennons flying, and all the pomp of savage warfare. Assembling beneath the battlements of Ticonderoga, in the midst of woods and mountains, they sang the war-song, danced the war-dance, and listened to the eloquence of their orators. Mass was chanted for the benefit of the converts; Montcalm harangued his officers on the necessity of braving all hardships in the accomplishment of their design; some of the savages, who had been sent out against Fort Edward, excited the ferocity of their comrades by returning with a trophy of forty-two English scalps. In the latter days of July they defeated a party of American boatmen on Lake George, and took a

* Bancroft.

great many prisoners. On the 31st they embarked on the lake, and rowed nearly all through the night in the midst of a drenching rain. At North-west Bay, near the encampment of the French commander, De Levi, they held a council of war, and then proceeded on their route. Arriving in front of the English position, they found the plain covered with tents, and everything indicating that the defenders of Fort William Henry were taken by surprise. General Webb, who was stationed at Fort Edward with a force of four thousand men, and who had reason to know that the enemy was astir, might have taken measures to repel the attack on the other position; but he seems to have shared the imbecility of Loudoun. The two forts were separated by a distance of only fourteen or fifteen miles; yet Webb did nothing. He went to Fort William Henry, but left it again almost directly, with a large escort, shortly before the place was invested.

The French commander disembarked without interruption about a mile and a half below the fort which he had come to attack, and on which his army moved forward in three columns. While the Indians burnt the barracks of the English, seized their cattle and horses, and, in combination with the Canadians, took up a position on the road leading to the Hudson which enabled them to cut off communications, the main body of the army, under the direction of Montcalm himself, occupied the skirt of a wood on the west side of the lake. De Levi was to the north, and the doomed fort was nearly surrounded. On the 4th of August, the French summoned Monroe, an English officer in command of the Anglo-American forces, to surrender; but the stout-hearted soldier refused. Montcalm therefore determined on a bombardment. His heavy guns were dragged from the shores of the lake over the intervening rocks, and planted in position. The walls of the fortress were approached by zig-zags, and the heavy artillery opened fire amidst the excited screams of the Indians. Webb, from his comparatively safe position at Fort Edward, despatched a letter to Monroe, giving an alarming account of the French force, and counselling an immediate surrender. The missive was intercepted by Montcalm, who was of course glad to send it on to the English commander; but it produced no effect. On the very day he invested the place, Montcalm had endeavoured to intimidate his adversary by threats of Indian vengeance. He addressed him by letter, saying he felt obliged in humanity to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison," he said, "has lately experienced their cruelty. I have it yet in my power to oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed."* But Monroe met such advances with defiance, and for six days replied with energy to the fire of his assailant. On the 9th of August, having by this time received positive information that no relief would be attempted, the gallant commander hung out a flag of truce. Half his guns had burst, his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and all chance of saving the place was at an end.

The terms of surrender were that the garrison should not serve against the French for eighteen months; that they should march out with the honours of war; that they should be allowed to retain their private baggage; and that they should be escorted to Fort Edward by French troops, as a protection against the ferocity of the Indians. A horrible tragedy ensued. The savages unfortunately obtained some strong liquors from the English (who probably hoped to conciliate them in this way), and passed the night in a fury of excitement and revelry, dancing their barbarous dances, and singing their maddening songs. The Abenakis of Acadie inflamed the passions of their comrades by recounting what they had suffered at the hands of the English; and at dawn all were ready for the work of murder. As, in the grey light of daybreak, the unfortunate soldiers filed out of the fort, the drunken wretches, whom French priests had blessed not many days before, began an indiscriminate attack on officers and men. Several were killed, others wounded, others taken prisoners, in defiance of the terms of capitulation. It is said that altogether as many as fifteen hundred suffered in their persons or their liberty. A number of Indian allies of the English, who had formed part of the garrison, were reserved for lingering torture. Little more than half the entire army gained the shelter of Fort Edward, plundered of everything they possessed, and horrified by the massacre which they had barely escaped.

How far the French were privy to this frightful massacre cannot be exactly determined. Montcalm, in reporting the matter to his Government, and in writing to Lord Loudoun, asserted that he and De Levi did their utmost to check the Indians; that French officers received wounds in rescuing the captives, and stood at their tents as sentries over those they had recovered; that they urged the English troops to defend themselves against the savages; and that those who were carried away were soon afterwards ransomed by the French.

* Smollett.

One is not willing to think ill of a gallant officer and the brave troops he commanded; but the facts have an ugly and suspicious look. The English were to march out under a French escort; but it appears that hardly any escort was provided. It is difficult to believe that Montcalm could not have stopped the butchery had he been really determined to do so. A few rounds of shot would have speedily cooled the ferocity of the savages; but this might have endangered the Indian alliance. Montcalm preferred the friendship of his painted warriors to the vindication of his good faith and the claims of humanity. Mr. Bancroft, whose sympathies are usually with the French rather than with the nation whence he derives his origin, gives a high-flown version of this affair, but leaves it very much where he found it. The reputation of Montcalm has received a stain from which no partizanship has yet succeeded in rescuing it.

The fort was demolished immediately after its reduction, and the French retired with the stores they had taken from the enemy. Webb, at Fort Edward, was struck with dismay. He sent off his baggage to a place of security, and talked of retreating to the highlands on the Hudson. Loudoun proposed to encamp on Long Island; Pownall, the new Governor of Massachusetts, ordered the inhabitants west of the Connecticut river to destroy their wheel-carriages, and drive in their cattle. It was feared by many that the end of British power on the continent of America was close at hand. The English had been completely beaten out of the valleys of the Ohio and of the St. Lawrence. France, supreme upon the lakes, had fastened a firm grip (or such, at least, it seemed) on the north and on the west. England appeared to be on the brink of reverses even more disastrous than those which had already occurred; whereas she was really on the eve of the most brilliant and substantial success. For the moment, gloom and apprehension prevailed; but the people of New England roused themselves to meet the danger. A portion of the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut was despatched to check the progress of the French; and the first of those two provinces was so denuded of troops as to be placed in a position of some danger. Fortunately, however, Montcalm pursued his successes no further on any scale of importance. An expedition of French and Indians was sent against the settlement at German Flats, in the province of New York, which was utterly destroyed with fire and sword, together with other small plantations along the Mohawk river. But this terminated the land operations for the season. The results had been altogether discreditable to the English; even at sea, disasters had not been wanting. A fleet of twenty-one merchant vessels, homeward bound from the Carolinas, was attacked by the French, who took nineteen, each loaded with a valuable cargo.

The mortifications of the time increased the republican tendencies of the American people; but they cannot be said to have created those tendencies, for they existed long before. In New Hampshire, according to the report of the Governor, the Royal prerogative was treated with contempt, and all instructions from the home Government were disregarded; yet New Hampshire used to be one of the most loyal of all the provinces. In New York and North Carolina, the same feelings were said to prevail; and Loudoun did the most he could to intensify the disaffection by his violent enforcement of the measure for billeting troops. Some English officers who had arrived in Boston from Nova Scotia, for the purpose of recruiting their regiments, required the justices of the peace to quarter them on the citizens. The justices refused, contending that the Act of Parliament on the subject did not apply to America, and that they had no authority to grant billets without the sanction of the Legislative Assembly of the province. The officers complained to Loudoun; Loudoun wrote to the Governor in peremptory language, commanding that the quarters should be furnished; the Boston authorities still resisted, and the Earl wrote again in November in still more angry terms. All this while the officers were lodging in barracks at the Castle; but they required accommodation in the town, as affording them greater facilities for pursuing their work. Loudoun now declared that his patience and gentleness were exhausted; that he had no leisure for further parley, and that, unless the justices averted extremities by immediately doing their duty, he would take measures for ensuring obedience, and for preventing the whole continent from being thrown into confusion. "I have ordered the messenger," he wrote, "to wait but forty-eight hours in Boston; and if on his return I find things not settled, I will instantly order into Boston the three regiments from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more are wanted, I have two in the Jerseys at hand, besides three in Pennsylvania." The Assembly attempted a compromise. They passed a law, the provisions of which were similar to those of the English Act of Parliament, though not identical with them; but this only served to increase the irritation of Loudoun. He wrote to Pownall, affirming that the Assembly had no concern in the dispute, and that "in time of

war the rules and customs of war must govern;" and he concluded by stating that the troops had received their orders, and were already marching on Boston. Hereupon, in December, the Assembly voted an address to the Governor, in which, though in very temperate language, they maintained their right under the charter to arrange for themselves all matters of domestic government, reasserted their former opinion that the English Act did not extend to America, and averred that they had been governed by a sense of duty to his Majesty, and of fidelity to the trust reposed in them. Lord Loudoun affected to see in this Address some concession to his assumptions, though it really contained none. He countermanded his orders for the military occupation of Boston, and wrote that he could now depend on the Assembly making the matter of quarters easy in all coming time.

The English commander had met with another defeat—this time in the field of politics, and on a matter which every Englishman should have understood. The colonists were following a thoroughly English precedent in objecting to the quartering of soldiers on private citizens. In the celebrated Petition of Right framed by the first Parliament of Charles I., it was required among other things "that persons be not compelled to receive soldiers and mariners into their houses against the laws and customs of the realm;" and the Commons refused to grant supplies until they got a satisfactory answer, which the King at length reluctantly gave. The matter of billeting has since been regulated by particular Acts of Parliament; but the colonists might well doubt whether in such a matter they were to be coerced by a law in the making of which they had no share. Still, Loudoun may have felt that he was bound by his instructions, and the recent extension of the Mutiny Act to America put him technically in the right. His chief fault was in the temper he exhibited. As, however, he had now retreated from his position of antagonism, the General Court of Massachusetts resolved to be conciliatory, and accordingly sent to the Governor an address which afterwards led to considerable discussion. This message was the composition of Thomas Hutchinson, a gentleman who had filled high official situations in Massachusetts for several years, and who subsequently was Governor of the province during the earlier days of the revolutionary struggle, when he became very generally detested as the advocate and agent of English designs on American liberty. The two Houses forming the General Court (the Assembly and the Council) thanked the Governor for his good offices on their behalf, but at the same time protested that their recent measure was intended, not to give force to an Act of Parliament (as Lord Loudoun had insinuated), but to regulate a case to which no Act of Parliament was applicable. "We are willing," they declared, "by a due exercise of the powers of civil government (and we have the pleasure of seeing your Excellency concur with us) to remove, as much as may be, all pretence of necessity of military government. Such measures, we are sure, will never be disapproved by the Parliament of Great Britain, our dependence upon which we never had a desire, or thought, of lessening. . . . The authority of all Acts of Parliament which concern the colonies, and extend to them, is ever acknowledged in all the courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings, in the province. There is not a member of the General Court, and we know no inhabitant within the bounds of the government, that ever questioned this authority. To prevent any ill consequences which may arise from an opinion of our holding such principles, we now utterly disavow them, as we should readily have done at any time past, if there had been occasion for it; and we pray that his lordship may be acquainted therewith, that we may appear in a true light, and that no impressions may remain to our disadvantage."

When the contest between Great Britain and her colonies broke out, this address was often referred to in England as a formal acknowledgment by Massachusetts of the supremacy of Parliament; and such it seems really to have been, though the American patriotic party contended for a precisely opposite interpretation. But the time was fast coming when the dispute between the mother country and her children would be too serious and too vehement to be determined by such slender considerations, or such subtleties of argumentative skill.



WOLFE LANDING AT LOUISBURG.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Recall of Lord Loudoun—Desperate Condition of the English in America at the Beginning of 1758—Policy of Pitt the Elder on the Continent of Europe and in America—The American Provinces invited to Assist in a New Campaign against the French—Raising of a Fresh Colonial Army—Arrival of English Troops in America—General Wolfe—Famine in Canada—Lord Howe—Attack on Louisburg—Gallant and Able Conduct of Wolfe—Capitulation of Louisburg, and Abandonment of the City—Expedition against Ticonderoga—Situation of the Fort—Advance of the English Forces—Encounter with the French in a Wood, and Death of Lord Howe—Desperate Struggle before the Fort—Defeat of the English, and Abandonment of the Expedition—Taking of Forts Frontenac and Duquesne by the Americans—Honours paid to Washington—Search for the Remains of Braddock's Troops—Dramatic Incident—Turn in the Tide of Fortune.

It was by this date quite evident that the conduct of affairs in America must be taken out of the hands of Lord Loudoun, if the cause of England was to have the least chance of succeeding, or the colonies were to be protected against the dangers by which they were threatened. His mismanagement, his hesitation, his blundering, his ill-success, made him the common scoff of the people; his arrogance caused him to be detested wherever he appeared. In the early part of 1758 he was at Boston, endeavouring to obtain assistance from the local Government in the prosecution of a further campaign; but he had the humiliation of finding that neither the Governor nor the Assembly would consent to place the most trifling force at his disposal, unless he stated beforehand all the particulars of the service in which he proposed to employ it. Before he could determine what he would do in answer to this demand, an express arrived with intelligence that he was superseded, and that the command of the army was conferred on General Abercrombie. Any change seemed to promise an improvement. Abercrombie himself was an officer of very poor ability; but he was at any rate a comparatively untried man, and it was a relief to be rid of Loudoun. The Earl had brought English power in America to the verge of ruin. France was in a position of such marked superiority that her entire predominance on the North American continent must have seemed a contingency very far from improbable. The possession of the lakes, which were now completely in her hands, gave her an immense preponderance over the English colonies. The Indians, always inclined to the stronger side, were either entirely in her service, or disposed to receive her offers of friendship; and the vast region beyond the Alleghanies seemed hopelessly lost to England, and to all men of English race. Pitt perceived that it was vain to expect any other state of things while Loudoun retained command of the English forces. That nobleman, moreover, had offended the new Minister by the negligent manner in which he conducted his official correspondence. Pitt said he could never ascertain what Lord Loudoun was doing. Those who watched him from the spot were equally at a loss.

It was no light boast when Pitt observed to the Duke of Devonshire, "I am sure I can save this country, and that nobody else can." Great men are conscious of their strength, and, whenever there is real occasion, will frankly say so. Great fools are boastful also, and to that extent there is a similarity between them and great men. But the William Pitts speak what they know, and what in the end they do; the fools speak only what they think, and prepare with fatal certainty the ruin of themselves and others. The Minister who now held power in England understood the conditions of success, and did not scruple to use them. On the continent of Europe he beheld the great Catholic Powers bound together by a common league to support the principles of absolutism in Church and State; sworn to oppose, either actively or passively, all the aspirations of freedom; and receiving, in the execution of that design, the countenance of Protestant Governments not strong enough to resist such a combination, or loving tyranny so fondly for its own sake as to welcome its advancement even from Romanist hands. Frederick the Great—a man of heroic temper, whatever the faults of his disposition, his rule, or his policy—withstood this plot with admirable daring and extraordinary genius; but Prussia had no other allies than Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick. Pitt resolved on giving her the support of England. He saw that Protestantism must once more be militant against Roman Catholicism, since the Catholic Powers had evidently drawn the sword on heresy. In this way he touched one of the deepest notes in the English nature, and rallied to his side the two great divisions of the English race.

In the House of Commons, Pitt openly and sharply condemned the inaction of Loudoun during the period of his command in America. He showed that the authority of Great Britain in the western world had been seriously endangered; that she had been driven from the inland waters, and that every door was opened to France. He equally

disapproved the policy adopted by his predecessors towards the American colonists. While preparations for a more vigorous prosecution of the war were being made, Franklin happened to be in London, charged with a mission from the Pennsylvanian Assembly, which had again come into collision with the proprietaries on the subject of taxing their estates—a constant source of irritation until 1759, when the proprietaries finally abandoned their claim to exemption. Franklin, in addition to his particular duties in this respect, concerned himself in the promotion of American interests generally; and it is believed that, although unable to obtain a personal interview with Pitt, he communicated to him, through his under-secretaries, several useful suggestions with regard to the conduct of affairs. On Pitt's advice, the King issued an order that every provincial officer of no higher rank than colonel should have equal command with British officers, according to the date of their commissions; and the same express which carried the notification of Loudoun's recall, early in 1758, conveyed a letter from the Minister to the provincial Governors, informing them that it was the intention of the Cabinet to send a powerful armament to operate by sea and land against the French in America, and inviting them—without giving any instructions for a common fund, or hinting at taxation by Parliament—to raise as numerous levies of auxiliary troops as the population of their respective provinces could afford. Arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and boats, would be furnished by the Crown; and the provincial Governors were desired to levy, clothe, and pay their troops, and appoint the regimental officers. It was the King's determination (said this circular) to repair the losses and disappointments of the late inactive and unhappy campaign, and to repel the dangers impending over the British possessions in North America. To that end, the war, which had hitherto been defensive on the part of the English, was to be carried into the heart of the enemy's territory; and, for the greater encouragement of the colonists, his Majesty was prepared to recommend to his Parliament the granting to the several provinces of such compensation as their exertions might seem to merit. This intimation had the effect that was desired and expected. The colonies at once recovered from their mood of despondency and anger. Massachusetts raised 7,000 men; Connecticut, 5,000; New Hampshire, 900. A voluntary subscription for the encouragement of recruits was opened at Boston, and in one day £20,000 were subscribed. The other provinces also answered to the call that had been made on them, though their respective quotas have not been recorded. Altogether, more than 20,000 troops were in this way called to arms by the northern colonies for an expedition against Montreal and Quebec. To Pennsylvania and the southern provinces was assigned the task of conquering the west to the line of the Mississippi.

In the spring of 1758, Boscawen arrived at Halifax with a considerable fleet, carrying 12,000 troops under the command of General Amherst, an officer who had served with distinction at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. A subordinate command in Amherst's army was held by the heroic James Wolfe, now a Brigadier-General—a man as yet little known, but for whom were reserved the greatest achievements of the war. He had been in the unfortunate expedition against Rochefort in 1757, and had shown so much ability and daring, and so quick a penetration, while his superiors were quarrelling and doing nothing, that Pitt, with his usual discernment, fixed on the young officer as a fitting object for promotion, and as one of the most likely agents for carrying out his designs in America. It is thought to have been by Wolfe's suggestion that Pitt raised, for service in America, those two regiments of Highlanders who afterwards so brilliantly distinguished themselves. When he arrived in Nova Scotia, as one of the commanders in Amherst's army, Wolfe was only two-and-thirty years of age; yet he had already given some indications of the greatness that was in him. England was now in a position to confront the French with a very formidable force—the largest she had ever assembled in that part of the world. It consisted of 50,000 soldiers, of whom 22,000 were regular troops. The chief command was in the hands of Abercrombie; but Pitt afterwards had reason to regret that he had committed the fortunes of the war to an officer of whom he had very little knowledge, and who soon proved himself incompetent to his post.

The French also could muster in great force; but they were stricken with a famine. The Canadians had been so much employed in military expeditions that they had not been able to cultivate their lands, and the fleets of England cut off all supplies from France. So great was the scarcity that the army, and the people generally, were put on short allowance. Montcalm was in a mood of depression and anxiety, in spite of the splendid military position he held. "For all our success," he wrote to his Government at home, "New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies." The dearth grew more severe

as the year progressed, and at length the soldiers received but half a pound of bread daily—the inhabitants of Quebec not more than two ounces. Owing to the want of forage, domestic animals perished in large numbers, and meat became as scarce as bread. The people were enfeebled by insufficient diet, and staggered with debility. They were in the very worst condition for encountering the well-fed hosts of England; yet they prepared with spirit for the encounter. The friendly Indians were alert and eager, and in March a body of these savages waylaid a detachment of two hundred New England rangers in the forests about Ticonderoga, and took back with them a hundred and forty-six scalps, with three prisoners. The employment of native warriors by both sides in these wars between France and England gave a peculiarly horrible character to the struggle, and led to the commission of acts from which civilised nations should have shrunk in disgust. France, however, was always more blamable than her rival in this respect.

The English plan of operations included three expeditions. Amherst's division was to besiege Louisburg, in conjunction with the fleet under Boscawen. The conquest of the Ohio valley was entrusted to General Forbes; while Abercrombie was to move against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. One of Abercrombie's subordinates was Lord Howe—an officer not much older than Wolfe, and, like him, endowed with true military genius. Pitt relied on Howe as the moving spirit of the enterprise; and such he proved to be, until his death in action removed one of the most valuable leaders of the English forces. Howe and Wolfe added to their merits as soldiers the virtues of honour, of benevolence, and of courtesy. Both were highly popular with the troops they commanded—winning the respect of their men, not by laxity of rule or vicious indulgence (for they were strict disciplinarians), but by a due consideration of whatever could be fairly required, and by sharing their hardships and dangers whenever they were in the field. Wolfe was the son of an officer who had himself won renown in the army during the campaigns of Marlborough. Howe came of a family which had been distinguished for some generations. His father, the second Viscount, had married the eldest daughter of Baron Kielmansegge, a Hanoverian nobleman who was Master of the Horse to George I. before he succeeded to the English throne. The Howes were a martial race. The brother of the Lord Howe to whom we are now referring was the celebrated Admiral who did so much towards sustaining the honour of the English navy; and another brother was the Sir William Howe whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention in connection with the War of Independence. The simple Kentish gentleman, James Wolfe,* and the man of title, Lord Howe, had much in common. Both found their glory and their death in America; but it was the fortune of the one to be struck at the climax of a brilliant success, while the other expired in the midst of doubt and confusion.

The fleet containing the expedition against Louisburg left Halifax on the 28th of May. In nearly forty armed vessels were from twelve to fourteen thousand men, chiefly regulars, and great hopes were entertained of what they would effect. A high wind and heavy sea delayed the progress of the ships, and the French were thus enabled to strengthen and extend their lines. The water was still rough when, a little before daybreak on the 8th of June, the troops began to land in Gabarus Bay. Wolfe (carrying in his hand nothing but a cane) led the first division, and at once secured the confidence of all by the singular coolness and intrepidity of his conduct. He would not suffer a gun to be discharged in reply to the French fire, but, coming to shoal-water, jumped into the sea, and bid his men follow him. The surf on shore was so violent that it broke several boats, and upset others; yet the troops got to land (with the exception of a few who were drowned), and advanced against the French batteries. The rampart of felled trees which had been erected in front of the position was carried, the batteries were taken, and the French, after a sharp fight, were driven in. The landing had been successfully accomplished, but it was at a considerable distance from the town; for the harbour had been secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which had been sunk across the mouth of the basin. The scene of the disembarkation was the creek of Cormoran, to the west of the town; and as soon as the artillery had been got on shore, it was determined to seize a post which had been occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, on the north-east side of the entrance to the harbour, and from which the attacking force would be enabled to annoy the French ships and the fortifications of Louisburg itself. In the early morning of the 12th, Wolfe, with a party of Light

* Wolfe's family appears to have been, remotely, of Welsh origin, and for some generations it was settled in Ireland. But the great-grandfather of the hero of Quebec married and took up his abode in the north of England; and the father, after marrying a Yorkshire lady, established himself at Westerham, in Kent, where James Wolfe was born on the 2nd of January, 1727 (New Style).

Infantry and Highlanders, took the position by surprise, and all the smaller works in quick succession. Here he erected a battery, which played with great effect on that of the French situated on the island in the mouth of the harbour. Approaches were also made towards the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with vigour, yet with caution. The strength of the place, and the skill and valour with which it was defended, necessitated great care in the management of the attack; and the English commanders showed themselves equal to the serious responsibilities of the enterprise. The French ships in the harbour suffered terribly. One of them caught fire from the explosion of a bomb, and blew up, on the 21st of July. The flames were communicated to two others, which were also destroyed; and Boscawen resolved on endeavouring to take the two remaining ships of the line. He therefore, on the 25th of July, sent six hundred men into the harbour, to make the attempt under cover of darkness. Despite a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, one of the ships was taken and towed out of the harbour, while the other, which had run aground, was sunk. One of the petty officers in this expedition was the celebrated Captain Cook, as he afterwards became — the great navigator and explorer, who did so much to reveal the unknown parts of the world. He wrote an account of the exploit to a friend in England, and was made a lieutenant for the gallantry of his conduct.

By this time, Louisburg was little better than a heap of ruins, owing to the terrible concentration of the English fire. The walls were breached in two or three places, and forty of the French cannon out of fifty-two were disabled. The soldiers could not repose anywhere out of range of the English artillery, and the Chevalier de Drucour, the commander of the fortress, perceived that he had no choice but to propose terms of capitulation. It was answered that he must surrender at discretion, on peril of an immediate assault by land and sea. Drucour at first refused, but soon saw that he could resist no longer, and Louisburg, its artillery, provisions, and military stores, the whole of Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island (then called St. John's), were surrendered on the 26th of July to the English. The French loss was fifteen hundred in killed and wounded; that of the English did not exceed four hundred. Two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition, fell to the lot of the conquerors. The town was almost entirely destroyed, and was not considered worth re-establishing in its original strength. It is now simply a collection of hovels, serviceable to the storm-pressed mariner, but having no longer the character of a fortress, even of the second class. The civilians of Cape Breton were conveyed to France in English ships, and the French garrison and naval forces were sent to England as prisoners of war. Wolfe shortly afterwards returned to his own country, where he was received with acclamations. Amherst, a fellow-Kentishman, generously gave the young hero almost the entire credit of the success that had been obtained. The French colours taken by the victorious army were carried in solemn procession from Kensington Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral, and Boscawen received a vote of thanks from the House of Commons. It was the first success of the war, and the people felt as if they could hardly make too much of it.

The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was attended by very different results. The army assigned to this exploit amounted to more than 15,000 men, commanded by General Abercrombie. On the 5th of July, the troops were embarked on Lake George in a hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, and nine hundred *bateaux*, with the artillery on rafts. With banners flying and music sounding, they proceeded along the lake, and halted in the evening at Sabbath-day Point. Ticonderoga was situated near the junction of Lake George with Lake Champlain. It stood west of the latter expanse of water, and was flanked on the south and south-west by the narrow and tortuous channel through which the one lake flows into the other. On the north, a tract of marshy meadows forbade approach; but, from the north-west, access might be had by land. On this side, therefore, Montcalm had placed his outworks. The river connecting the two lakes, if river it can be called, has a fall of one hundred and fifty-seven feet in a course of scarcely four miles; and, bending with a wide sweep in front of the French position, it offered great facilities for a prolonged defence. A French look-out party on the mountains gave notice by a white flag that the English had embarked; and a guard of three pickets was accordingly stationed at the landing-place, while another small body was thrown forward to watch the approach of the invaders.

The English army re-embarked about eleven o'clock at night, and, continuing their course along Lake George in a north-easterly direction, arrived, by nine o'clock next morning (July 6th), in a cove on the west side, about a mile above the rapids. The French pickets at once drew back, burning the two bridges which crossed the river on the road from Lake George to Ticonderoga. The invading

force was therefore compelled to follow the bend of the river, leaving behind its artillery, heavy baggage, and provisions. It was now disposed in four columns, the regulars forming the centre, and the provincials, who were the most numerous, occupying the two flanks. The ground was rough and woody; the guides were very imperfectly acquainted with the paths they should follow; confusion in a little while broke up the order of the regiments; and the right-centre column, commanded by Lord Howe, unexpectedly fell in with the advanced guard of the French, now precipitately retiring, but so bewildered by tangled thickets that they had been wandering for twelve hours in utter inability to find their way back to the fort. Wearied and worn out, this small body of three hundred stragglers, consisting of regular soldiers and a few Indians, fought with determined courage, and very nearly inflicted a defeat on the English. At the very outset of the action, Lord Howe was struck by a ball, and instantly died. The consternation excited by this untoward event, and the terror inspired by the demoniacal yells of the savages, led to a brief panic on the part of the English troops; but, the flanking parties of provincials coming to their assistance, the army rallied, and completely crushed the enemy. Some were driven into the river, and drowned; others, to the number of one hundred and fifty-nine, gave themselves up as prisoners. The English were masters of the forest, and encamped that night beneath its shades.



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

Abercrombie on the following morning recalled his troops to the landing-place, and Colonel Bradstreet, of New York—a very able and dashing officer, whom Wolfe described as an extraordinary man—rebuilt the bridges, and took possession of a piece of ground less than two miles from the French encampment. Here he was joined by the

whole army, and, on the 8th, Abercrombie, after sending out reconnoitring parties to scan the French lines, and obtaining very contradictory judgments as to their strength, ordered his troops to storm the breastworks at once. He would not even wait for his cannon to be brought up, but, believing that De Levi was hurrying forward with reinforcements for Montcalm, whose force already he thought to be about twice the strength that it really was, conceived that his only chance outwards, of stumps and rubbish. In combination with this barricade were other works, and, thus protected, 3,500 men, including a small reinforcement by De Levi, stood to their arms on the morning of the 8th of July.

The English advanced at the bayonet charge with great steadiness, the regulars taking the lead. Montcalm, with his coat off, stood just within the trenches, in a position of considerable danger. He forbade his men to fire a single musket till he



QUEBEC.

of success, or even of safety, was in immediate attack. He formed his troops in three lines, with a rear-guard in addition, and directed them to march up briskly, to rush on the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed the outer breastwork. Unfortunately, Abercrombie had leant to the opinion of those officers who described the French lines as flimsy and vulnerable, rather than to that of more acute judges who saw that they were really very strong. Montcalm, as soon as he perceived that he was about to be attacked, had added to his defensive preparations with masterly energy and quickness, and was now enabled to draw up his troops behind a barricade formed of felled trees, with their branches pointing commanded, and allowed the assailants to gain the very edge of the breastwork. As they were endeavouring to clamber over the logs of wood, and were getting entangled among the outlying boughs, he took advantage of their broken order to pour a terrific fire into the ranks. The attacking troops behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and persisted for four hours in their endeavours to carry the breastwork. Their losses were very heavy, but did not in the slightest degree affect their resolution. On the right, the Grenadiers and Highlanders charged again and again with unshaken discipline; on the left, an attempt was made to turn the French position, and it might have succeeded but for the rapidity with which Montcalm,

whose eye was everywhere, sent reinforcements to strengthen the weak point. The right, the left, the centre, and all intermediate places which appeared to offer any chance of success, were repeatedly assaulted, but in vain. Towards the close of the engagement, the English, in a moment of confusion, fired on one of their own advanced parties; and shortly afterwards, seeing the utter hopelessness of the enterprise, they retired with precipitation. In killed and wounded they had lost nearly two thousand of their number; the regulars, in particular, suffered severely. It is said that the provincials fired wildly, and injured many of their friends. One half of a Highland regiment, with twenty-five of its officers, were either killed or badly wounded; while, on the other hand, the French, protected by their works, lost very few men. All this time, Abercrombie remained at a considerable distance in the rear, and was not forthcoming when his presence would have been of service to cheer and reassure his men. He still had more than thirteen thousand troops at his disposal; and, had he rallied his companies, and ordered up his artillery, he might have retrieved the fortune of the day. But contemporary accounts seem to show that he was overcome by positive terror. Montcalm said that, had it been *his* business to besiege the fort, he would have asked for nothing more than six mortars and two pieces of artillery. Abercrombie, however, declined to make any further attempt, and, by a hurried march, gained the landing-place that same evening. The soldiers, unrestrained in their panic by any better example on the part of their chief, would have rushed headlong into the boats, had not Bradstreet infused a little order into them by his calmness and ready resource. All that night, the troops of Montcalm were busy adding to the strength of their position in anticipation of a renewed attack. But the British commander had retired to the southern extremity of Lake George; and in a little while he sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany for safe keeping. It may certainly be doubted whether they were safe in his hands.

The design against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was entirely relinquished, and Bradstreet suggested to Abercrombie the feasibility of an attack on Fort Frontenac, which he offered to conduct in person. The plan was accepted, and Bradstreet, at the head of three thousand men, nearly all of whom were Americans, started on the expedition. He was accompanied by two-and-forty Indians, and the party moved by rapid marches to Oswego, where scarcely a vestige was found of either the French or English fort which had so recently stood there. They embarked on Lake Ontario in open boats, and on the evening of the 25th of August landed within a mile of Frontenac. The fort was a quadrangle, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon and sixteen small mortars. Bradstreet opened his batteries at so short a distance from the walls that almost every shot took effect, and, towards the close of the second day, the garrison, several of whom had fled, surrendered at discretion. In the fort were found a large number of great and small guns, and an immense collection of military stores, provisions, and merchandise. Nine armed vessels on the lake, each carrying from eight to eighteen guns, were also seized, and two of these were sent to Oswego. The rest were burnt, the fortress was razed, and the stores which could not be removed were destroyed. Having accomplished this exploit, the detachment returned to Lake George, where the main body of the army was stationed, recovering its self-possession after the defeat at Ticonderoga. In the autumn, Abercrombie's forces were strengthened by some regiments which Amherst sent from Louisburg; and early in November that cautious and able commander was placed at the head of the entire army, instead of the incompetent Abercombie, who was recalled.

Another success of the year was the capture of Fort Duquesne. The attack on that place was entrusted to General Forbes, who, early in July, set out from Philadelphia at the head of 9,000 men, mostly provincials. In command of two regiments from Virginia, Washington joined the expedition, and contributed greatly to its success. Regarding Fort Duquesne as the key to the west, Washington desired to march quickly along Braddock's road; but more dilatory counsels prevailed, and a fresh route was slowly constructed. Forbes was so ill as to be near his death, and by September they had got no farther than Raystown. On the 13th of that month, a party of eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians were sent forward in the hope of taking the place by surprise; but they suffered a severe defeat. On the 5th of November, Forbes was at Loyal Hanna, whence, although it had been determined at a council of war that the season was too late for further operations, Washington obtained permission to make a further advance. Fifty miles of hills and deserts, now beginning to be covered with snow, lay between the small band of troops and the French fort; but, animated by Washington's zeal, the men marched with rapidity, and, towards the end of the month, the post they had come to conquer rose before them. But the garrison, who were only five hundred in number, did not care to abide an attack.

Setting fire to the fort on the night of the 24th of November, they descended the Ohio in their boats, and so escaped capture or pursuit. They had been much disheartened by the desertion of their Indian allies, who, alarmed at the approach of the hostile force, declared that the Great Spirit had evidently withdrawn his favour from the French, and his protection from their fortress. On the 25th, Washington planted the British flag on the smoking ruins which the French had abandoned; and the place was thenceforward called Pittsburg, in honour of the great English Minister whose energetic policy was effecting the subjugation of the West. It is now the chief city of Western Pennsylvania, and is often likened, in its general characteristics, to Birmingham.

Washington received universal honour for his brave exploit. He was elected as the representative of Fredericktown in his native province, and the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, in the name of the Chamber, publicly thanked him for his achievements. The young man hesitated for words as he rose to reply, and the Speaker, bidding him resume his seat, added, "Your modesty is equal to your valour, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess." Washington, who had recently married, now retired to his estate at Mount Vernon, living the life of a country gentleman, entertaining his friends with that hospitality for which Virginians were so widely famed, following the chase with all the ardour of his nature, exporting the produce of his fields to England, gathering objects of elegance and intellectual value about him, and engaging largely in public affairs. But from that time to the period of the Revolution, he did not again appear as a soldier.

The success at Fort Duquesne was followed by the submission of numerous tribes of the Ohio Indians (with whom treaties of friendship were concluded), and by the death of Forbes, who expired on the march back to Philadelphia. With the assistance of the Indians, some English soldiers were sent to explore the woods where Braddock had been defeated, and to inter the bones of those who had fallen in the struggle. Captain West, the elder brother of West the painter, accompanied the party with a number of American sharpshooters, who were better acquainted with the ground than the regular forces. Among the officers engaged in this service was Major Sir Peter Halket, who had lost his father and a brother in the destruction of the army. One of the Indians told him that he had seen an officer fall near a remarkable tree, and that at the same time a young subaltern ran to the officer's assistance, was himself shot, and fell across the other's body. The Major believed these two to be his father and brother, and resolved to make particular search for their remains. The progress through the forest was profoundly mournful. In the dim shadow of those obscure recesses, bones were often found scattered on the earth, and it was thought that the unhappy men had been devoured by wild beasts. Across the trunks of fallen trees were skeletons, which, it was feared, were the relics of men who had slowly starved to death. In other places, ashes were mingled with charred bones—a sign that some of the wounded had been burned by the savages. "At length," says a modern biographer, "they reached a turn of the river not far from the principal scene of destruction, and the Indian who remembered the death of the two officers stopped; the detachment also halted. He then looked around in quest of some object which might recall, distinctly, his recollection of the ground, and suddenly darted into the wood. The soldiers rested their arms without speaking. A shrill cry was soon after heard; and the other guides made signs for the troops to follow them towards the spot from which it came. In a short time they reached the Indian warrior who by his cry had announced to his companions that he had found the place where he was posted on the day of battle. As the troops approached he pointed to the tree under which the officers had fallen. Captain West halted his men round the spot, and, with Sir Peter Halket and the other officers, formed a circle, while the Indians removed the leaves which thickly covered the ground. The skeletons were found, as the Indian expected, lying across each other. The officers having looked at them some time, the Major said that, as his father had an artificial tooth, he thought he might be able to ascertain if they were indeed his bones and those of his brother. The Indians were therefore ordered to remove the skeleton of the youth, and to bring to view that of the old officer. This was immediately done, and, after a short examination, Major Halket exclaimed, 'It is my father!' and fell back into the arms of his companions. The pioneers then dug a grave, and the bones were interred with the customary honours."*

Notwithstanding the repulse at Ticonderoga, the events of 1758 had, on the whole, been favourable to the cause of England. The tide of fortune had turned against the French, and it had been made evident that, as soon as English power should be energetically put forth, the power of France would begin to wane. The explanation of this fact may easily be discovered. The strength of

* Galt's Life of Benjamin West.

France in America was almost solely military. Her colonies were but feeble in comparison with those of England. They had no powers of self-government—no principle of national life. The despotism by which they were administered had done wonders in the early days of the settlements, when the desert was to be explored, and the Indians were to be converted or subdued. But when this despotism came in contact with the vital forces of a free nation, it staggered backwards, and gave way. The strength of English America was in its liberty and its youthful spirit. Those were the qualities which shattered the advancing lines of France; those were the possessions which conferred new honour on the ancient glories of the race.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Designs for the Conquest of Canada in 1759—Votes of Parliament—Pitt's Scheme for the Prosecution of the War—Wolfe's Final Interview with Pitt previous to leaving England—Warlike Preparations in the Colonies—Weak State of Canada—Advance of General Amherst, and Abandonment of Ticonderoga by the French—Further Proceedings of Amherst—Expedition against Fort Niagara—Total Defeat of the French, and Surrender of the Fort—The Movement under Wolfe against Quebec—Situation of that Town—First Proceedings of the English General—Position secured on the Montmorenci—A Reconnoitring Expedition—Attack on the French Lines, and Failure of the Attempt—Illness of Wolfe—The Situation growing Serious—Plan of the Three Brigadiers for carrying on Operations above Quebec—Wolfe's Alternations of Hope and Despair—Removal of the English Army across the St. Lawrence—Wolfe's Despatch to the Earl of Holderness—Rival Claims to the Honour of originating the Scheme for the taking of Quebec—Feigned Attacks and Delusive Movements—"Wolfe's Cove"—Presentiment of Death—Passage of the River—Scaling of the Heights of Abraham—The Battle before Quebec—Defeat of the French—Death of Wolfe and of Montcalm.

Pitt was resolved to follow up with vigour the successes which had been obtained. He saw the necessity of America to England; he saw that, with the French in Canada, in Nova Scotia, and on the Ohio, there was no security for the English colonies; perhaps he did *not* see that on the removal of that danger the Americans would be less likely to remain contentedly in subjection to the mother country. They had already given abundant evidence of their growing estrangement—of their desire to lead a separate and independent life. But the fact may never have come under Pitt's notice; or he may have thought that a policy of justice and consideration for the colonists, such as he desired to carry out, and in part effected, would prevent the further development of any such feeling. At any rate, he addressed his utmost energies to the crippling of French power in the West. Plans of great importance and of unwonted scope were formed for the year 1759. It was resolved to reduce Canada; and Parliament was solicited to meet the extraordinary expenses of such a campaign by proportionate grants. On the part of the national representatives there was every disposition to aid the efforts of the Government. The enthusiasm of Pitt was contagious: he was one of those men who have the highest art of genius—the art of impressing others with their own ideas, and of moulding them, almost insensibly, to their own purposes. Parliament, in an address to the throne on the opening of the session, in November, 1758, expressed complete approbation of the policy of the Cabinet, applauded the recent conduct of the war, and pledged themselves to support its further prosecution. In reply to a message from the King in the early part of 1759, they voted £200,000 for enabling his Majesty to give compensation to the several American provinces for the expenses they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the public service. Twelve millions were provided for the general service of the year, and an immense armament, both by sea and land, was prepared for the reduction of the French power in America.

The details of the plan embraced three distinct expeditions, which were to enter Canada by different routes, and simultaneously attack all the French strongholds in that part of the world. General Amherst was to retain the chief command, together with the nominal Governorship of Virginia, and was to subdue Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to establish a naval force on Lake Champlain, and to penetrate by the rivers Richelieu and St. Lawrence to Quebec, there to form a junction with a division of the army which had been conferred on Wolfe. That distinguished commander was to ascend the St. Lawrence with an English fleet, as soon as the channel was free from ice, and to besiege Quebec. The third army was to consist chiefly of provincials, and to be commanded by

General Prideaux. It was to be strengthened by a large body of friendly Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, by whose influence with these barbarians the subsidiary force was to be collected. The task of this last division was to attack the French fort situated about fifteen miles from the Falls of Niagara, the possession of which gave a great command over the interior parts of North America, overawed the Six Nations, and secured the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, and the communication between Canada and Louisiana.* In addition to these three large armies, Colonel Stanwix was to hold himself in readiness, at the head of a smaller detachment, to reduce the less important forts, and to scour the country about Lake Ontario. Prideaux, having effected the reduction of Fort Niagara, was to embark on that lake, to descend the St. Lawrence, to take Montreal, and finally to unite his forces with those of Amherst and Wolfe before Quebec. It was hoped, by so many attacks in widely-separated directions, to distract the enemy, and dissipate his powers of defence; and, with regard to Prideaux's operations, it was expected that, even if they should not facilitate either of the other projects (which were of course the principal features of the whole design), they would probably have the effect of inducing the French to concentrate all their troops stationed on the borders of the lakes, with a view to attempting the relief of Fort Niagara—a movement which would leave the other forts on those lakes exposed.† This actually happened, and the scheme, in the main, was crowned with a brilliant success. Yet it was not unattended by partial failures, and Smollett has condemned the whole plan of the campaign as rash and perilous. It certainly involved many dangers, as the places to be attacked were extremely strong, the French forces numerous and well-commanded, and the regions to be traversed very extensive and full of obstacles. But the conception was justified by the result, and in war much must always be hazarded in the attainment of great ends.

The scheme had been elaborated by Pitt himself, who in early life had held a commission in the army for a short time, and who seems always to have possessed a genius for tactical combinations. In making his arrangements, he disregarded, as far as influences to the contrary permitted him, the spurious claims of seniority, and gave the chief commands to those whom he thought most fitted. His sagacity perceived that no man was better qualified for the expedition against Quebec than the young soldier, James Wolfe, and to Wolfe he accordingly assigned it. Yet, if we may believe a singular anecdote recorded by an eminent historian of our own times, he had momentary cause to doubt the reasonableness of his selection when it was too late to alter the appointment. Wolfe, it will be recollected, was in England when the command was conferred on him; and, on the day preceding his embarkation for America, Pitt invited him to dinner, that he might give him his last verbal instructions. Lord Temple, one of the Ministers, whose sister Pitt had married, was the only other guest, and through him the anecdote has come down to posterity. Towards the latter end of the evening, Wolfe burst forth into a strain of the most extraordinary gasconade. He drew his sword, rapped the table with it, flourished it about the room, and boasted of the mighty deeds it should achieve. His strange and unseemly conduct could not be attributed to excess in wine, for he had drunk but little. Whatever the cause, the effect was so staggering that the two statesmen looked at each other aghast; and when Wolfe had taken his leave, and his carriage was heard to roll from the door, Pitt lifted up his eyes and arms in horror, and exclaimed, "Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of the country and of the Administration to such hands!"‡

The accuracy of this story has been doubted by a recent biographer, who contends that it is quite out of keeping with the invariable modesty of Wolfe's character; that Lord Stanhope may have unconsciously heightened the narrative; that Mr. Grenville's memory was probably at fault in some details; and that Lord Temple was not a trustworthy recorder of facts.§ But it is difficult to believe that either Lord Stanhope or Mr. Grenville has materially altered the circumstances; nor does there seem any sufficient reason for supposing that Lord Temple would have told a purposeless falsehood to the discredit of a man who never injured him, and whom he could hardly have had any desire to hurt. It is very possible that Wolfe yielded to some momentary access of excitement, which altered his usual habits. One has only to read Wolfe's letters, admirable as they are in many ways, to see that their author was a man of a somewhat emotional and impulsive nature. One has only to look at his portrait to be confirmed

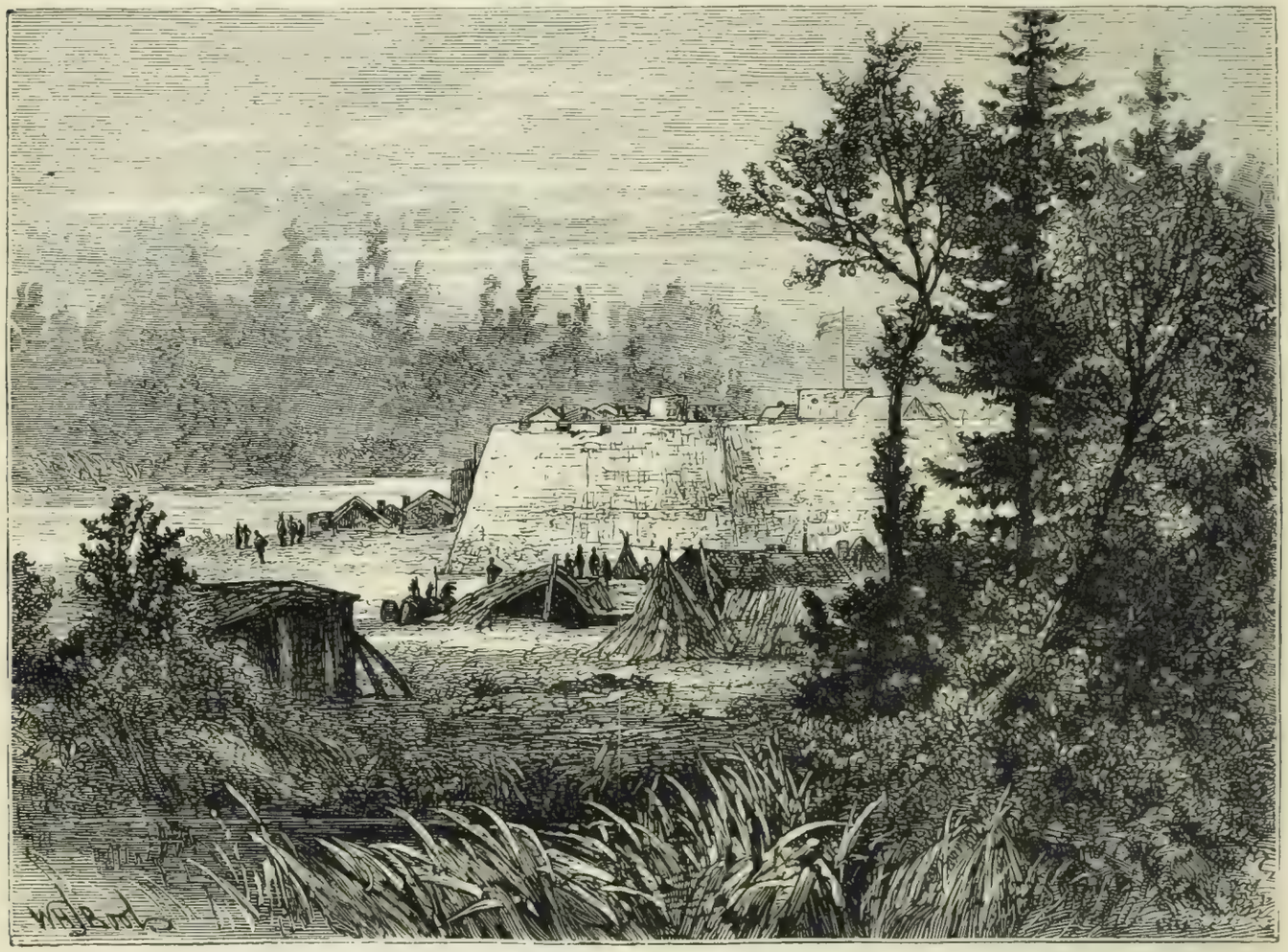
* Smollett.

† Grahame's History of the United States, Book X., chap. 5.

‡ Earl Stanhope's History of England, Vol. IV., chap. 35.—The story was told to the noble historian by the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, who died in December, 1846, in his ninety-first year, and who had it from his relative, Lord Temple.

§ Life of Major-General James Wolfe, by Robert Wright. 1864.

in that impression. A soft, smooth, mild face—pretty, and almost girlish—looks out from under its powdered wig. In one of his letters to his mother, Wolfe speaks of himself as a "wandering lump of idle errors;" and, although this was doubtless the exaggeration of a conscientious and truly amiable disposition, it may have had some reference to truth. He also confessed that in the common occurrences of life he was not seen to advantage. It appears, therefore, not improbable



FORT DUQUESNE.

that the story is substantially correct, nor, although one could wish it away, does it detract very seriously from the hero's reputation. The dismay of Pitt could not have lasted long. He knew what Wolfe had done at Louisburg.

The exertions of the parent State were seconded in the colonies, though not without some murmuring in New England, on account of the additional levies which were required for the campaign. The northern provinces were suffering considerably from heavy taxation. In this same year, 1759, a colonial stamp-tax was imposed by the local Legislature on the Massachusetts people. Their taxes in one year of war were, on personal estate, thirteen shillings and fourpence on the pound of income, and seventy-two pounds on two hundred pounds' income from real estate, besides various excises, and a poll-tax of nineteen shillings on every male over sixteen.* The compensations occasionally voted by the British Parliament were considerably less than the actual expenses of the colonies; and the help, insufficient in itself, was rendered still more unsatisfactory by delay in the transmission of the sums. Massachusetts at first refused to raise more than 5,000 men, but was ultimately induced by Amherst, who was much respected by the colonists, to make the total 6,500. In an address to Governor Pownall, who had communicated the wishes of the Commander-in-chief, the Assembly observed:—"We acknowledge with gratitude that the interest and ease of the people has been considered by your Excellency in making the last levy, as far as could consist with his Majesty's service, and the purposes for which the men are raised. The distress brought upon the inhabitants is notwithstanding extremely great. The number of men raised this year, we are sensible, is not equal to that of the last. The Assembly then made the

* Bancroft.



WASHINGTON PLANTING THE BRITISH FLAG AT FORT DUQUESNE.

greatest effort that has ever been known in the province. They looked upon it to be their last effort; they had no expectations that it would be repeated; and it was really so great as to render it impracticable for us to make the like a second time. The number of our inhabitants is, since then, much lessened: some were killed in battle; many died by sickness while they were in service, or soon after their return home; great numbers have enlisted as rangers, artificers, recruits in his Majesty's regular forces, and for other branches of the service. The unprecedented charge of the last year also tends to increase the distress of the province. The expense of the regiments raised for his Majesty's service amounted to nearly £120,000 sterling: besides this, the inhabitants of the several towns in the province, by fines or by voluntary contributions to procure men for the service, paid at least £60,000 sterling more; which was in all respects as burdensome as if it had been raised as a tax by the Government. The defence of our own frontiers, and the other ordinary charges of government, amount to at least £30,000 sterling more. Because the province last year raised 7,000 men, it is inferred that it is able to raise the same number this year, and no allowance is made for its being so much reduced in its estate and number of inhabitants. We have generally been the first in proposals for public service, and have determined what force we would employ: other Governments have followed after us in just what proportion they pleased; and we wish it had been an equal one. We are now lessened, and they are increased; and we are yet urged to continue the same proportions." It was only with difficulty that Connecticut could be persuaded to repeat her previous year's contingent of 5,000 men; but, on the other hand, New Hampshire made even greater exertions than the year before, and a formidable armament was ready for action as the spring advanced. Against this attacking force, amounting altogether to nearly 50,000, Montcalm could muster not many more than three thousand regular troops; and the thin population of Canada could not furnish above seven thousand in addition. The scarcity of food continued with great severity; the currency of the province was almost entirely paper money; the resources of the people were nearly exhausted; and Montcalm told his Government that, in all probability, the conquest of Canada was but an affair of time.

In May, General Amherst transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany; but some weeks elapsed before he was in a condition to cross Lake George, and it was not till the 22nd of July that he reached the vicinity of Ticonderoga. Under his command he had by this time rather more than 5,700 regular soldiers, including some Royal Americans; and to these were added about an equal number of provincials, and of Gage's Light Infantry. Disembarking on the eastern shore of the lake, nearly opposite the landing-place of Abercrombie, his troops lay that night under arms at the advanced post of the saw-mills, in front of the fortress. A feeble attempt to oppose their progress had been made by the French; but, seeing the overwhelming force of their adversaries, and having been ordered to fall back from point to point towards Quebec, rather than risk the chances of a serious engagement, the garrison dismantled a part of the fortifications, evacuated Ticonderoga during the night of July 26th, and retired to Crown Point. Amherst immediately occupied the abandoned post, repaired the works, and placed a strong garrison in them. He then slowly advanced towards the remoter fortress, encountering no opposition from the French, yet guarding his progress with all that caution which was a feature in his military character, and which the surprise and defeat of Braddock made imperative on any commander. The French continued their movement of retreat until they reached Isle-aux-Noix, a small island in the river Sorel, or Richelieu, not far from the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Here they proceeded to entrench themselves, and Amherst speedily received information that the enemy had concentrated on this spot about 3,500 men, with a numerous train of artillery, and that he also possessed four large armed vessels on the lake. The English General at once set to work with great energy to build two vessels with which to encounter those of his adversary. With these he took two of the French ships—an exploit in which Colonel Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, who afterwards earned for himself a great name, exhibited the daring spirit for which he was noted.

Montcalm was now stationed with the main part of his army near Quebec, where Wolfe was pressing him. All the young and vigorous men in Canada had been called to arms, leaving the fields to be cultivated by women, old men, and children; yet the numbers of the French were still greatly inferior to those of the English. It was thought by the Anglo-Americans that Amherst would at once have advanced to Montreal, in support of Wolfe; but the Commander-in-chief, who was always more remarkable for prudence than for enterprise, thought it advisable to strengthen the English positions at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and in this way the summer and early part of

the autumn were consumed without any forward movement beyond Lake Champlain. On the 11th of October, the army embarked on that water, with a view to attacking the French in their insular position, but were twice driven back by storms. The favourable season of the year had now passed, and Amherst found it necessary to relinquish the further prosecution of his designs, and to establish his troops in winter quarters at Crown Point. Thus, although his movements had resulted in the withdrawal of the French from two important strongholds on English territory, they were to some extent a failure. He had been unable to effect his junction with Wolfe, nor could he open the slightest communication with him. It was only through some vague hints, contained in letters from the Marquis de Montcalm relative to an exchange of prisoners, that Amherst knew of the arrival of Wolfe before the capital of Canada.

The expedition against Niagara was attended by fortunate results. Prideaux's brigade consisted of two battalions from New York, a battalion of Royal Americans, and two British regiments, with a detachment of Royal artillery, and reinforcements of Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson. These embarked on the 1st of July on Lake Ontario, and on the 6th landed without opposition near the fort, which they shortly invested on all sides. To rescue so important a position, which commanded the intermediate country between Lakes Ontario and Erie, and could protect or hinder the fur-trade of the west, the French commander, D'Aubry, collected from various scattered posts an army of twelve hundred men, and advanced on Niagara. Prideaux was killed on the 15th of July by the bursting of a gun; and Amherst, on hearing of this untoward accident, detached General Gage to assume the command of the army. The direction of affairs was in the meanwhile exercised with great judgment by Sir William Johnson, who followed out the plan that had been formed by Prideaux. Immediately on succeeding to the command, he heard of the approach of the French relieving force, and made his dispositions to oppose it. He ordered his Light Infantry, supported by a body of Grenadiers and other regulars, to occupy the road from the Falls to the fortress by which the enemy was advancing; protected his flanks by Indian warriors; and at the same time secured his working parties in the trenches against any sally from the garrison. On the morning of the 24th of July, the French were seen approaching, to the number of 1,700, composed partly of Europeans, partly of provincials, and partly of savages. The Mohawks, who were fighting on the English side, made a sign to the French Indians, denoting a desire for a parley. It was not returned, and the Mohawks then raised the war whoop, which was answered with hideous clamour by the hostile barbarians. The two armies rushed at each other with impetuous fury, and a frightful struggle ensued, in which the horrible cries of the Indians were mingled with the roar of artillery and the sharper report of the small arms. The regulars and provincials encountered the French in front, while the native hordes fired upon their flanks, and threw them into disorder. In less than an hour, the assailants were completely routed, and, flying in headlong confusion, were pursued by the English and Americans for many miles through the woods. The French General and all his officers were taken prisoners, and a terrible number of dead and wounded lay scattered over the ground, and in the recesses of the neighbouring forest. The victory was due to the courage and steadiness of the troops, and to the excellent generalship of Sir William Johnson, who, though a civilian, and not very fortunate in his operations during an earlier campaign, had by this time acquired a thorough mastery of the practice of war.

On the following morning, Johnson sent an officer to the commandant of the garrison at Fort Niagara, to inform him of the failure of the previous day's attempt to raise the siege, and to recommend an immediate surrender, while it was yet in the power of the English officers to restrain the ferocity of the Indians. The result was a capitulation on the same day (July 25th). The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were sent prisoners to New York, under a sufficient escort to protect them from the vengeance of the native allies of England. A repetition of the dreadful massacre of English prisoners at Fort William Henry, in 1757, was thus avoided. The influence of Johnson over the savages was very great; and so completely did he curb their disposition to frenzied excitement that not one regrettable incident occurred, though eleven hundred of these barbarous warriors marched under his flag. The women and children found at Niagara were sent to Montreal at their own request, and the sick and wounded were treated with humanity. The surrender of this fort, followed by the abandonment of all the French posts as far as Erie, severed the communication between Canada and Louisiana—a communication which had long threatened the independence of English America, and had given to France a position of predominance which she had shown every inclination to use to the injury of her

rival. Here, then, was a solid and important triumph; yet the ultimate object of that portion of the general campaign was not carried out. No attempt was made to reach Montreal, or to unite with the army of Wolfe before Quebec; and when De Levi, Montcalm's second in command, endeavoured to protect the former of those cities by occupying the passes of the St. Lawrence near Ogdensburg—a result which he was unable to accomplish, owing to the small number of his men—Gage, who was ordered by Amherst to take possession of the post, omitted to do so, and passed the rest of the summer effecting nothing of importance. To Wolfe alone was due the great success of the war.

That youthful commander had under his orders some eight thousand men, consisting chiefly of English regulars, with a contingent of American troops. The fleet, under Admiral Saunders, comprised two-and-twenty ships of the line, and an equal number of frigates and armed vessels. On board one of these vessels was John Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, who, at a much later date, rendered many brilliant services during the war with revolutionary France. The master of another vessel was James Cook, the navigator. On the 26th of June, the whole armament arrived off the Isle of Orleans, situated in the St. Lawrence a little below Quebec—that is to say, to the north-east of that city. The troops disembarked on the following day, and encamped on the island; and Wolfe now saw clearly before him the formidable position he had come to seize. Quebec is situated on a lofty promontory formed by the junction of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles. It is divided into a Lower and an Upper Town; the latter built upon a rising ground, which attains a considerable height. The most elevated part of the Upper Town, on which stands the citadel, is three hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the river; and the fortifications, extending nearly across the peninsula, enclose a circuit of about two miles and three-quarters. Westward of the fortifications are the Heights of Abraham, where Wolfe made his final attack—a precipice rising to an altitude of more than three hundred feet, and presenting great difficulties when approached from the river St. Lawrence. The position was defended by Montcalm, under whom was a mixed force of French soldiers, Canadian militia, and Indian warriors, giving a numerical superiority over the English in that particular locality. The Indians were but few; the Canadians were not the best of troops; and the regulars were worn out with fatigue and insufficient food. Nevertheless, the position was so strong, both by nature and art, that it might have seemed, to any one of less genius than Wolfe, a hopeless task to endeavour to take it.

At midnight on the 28th of June, a number of fireships came down with the tide towards the English ships; but, the men in charge lighting the matches too soon, and hastening back to shore, the explosions took place before the anticipated time, and the greater part of the destructive fury of these machines was spent before they reached the fleet. Several, however, were still blazing and exploding as they drifted on; and the English sailors, putting forth in their boats with great coolness and courage, grappled the fiery messengers, and towed them on shore, where they continued to burn until five o'clock the next morning. Their approach in the darkness of night, with the terrific discharges that burst from them, caused a momentary panic among the troops on the island, one party falling back upon another until the whole army turned out, and prepared for action. Wolfe, who never excused a want of discipline, issued an order on the 29th, severely rebuking the men who had abandoned their posts, and thus spread alarm among the camp; and the officer who commanded the advanced parties was for awhile put under arrest. On the 30th, Wolfe sent Monckton's brigade across the river to Point Levi, south of the Isle of Orleans, where the English seized on a church, and posted up a proclamation in French, promising the people protection if they refrained from taking any part in the war, but threatening severe measures in the contrary case. "France, unable to support Canada," said the document in conclusion, "deserts her cause at this important crisis, and during the whole war has assisted her with troops, who have been maintained only by making the natives feel all the weight of grievous and lawless oppression."

At Point Levi, Wolfe constructed batteries of mortar and cannon. The citizens of Quebec volunteered to cross the river and destroy these works, but speedily retreated before a broadside from the fleet. In the early days of July, the English, from their position of vantage, sent red-hot balls and shells into the city, where many houses were set on fire. The Lower Town was speedily demolished, and the Upper considerably injured; but the citadel was as yet beyond reach. In the meanwhile, the Canadians, rejecting the proffered goodwill of the English commander, and listening to the exhortations of their priests, who described the invaders as the most cruel and faithless people on earth, joined the scalping parties of the Indians, prowled among the woods, and killed all the English stragglers they could find, with circumstances of

great barbarity. Wolfe sent a letter to Montcalm on the subject, remonstrating with him on such enormities; but the butcheries continued, and the English General felt compelled to resort to reprisals, and to burn the detached houses, the barns, stables, and standing corn, on both sides of the river. These, however, were among the trifling incidents of the siege. The thoughts of Wolfe were always concentrated on the great operations of the expedition; and he was zealously seconded by his three Brigadier-Generals, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray. After awhile, the Commander-in-chief perceived that the eastern bank of the Montmorenci—a stream flowing from the north into the northern channel of the St. Lawrence, as it sweeps past the Isle of Orleans—was higher than the ground occupied by Montcalm. On the 9th of July, accordingly, he crossed the north channel, and encamped in a locality which seemed to offer several advantages.

With the tireless energy that belonged to his nature—though his health was far from strong, and he was at the time suffering from constitutional maladies which would probably have shortened his life, had the chances of battle spared it—Wolfe determined to reconnoitre the shores in the vicinity of Quebec. On the 18th of July, he and Admiral Saunders sailed along the western side of the St. Lawrence from the Montmorenci to the St. Charles, and, passing the wide and deep harbour, sighted the precipitous cliff of Cape Diamond, crowned by the highest portions of the Upper Town, and by the citadel. Thence coasting along the wall of rock in a south-westerly direction, Wolfe took note of the elaborate defences which his opponent had erected on every available spot. The river, which up to the Isle of Orleans is of great breadth, suddenly contracts, above the inlet of the St. Charles, and in front of Quebec, to a channel scarcely a mile across. At this part, indeed, it is greatly narrowed by the jutting promontory on which the city stands, and which is to some extent answered by Point Levi, on the opposite shore, where Wolfe had planted his batteries. Further on, the stream again expands somewhat, without, however, recovering its former breadth; but for several miles above Quebec in the one direction, and in the other direction as far as the spot at which the Montmorenci pours into the St. Lawrence by a fall of three hundred feet, the left bank of the latter river is extremely rugged and difficult of access. The position, therefore, was one offering many natural facilities for an obstinate defence; and Montcalm had availed himself to the full of the advantages which he found. In the harbour he had more than twenty ships, which had sailed from France with reinforcements before the blockade of the French ports, and had entered the St. Lawrence before the arrival of the English armament. Under his command he had about 10,000 men, to whom Wolfe refused the designation of an army. The English General, moreover, thought but poorly of the defence of the city itself; but all around were the most formidable works, which, taken in conjunction with the natural features of the country, presented a series of obstacles such as many commanders might have considered insuperable. Entrenchments, boats, and floating batteries guarded the approaches to the Canadian capital; and on the most accessible line of communication, running through the village of Beauport from the St. Charles to the Montmorenci, Montcalm drew up his army, maintaining his connection with Quebec by means of a bridge of boats over the former of those tributary streams. The front of this position was protected by the St. Lawrence and its sandbanks; the rear, by forests of indefinite extent.

The month of July drew towards a close, yet nothing of importance had been accomplished. A squadron of the English fleet under Admiral Holmes was despatched past Quebec, to take up a position above the city, so that the St. Lawrence might be blockaded in both directions. Detachments of the army were frequently sent along the Montmorenci, to make a feint of passing the river beyond the falls; and Wolfe, by all the means at his disposal, tried to lure the enemy away from his entrenchments, so that a battle might be fought on open ground. But the French commander was too wary to accept the challenge. The Indians and Canadians, constantly hovering about the outskirts of the English position, occasionally came into collision with exploring parties; once, Montcalm sent a detachment of his army across the St. Lawrence to attack the assailants' batteries at Point Levi; and, on the night of the 28th of July, another little fleet of fireships was launched against the English vessels, without doing any damage. But no action of a serious nature had yet taken place, and Montcalm was evidently resolved, for the present, to stand on the defensive, as the safest policy he could pursue. Wolfe, who had now returned to the banks of the Montmorenci, conceived the plan of crossing that river, and attacking the French, whose left rested on the right or southern bank. For a few hours of the day, the Montmorenci may be forded not far from its junction with the St. Lawrence. It was accordingly determined to take advantage of the circumstance, and by a bold movement to force the French commander to an action. For the accomplishment of this purpose,

thirteen companies of Grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th, and 45th regiments, and a part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade from Point Levi, were to land at the mouth of the Montmorenci, while the two brigades under Generals Townshend and Murray were to cross by the ford. The original design was to carry a redoubt close to the water's edge, which from the opposite bank appeared to be out of reach of fire from the enemy's entrenchments. Wolfe hoped in this way to compel the French to support their out-



BATTLE-FIELD OF ABERCROMBIE'S DEFEAT.

work, by which a general action might be brought on; or, failing this, the redoubt, remaining in the hands of the English, might be advantageously used as a position from which the French lines could be surveyed, with a view to ulterior operations. A disastrous repulse, however, was the only fruit of the attempt.

The movement took place on the 31st of July. Some of the boats in which the Grenadiers, with a few Royal Americans, were crossing the St. Lawrence, grounded on a ledge of rocks, and were exposed to a storm of shot and shell, which, however, did but little mischief. The boats having been got off, the soldiers advanced towards the redoubt, which was abandoned as they approached. Perceiving some symptoms of confusion among the French, Wolfe now changed his plan, and resolved on attacking the entrenchments without delay. The troops who had already crossed were directed to form on the beach, and await the arrival of Monckton's division, which had not yet landed; but, unfortunately, they acted in a directly contrary sense. Nothing is so trying to soldiers not thoroughly seasoned to war as to remain quiet and impassive under fire. The Grenadiers now standing on the French side of the Montmorenci felt that they must do something, and accordingly made a wild rush towards the enemy's entrenchments, but were speedily driven back in disorder. Crowding into the redoubt, in the hope that they would there be sheltered from the scathing fire of the French, they were dismayed to find that the bullets of the adversary still reached them. Several officers, in endeavouring to rally their men, were killed; the troops could not again be got into line; and even the arrival of Monckton's regiment, which formed with the utmost coolness under fire, failed to restore the confidence of the others. As night drew on, a dreadful thunder-storm burst forth, adding to the confusion of the English troops,

without diminishing the efforts of the French. The latter are accused of having fired on the wounded who were lying disabled on the field; but, in answer to remonstrances on the subject, they stated that the offenders in this respect were not the regulars, but the Canadians and Indians, whom no discipline would restrain. The tide now rapidly rising, Wolfe ordered a retreat, and, repassing the river, got back to his original positions, western shore, and only gained a small success at Deschambault, where he learned from some prisoners that Niagara had surrendered, and that the French had abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Fatigue, excitement, and vexation, acting on a frame weakened by internal disorders, threw Wolfe into a fever, and for a time prevented his taking the field. The situation was becoming very serious. It was now past the



MONTCALM.

with the loss of more than four hundred men. In conducting this movement, Wolfe exposed his life with dauntless courage, and set an admirable example to his troops. The French did not attempt to pursue; but some of the savages came down from the heights, to murder and scalp such of the wounded as could not be brought away.

The army was greatly dispirited by so signal a failure. Wolfe anxiously watched for the appearance of Amherst, or of the division originally under the command of Prideaux; but no succour approached. Murray was sent with twelve hundred men to destroy the French ships stationed above Quebec, and to open communications with Amherst; but he was foiled twice in trying to land on the north-

middle of August; the army and navy had been before the city since the end of June; it was evident that the expeditions which had been so long expected would not arrive; the troops were getting out of heart, and were reduced in numbers; and it was impossible to tell when the French would consider it advisable to assume the offensive. Day after day went by, without any result of importance being secured, and even Wolfe began to take a gloomy view of affairs. The seemingly impregnable fastness still rose from the shores of the river in grim and sullen defiance. The army of France still stood unscathed behind their entrenchments. Montcalm still held the city that gave the command of Canada; and the English General,

baffled at all points, looked up at the towering fortress with a weary and aching heart.

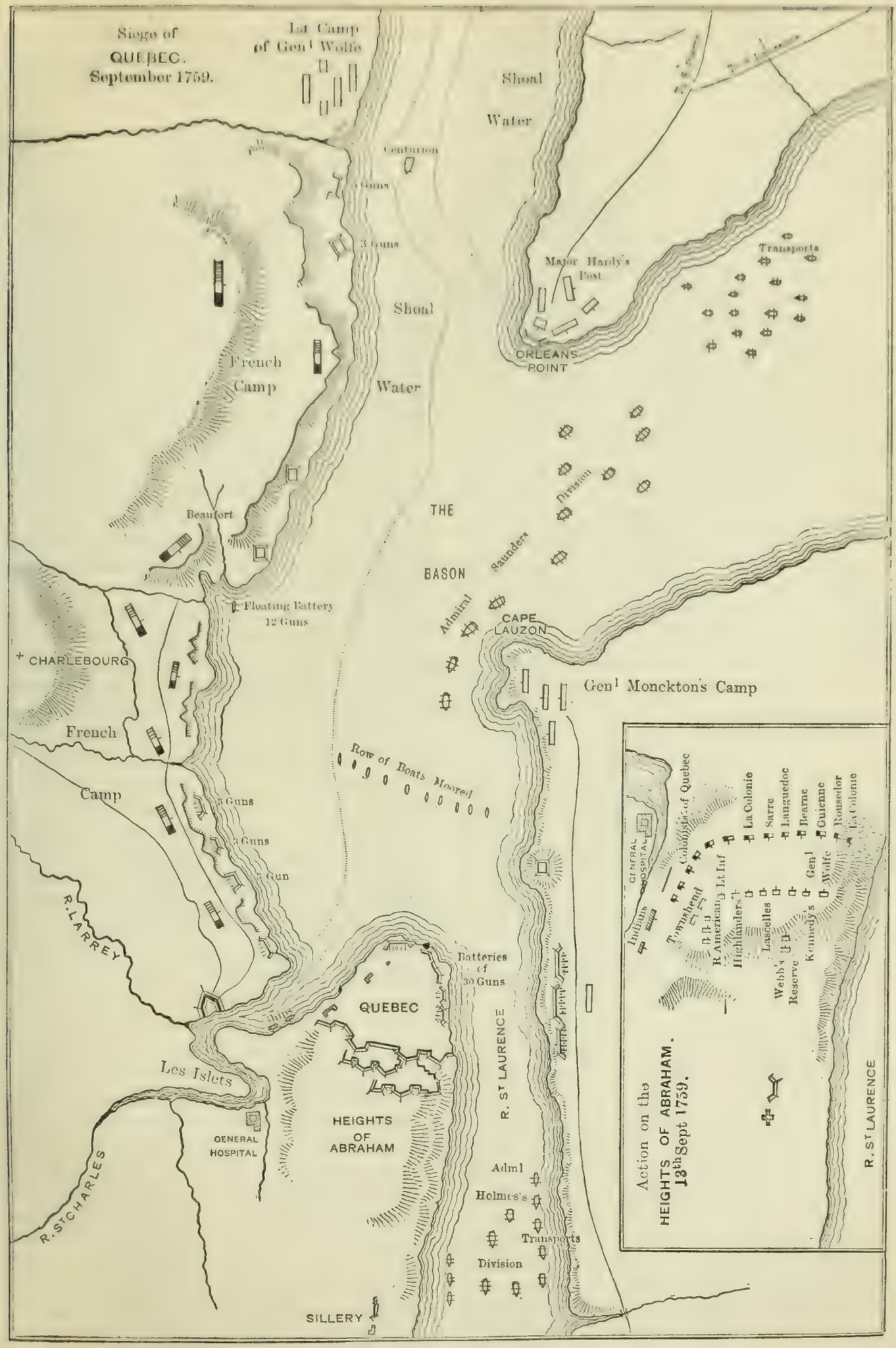
Towards the end of August, while still suffering from fever, Wolfe proposed to his Brigadiers three methods of attacking Montcalm in his entrenchments on the line of Beauport; but they appeared to his subordinates too desperate to be adopted, and they were accordingly laid aside. At the same time, the Brigadiers gave it as their opinion that the most probable method of striking an effectual blow would be to convey the troops over the St. Lawrence, and carry on operations above Quebec, so as to force Montcalm to fight them on their own terms. Such a movement, they observed, would have the effect of placing the English army between Montcalm and his provisions (which he derived from the ships and magazines above the town), and also between him and the army opposing General Amherst.* Wolfe had himself conceived a similar idea at an earlier date, but had discarded it as too hazardous. However, he now assented to the proposal, and, writing to Pitt on September 2nd, mentioned that he and Admiral Saunders had examined the town with a view to a general assault, but that, after consulting with the chief engineer, they found that such a proceeding held forth little promise of success. It was therefore all the more desirable that the suggestion of the Brigadiers should be carried out, and that a fresh attempt should be made, under more advantageous circumstances, to draw the enemy into an engagement before the walls. "In this situation," said Wolfe to Pitt, in his despatch of the 2nd of September, "there is such a choice of difficulties that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures: but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event." Pitt was naturally much disconcerted when he read this despatch, which seemed intended to prepare the Minister and the nation for some disaster. Its publication caused a general feeling of dismay throughout the country.

In writing to Admiral Saunders on some matters of detail, Wolfe said he was very sensible of his own errors during the campaign, and spoke of himself as "a man that must necessarily be ruined." This was a mood of despondency induced by illness, and it passed away when the rigour of the malady abated. In the course of July, Wolfe had assumed a very lofty tone towards his adversary. The bearer of a flag of truce from Montcalm having observed that the English might very probably destroy the town, but that the French were determined that the assailants should never get a footing within its walls, Wolfe replied, "I will be master of Quebec, if I stay here until the end of November." To another French officer, who had remarked that he wondered the English were such fools as to undertake the siege of Quebec with a mere handful of troops, it was answered, "Though the English are few and subdivided, your army, notwithstanding their superior numbers, are afraid of us, as is evident from your not daring to leave your strong entrenchments to attack any of our camps or batteries." This was also the opinion of the Indian allies of France; for when Montcalm, in August, shortly after the Montmorenci affair, boasted to some chiefs that he had driven away the English, and conquered them, the savages retorted, "Conquered them! We will never believe that until you drive them back to their ships. Are they not still firing against Quebec? Are they not as unconcerned in their camps as if nothing had happened?"†

By the commencement of September, Wolfe's health was sufficiently restored to enable him to resume the command in person, though he was still liable to brief attacks of alarming illness. On the morning of the 3rd of September, the camp at Montmorenci was broken up, and the brigades of Townshend and Murray moved across the St. Lawrence to Point Levi. Montcalm, observing the movement in the British camp, and apparently divining the object, marched two of his battalions towards the upper ford of the tributary stream, with the design of attacking the rear of the English forces during the embarkation: but a feint on Beauport by Monckton's brigade induced him to withdraw his men. On successive days, a little later, the troops re-embarked at Point Levi, in separate detachments, passed Quebec, and proceeded several miles up the St. Lawrence, on the right bank of which they landed at Cape Rouge. By this time Wolfe had received messengers from General Amherst, from whose statements it appeared that there was little or no hope of his being joined by that commander. This was the more serious, as Wolfe's army was now greatly reduced by casualties and disease; so much so, indeed, that, after the defence of the Isle of Orleans and of Point Levi had been provided for, not many more than 3,600 effective men remained for the important operations which had been commenced. To divert the attention of the French, Admiral Holmes's squadron was directed to move up and down the river for several days, as if threatening various points; but Mont-

* The three Brigadier-Generals to Wolfe, Aug. 29th, 1759.

† Life of Major-General Wolfe, by Robert Wright.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

calm, still declining to quit his lines, despatched one of his officers, at the head of 1,500 men, to follow the progress of the English, and prevent their landing. Seeing, however, that the enemy was moving towards that part of the position which was considered the most impregnable, the French conceived that the worst danger was at an end; and De Levi, the second in command, was sent to the succour of Montreal, with a considerable detachment from the army of Quebec.

The spirits of the English commander varied from day to day. Amongst his more familiar companions he was often heard to sigh, and to declare that he would never return without success, to be exposed to the reproaches of the ignorant multitude, as many unfortunate commanders had been. At other times he would talk of relinquishing the enterprise, and carrying back his army.* But it is certain that he never really contemplated such a step, for he directed plans to be drawn for a fort on Isle aux Coudres, in which he proposed to establish himself for the winter, in case he should be detained so long. Still, he was frequently depressed by the difficulties of the position, and, in writing to the Earl of Holderness, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, on the 9th of September, he said:—"I am so far recovered as to do business, but my constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the State, or without any prospect of it." Describing in the same despatch some of the obstacles which constantly presented themselves, he wrote:—"We have seven hours, and sometimes (above the town, after rain) near eight hours, of the most violent ebb-tide that can be imagined, which loses us an infinite deal of time in every operation on the water; and the stream is so strong, particularly here, that the ships often drag their anchors by the mere force of the current. The bottom is a bed of rock, so that a ship, unless it hooks a ragged rock, holds by the weight only of the anchor. Doubtless, if the equinoctial gale has any force, a number of ships must necessarily run ashore, and be lost. The day after the troops landed upon the Isle of Orleans, a violent storm had nigh ruined the expedition altogether. Numbers of boats were lost; all the whale-boats and most of the cutters were stove, some flat-bottomed boats destroyed, and others damaged. We never had half as many of the latter as are necessary for this extraordinary and very important service. The enemy is able to fight us upon the water whenever we are out of reach of the cannon of the fleet."

The merit of the final operations by which Quebec was taken has sometimes been denied to Wolfe, but, it would seem, with insufficient justice. It has been asserted that the plan was due to Brigadier-General Townshend, Wolfe's third in command, and that to him, therefore, the chief credit should be given. No doubt, the scheme for ascending the river above the town was revived by the three Brigadiers; but, as before pointed out, it had already occurred to Wolfe, and, when at length executed, it was he who selected the precise point of attack, and indicated the route by which the soldiers were to advance. Still, as the movement above Quebec was finally adopted on the recommendation of the seconds in command, after it had been conceived and rejected by Wolfe himself, and as the final success grew out of that movement, some share in the glory of the achievement, and not an inconsiderable share, must be apportioned to Monkton, Townshend, and Murray.

The squadrons of Admirals Saunders and Holmes continued to make feigned attacks, or rather demonstrations, against the French army, to cover the real movements of the troops. It was on the 6th of September that Wolfe discovered the cove which now bears his name, situated on the Quebec side of the St. Lawrence, less than two miles above that city; and from this he observed the narrow path which wound up the heights towards the fortress, and saw, by the small number of tents on the summit, that the Canadians who held the position could hardly count more than a hundred. The place was deemed impregnable, and it was considered unnecessary to do more than station a mere look-out post at a locality so well guarded by nature. But Wolfe perceived that an assault at that particular point was not impossible, and he resolved to risk it. He had reconnoitred the whole of the rocky coast, and, determining to surmount it somehow and somewhere, came to the conclusion that here was the most available spot for the desperate attempt. He continued, however, to examine the river and the shores, and to look after the minutest details of his army, as well as the personal comforts of his officers and men. The enterprise was such as to require the utmost care and forethought in its execution. It was to be commenced before daybreak; and darkness, though offering many facilities for a secret attack, is always a possible source of error. The stream, at that part of its course, runs with a rapid pace; the shore is

* One Israel Mauduit, who published at London, in 1765, "An Apology for the Life and Actions of General Wolfe," which was afterwards suppressed by desire of Grenville, says he had seen a letter of Wolfe's, in which this resolve was spoken of.

shelving, and the landing place so narrow that it might easily be missed in the obscurity of an autumn night. The men had been strictly enjoined to be perfectly silent during the passage down the river, and, when about to land, not on any account to fire out of the boats. But there could be no certainty that some accident might not reveal the approach of the attacking force, or that some spy or deserter might not divulge the scheme; in which case the rocky heights, sufficiently difficult to scale under the best of circumstances, would be rendered inaccessible by the serried phalanxes of the enemy, and a crushing defeat would be the end of all. Yet Wolfe determined to stake his fame on the issue. It was clear that he could not subdue the city from the front; it was equally clear that something must be done to rescue the expedition from the utter failure with which it now seemed menaced.

The French ships had retired to the Batiscan, a tributary of the St. Lawrence; and Bougainville, who had been sent to watch the manœuvres of the English army, marched thither, fearing that Admiral Holmes was about to attack the fleet. The naval squadrons were of the utmost service in distracting the attention of the enemy; and, thus assisted, Wolfe collected, at or near his station at Cape Rouge, as many boats as he could bring together without exciting suspicion. The rank-and-file of the army, though told that a decisive blow was about to be struck, were not informed of the locality; and it proved very fortunate that this precaution was observed, for a deserter from the Royal Americans, who went over to the French lines on the morning of the 12th of September, was unable to reveal where the threatened peril should be expected. Montcalm, indeed, was deluded into the belief that some movement on Beauport was contemplated, as Admiral Saunders had sent James Cook (afterwards the great navigator) to sound the water opposite that position, and to plant buoys along the shore. On the evening of the 12th, Wolfe invited Jervis, who was in command of the *Porcupine* sloop-of-war, to spend an hour or two in his private cabin aboard the *Sutherland*, and mentioned to him that he had a presentiment he should not survive the morrow. Taking from his breast a portrait of Miss Lowther, to whom he was engaged, he begged his friend, should the foreboding be fulfilled, to restore that pledge to the young lady on his arrival in England. The General then added to his will a codicil disposing of his effects in America; and all was now ready for the great and perilous attempt.

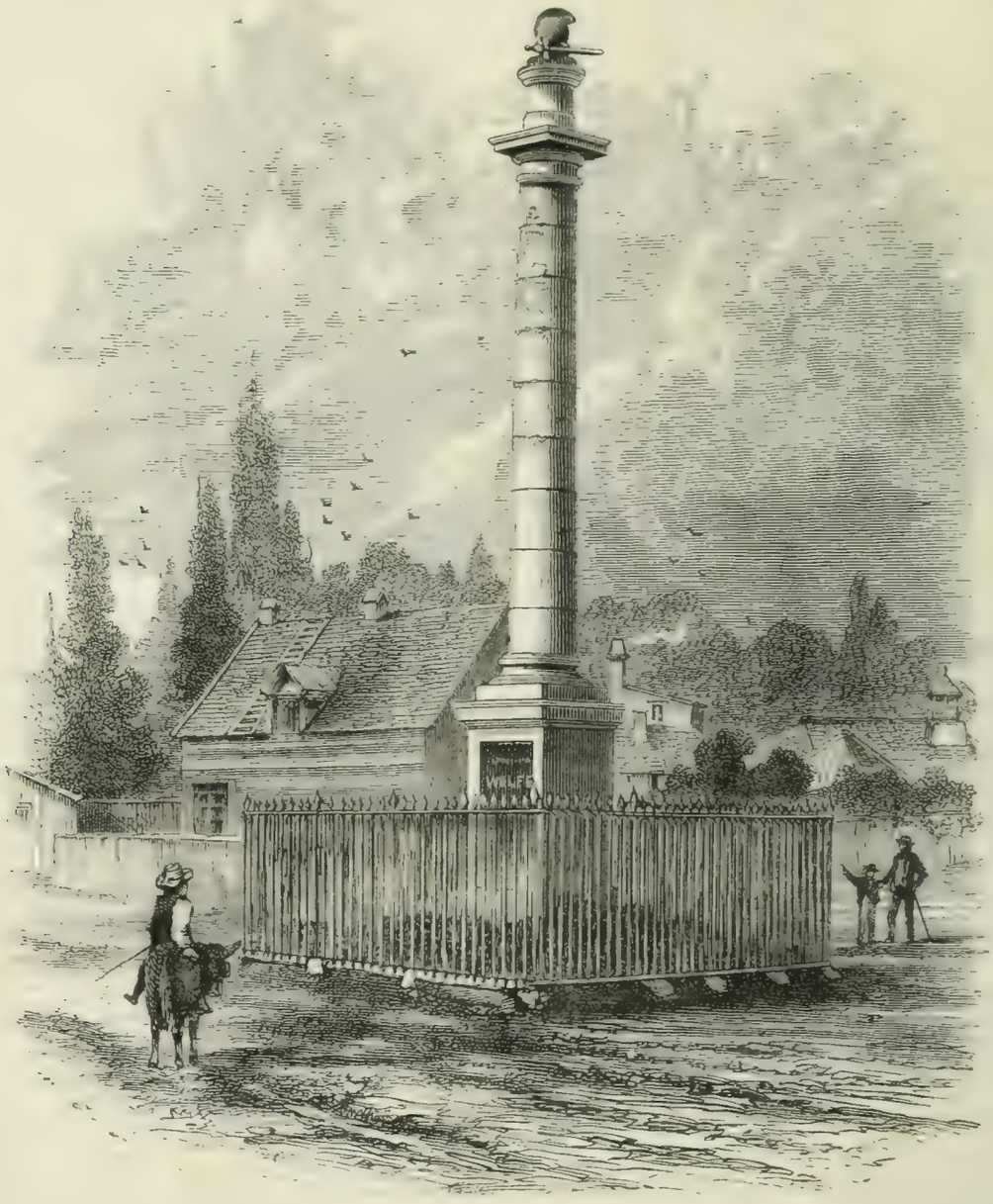
The clear autumn evening deepened to a tranquil night, dark, yet thickly set with stars. A little before sunset, the ships of the line still remaining in the basin had got in close to the Beauport shore, and boats manned with sailors and marines had been lowered, so as to keep up the appearance of a descent in that direction, while the lighter ships set sail, and joined the squadron off Cape Rouge. As soon as darkness had fallen, detachments from the Isle of Orleans and Point Levi arrived by a rapid march, undetected by the enemy, opposite Cape Rouge, where they took boat, and joined the assembled army on the Quebec side of the river. The place of assembly was some way higher up than the spot selected for making the attack; and it was therefore necessary to drop down the stream with the ebb-tide in flat-bottomed boats. At midnight, the divisions began to embark. At two o'clock on the morning of the 13th, all of the first division were on board; the boats were formed into line, with the General's barge at the head; and the *Sutherland* speedily gave the signal that had been agreed on for departure. Two lights appeared in the maintopmast shrouds, one over the other; whereupon the flotilla moved away into the dimness of the autumn night. In deep silence—for the soldiers were forbidden to speak, under penalty of death—the boats glided down the stream on the rapid current which then set towards the sea, keeping close to the north-western bank, that the landing-place might not be missed. As the General's barge passed under those rocky shores, beneath the wide and starlit night, Wolfe, in scarcely audible tones, repeated to his officers Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard" (which he had recently received from England), dwelling with particular emphasis on the words of pious trust with which it concludes, and on that eloquent and mournful stanza,—

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth, e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

When he had finished, Wolfe said to his companions, with great earnestness, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be author of that poem than take Quebec."

About an hour before daybreak, they drifted into the cove. Wolfe was one of the first who leapt ashore, and, seeing the rocky precipice towering far above his head into the waning night, he observed to an officer near him, "I doubt if you will get up; but you must do what you can." It is said—but the anecdote is given by different authorities with variations as to time and place, which throw a doubt on its accuracy—that a small advanced party of English was faintly seen in the gloom by some of

the Canadian posts, and that a British officer who spoke French replied in such a way as to induce the challengers to believe that the others were of their own nationality. However this may have been, the assailants lost no time in carrying out their General's plan. The curved precipice of Wolfe's Cove rises from the narrow beach to the roots, which they grasped with their hands. At the same time, the Highlanders and other troops ascended by the narrow path, or by any passage they could find, clambering over the crags and numerous obstructions with the agility of monkeys. Before the van had got completely up, the rustling noise of their ascent alarmed the French, and the



MONUMENT TO WOLFE AT QUEBEC.

height of about two hundred and fifty feet. The cliff, for the most part, is almost perpendicular, though the surface is roughened by crags, stunted trees, and coarse vegetation. A winding path, so narrow that two men can barely follow it abreast, leads up to the summit; but on that September morning this path was entrenched, and defended at the top by a captain's guard. The main body of Light Infantry, who were carried by the current a little further down the river, scaled the absolute wall of cliff, dragging themselves up by rocks, boughs, and officer in command of the post ordered his men to fire down the precipice. But nothing now could check the resistless advance. The English, as they gained the top, fired in return, and the picquet hastily retired. In a little while, the brigades under Wolfe, Monckton, and Murray had reached the summit of the seemingly inaccessible cliff, and formed in military order on the plain that stretched before them; and the boats, rowing back, met the squadron under Holmes, which had sailed down the river about an hour after the starting of the first



DEATH OF WOLFE. *(After West's Picture.)*

division. The troops of the second division, under Brigadier Townshend, were on board, and, having been transferred to the boats, were carried down to the cove, whence they followed their comrades up the precipice. The great design had so far been happily achieved. When morning dawned, the English army stood embattled on the Heights of Abraham.

The number of men thus drawn up was but 4,826 of all ranks. They were formed with their right towards Quebec, their left to Sillery, and their rear to the river. Only one gun was at their disposal, and that had with great difficulty been dragged up the cliff; but each man had seventy rounds of ammunition. In the widening daylight, the regiments were faced to the right, and marched in files towards the city. Light showers of rain were falling; yet the view was not so obscured but that the soldiers could see the stronghold of their enemy rising before them. Montcalm, when informed by the routed picquets that the English army had gained the Plains of Abraham, was at first incredulous. He said it could only be a small party come to burn a few houses, and retire. But, being afterwards convinced by his own eyes of the real state of the case, he exclaimed, "Then they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison! We must give battle, and crush them before mid-day." Mustering his troops with that rapidity of action for which he was noted, he led them over the St. Charles by the bridge of boats, and soon perceived the English advancing towards him. The battle-field was nearly level, though broken here and there by shallow ravines and rail-fences. Small copses to right and left afforded shelter to the Indian and Canadian marksmen, and the French, with the fortified city at their back, and with a superiority of numbers, were in no bad position to meet their adversaries, who, almost devoid of artillery, and entirely of cavalry, had still a difficult task before them. But many of the French soldiers were little better than ill-drilled peasantry, while the English force consisted almost entirely of veterans. The chances of success were perhaps not far from an even balance, and it was only the actual collision which could determine the issue.

The left wing of the English army was formed by Wolfe with two faces to the enemy, so as to prevent its being outflanked, of which for a moment there was danger. The General himself took his station in front of the right wing, where the hottest fire was expected. The English picquets were at first driven back in some confusion; but Wolfe passed down the line, exhorting his men to stand firm, and directing them to reserve their fire until the enemy should come within forty yards of the muzzles of their guns. Montcalm had sent frequent despatches to his lieutenants to hurry up reinforcements, and in the course of the morning some arrived. He then directed a forward movement, and the French, advancing with loud shouts, fired obliquely towards the extremities of the opposing line. The English had for some time been lying down, by Wolfe's orders: they now sprang up, and, as the enemy got within range, struck their moving ranks with such concentration, regularity, and simultaneousness, that the French officers afterwards compared that terrible discharge to the shock of artillery. Before the smoke had cleared away, the men had again loaded, and Wolfe, placing himself at their head, moved forward to the charge. The ill-disciplined Canadians were by this time broken and disordered; they fired in platoons, without unity, and could not be got into military form. Montcalm, though wounded, and deprived of his second in command, who was killed, rode to every point where the danger was greatest, animating his soldiers by the heroism of his example. But the field was strewn with dead and dying, and the French wavered and fell back before the flaming energy of the English advance. Firing with murderous precision as they moved forward, the conquering hosts—for such they had now become—dashed into the reeling masses of the enemy with levelled bayonets. The force of that collision could not be resisted: regiment after regiment of the dismayed French and Canadians turned and fled. But the moments of Wolfe were numbered: the presentiment of the evening before was on the point of being fulfilled. Twice he had been struck, without taking any notice of the wound; but now a bullet—aimed, it is said, by a deserter—smote him in the breast, and he felt that the end had come. "Support me," he whispered to an officer near him; "let not my brave fellows see me drop. The day is ours—keep it!" Monckton also was wounded, and the command devolved on Townshend, who had been operating on the left of the English line, where, though the fighting had not been so severe as in the other direction, the French had been effectually checked in their flanking movement. After awhile, the enemy rallied at several points, and momentarily arrested the English advance. The latter were indeed threatened with an attack in the rear. Two thousand men, under the command of Bougainville, had marched from Cape Rouge as soon as intelligence was received that the English had gained the heights; and these were now seen approaching. Townshend,

who had by this time re-dressed his ranks, immediately ordered two battalions to proceed against the newcomers, who speedily retired among the woods and swamps which lay in the direction whence they had advanced. The battle was won; the French were once more discouraged; and, as the lowering weather of the morning gave way to a sudden burst of sunlight, the beaten army crowded back into Quebec, with the exception of Vaudreuil's 1,500 Canadians, who fled precipitately towards Montreal. Townshend refrained from pursuit, and, bringing his regiments together, drew up on the conquered field.

The chief commanders on both sides were sorely stricken. Wolfe was carried to the rear, and, on reaching a small redoubt which had been captured in the morning, he desired his attendants to lay him down. They brought him water, and some one proposed that a surgeon should be sent for. "It is needless," said the dying man; "it is all over with me." He appeared to sink into a lethargy, when a cry was heard—"They run, they run!" Wolfe roused himself as if from sleep—it was the sleep of rapidly-advancing death—and anxiously asked, "Who run?" "The enemy, sir," it was replied; "they give way everywhere." A gleam of returning life shot momentarily into his eyes, and his last thought was a thought of duty. "Go, one of you, my lads," he said, "to Colonel Burton. Tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to the river Charles, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Presently he turned upon his side; a shudder passed through him; and, with the words, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace!" his spirit passed away.

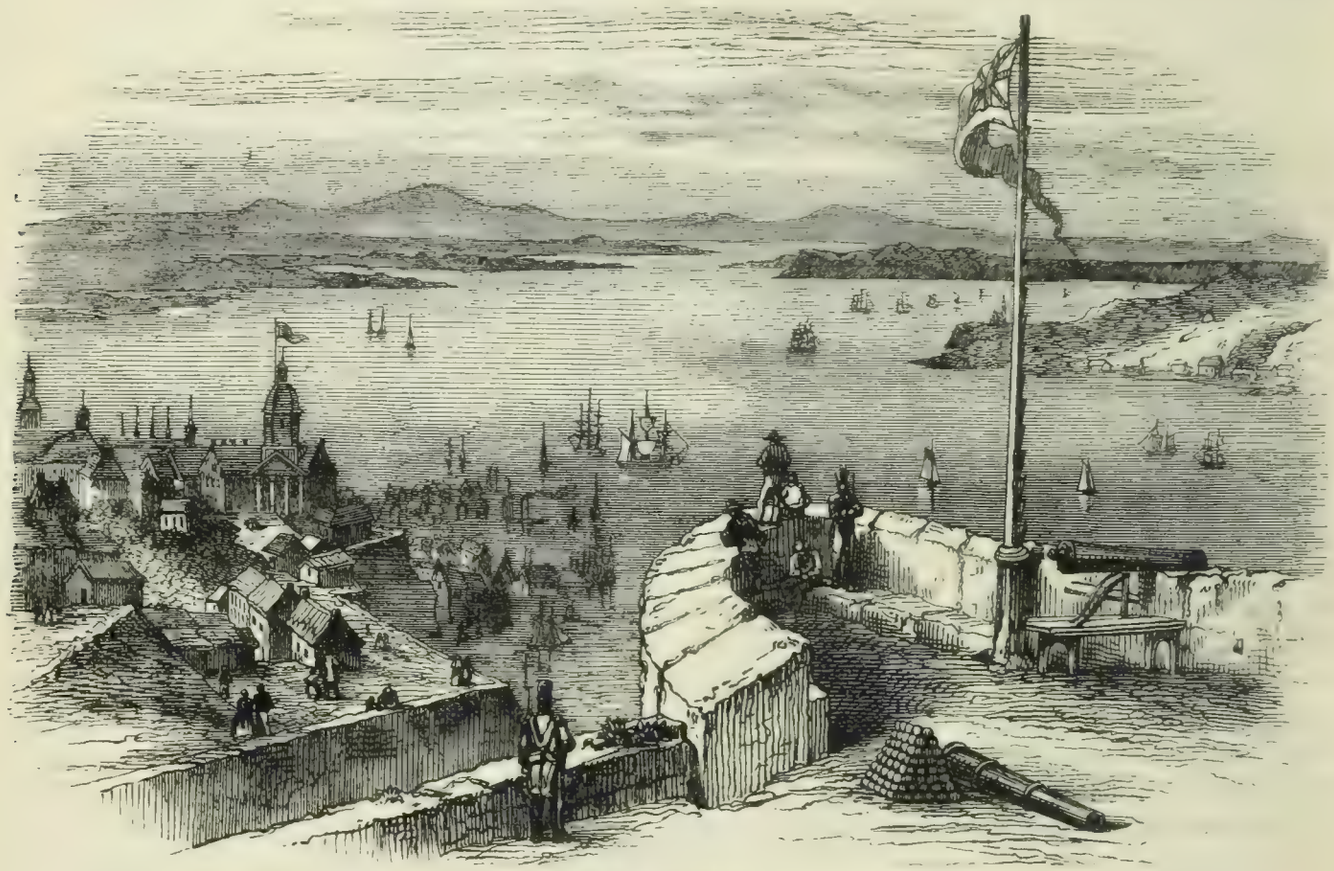
Very different in its mortal satisfactions, though similar in its immortal hopes, was the end of Montcalm. He too had been wounded more than once—the second time fatally, in attempting to rally a body of fugitive Canadians in a copse near St. John's Gate. He was carried into the city, and was told by the surgeon in attendance that recovery was hopeless. "I am glad of it," he replied; "how long shall I survive?" He was answered that it could not be more than ten or twelve hours at the utmost. "So much the better," he said: "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec." He gave some instructions about renewing the attack on the English, and conducting the defence of the city, of which, however, he had evidently despaired. "As for me," he added, "I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." He then wrote a letter recommending the French prisoners to the generosity of their conquerors; and at five o'clock on the morning of September 14th he drew his latest breath.*

Four days after, the flag of England waved in triumph above the ramparts of Quebec. The half-ruined town and fortress were during the winter months occupied by the British troops under General Murray, but without the support of the naval squadron, which could not stay to be frozen up in the St. Lawrence. The French, under the Marquis de Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, once more advanced from Montreal in the April of next year, and appeared before Quebec. They were encountered by Murray with an inferior force outside the lines of defence; the English commander was defeated and driven back into the city with the loss of several guns. As soon as the ice cleared away, six French frigates came up the river, and a regular siege by land and water, with 10,000 men for the land attack, counting the Indians, was then commenced. But the recapture and loss of Wolfe's great prize was happily prevented by the alertness and dexterity of Lord Colville with the British ships of war. He quickly followed the enemy's squadron up the St. Lawrence, and destroyed or took all their frigates under the eyes of the French military commander. This was a sight which the Marquis de Levi had not expected, and which convinced him that there was no hope of accomplishing his enterprise. He now dreaded the landing of a new British army, perhaps commanded by another hero like Wolfe. Raising the siege at once, he decamped in such haste as to leave artillery and stores behind him. During the summer of 1760 there was but Montreal, the last remaining stronghold of French dominion in Canada, the head-quarters and arsenal of its forces, still held by the Governor-General, the Marquis de Vaudreuil. He was besieged by the joint brigades of Generals Amherst, Murray, and Haviland, with the aid of the ships. On the 8th of September, 1760, Montreal was given up by capitulation, and the British conquest of Canada was thereby completed.

While this took place in America, and in England, on the 25th of October, King George II. suddenly died, the war in Germany and elsewhere proved favourable to Great Britain and her allies. The battle of Minden, on the 31st of July in the preceding year, had inflicted a severe blow on the French invaders of Hanover; and the valour of English soldiers was proved in that stubborn conflict, despite the cowardly behaviour of Lord

* Bancroft's and Grahame's Histories of the United States. Earl Stanhope's and Smollett's Histories of England. Wright's Life of General Wolfe.

George Sackville, who disobeyed the order to lead a cavalry charge. The King of Prussia, indeed, suffered terrible losses in his defeats at Kunersdorf, at Glatz, at Liegnitz, and on the Lower Rhine, by the Russian, Austrian, and French armies which ravaged the whole Fatherland, and which upon one occasion perpetrated sad havoc at Berlin. Still, the events of those sanguinary campaigns were often such as rather enhanced the credit of the British arms, the contingent of our troops being employed in actions which happened to gain a few



VIEW IN QUEBEC.

partial successes. The destruction of the French fleet near Brest, by our Channel squadron under Sir Edward Hawke, was of greater importance. But England had nevertheless become quite weary of its part in the Continental war; and the English officers serving under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick were ill content with his treatment of them. The young King, George III., now in his twenty-third year, was inclined by temperament and education to dislike the arts and triumphs of warfare, and was at least indifferent to his German family connections. His favourite courtier, the Earl of Bute, now first introduced to political business, was destined within a few months to supplant the Ministry of the Duke of Newcastle, for which purpose, through Bubb Doddington and others, a series of intrigues was already begun. The mainstay of the existing Ministry was the great popularity of Mr. Pitt, whose somewhat vaunting style of statesmanship was associated with the glories of successful war. It was therefore expedient for the advancement of the Court party that the war should be stopped; and they did not care to wait for such a turn of military affairs as would leave France utterly defeated, and place England foremost among the nations of Europe. Their cue was to depreciate the German alliances which Pitt had cherished, and to make light of his solemn invectives against the Bourbon dynasties of Versailles and Madrid.

With this predetermined line of policy, if that conduct deserve the name which was actuated by petty personal motives, the avowed or covert foes of the Ministry took advantage of every incident during the first two years of George III. The last subsidy paid by England to Frederick II. of Prussia was voted in December, 1760, with grudging reluctance. He won the battle of Torgau about that time, regained the command of Saxony, and expelled the Austrians, Swedes, and Russians from his own kingdom; but, in the following year, Silesia and Pomerania were once more overrun by them. The forces of Brunswick, Hanover, and England could do no more than just repel the French attack in Westphalia; the English expedition and capture

of Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany, was of little real utility. But the surrender, early in 1761, of the last remnant of French power in India, and the capture of Dominica, in the West Indies, by a small British force, were results of considerable value. The opponents of the war policy in England watched for an opportunity of declaring or privately securing their object, with something to show in the way of achieved successes.

Preliminaries of peace were, in fact, discussed between the French and English Governments in the summer of 1761, when France offered to give up Canada, to restore Minorca in exchange for Guadaloupe and Mariegalante, to renounce her claim to Cape Breton, and to cede part of her West African possessions. But France would keep, on behalf of Austria, what had been taken from Prussia and other German States, except what belonged to Hanover. England was further to make restitution of her captures at sea before the declaration of war. Finally, as the Bourbon kings of France and Spain were of near kindred to each other, the French diplomatists handed in a memorial, demanding from Great Britain the satisfaction of particular Spanish claims.

It was impossible for any British Government to accept these conditions, some of which, not those concerning the territorial possessions in America, were highly injurious to the national honour. Pitt regarded the last-mentioned proposal as a downright insult, on the part both of France and Spain. He perceived, at once, that France had not offered peace in sincerity, but had designed to entangle Spain in the war against England, with the offer of restoring Minorca, and the opportunity of recovering Gibraltar, by their joint efforts. This was really the case, for Louis XV. of France and Charles III. of Spain were just about to sign their "Family Compact," engaging themselves to mutual assistance, by sea and land, against a maritime power which should become their common enemy. Pitt, therefore, urged in council that war against Spain should be instantly declared, and that a fleet should go to intercept the annual convoy of American silver, with separate expeditions to capture Havannah and Manilla, before the Spanish and French forces could unite. He was coolly answered, by Bute and others of the Court party, that they did not believe in the hostility of Spain, and the King sent word that he had the strongest objections to what Mr. Pitt advised. The resignation by Pitt of the Secretaryship of State was the immediate consequence; it was exactly what they wanted. The King showed him personal kindness upon his going to take leave; and a pension of £3,000 a year was settled upon him, with a peerage for [illegible]. Parliament was opened, a month later, with no allusion in the Royal Speech to the probability of a war with Spain. Yet the end of that year proved that Mr. Pitt had been quite in the right. The Spanish Government, in a most insolent manner, sent away the British Ambassador from Madrid and recalled its own from London. The war thenceforth included both France and Spain. But it was destined, under this aspect, to be of a brief duration; and its results were advantageous to Great Britain.

The annual treasure-ship or fleet of the Spanish American Empire had safely arrived in Cadiz before its owners thought fit to defy the British maritime power. But the remainder of Pitt's martial programme was speedily executed. On King George's birthday, the 4th of June, 1762, a squadron of nineteen ships of the line and as many frigates and smaller vessels, with 10,000 troops in a hundred and fifty transports, appeared before Havannah. We may take pleasure, incidentally, in noticing one of the humblest in rank of the many brave English naval officers serving on board this fleet; it was James Cook, the future discoverer of New South Wales and of half the Australasian world, now colonised by the English nation. The Moro, a strong fortress commanding the port of Havannah, was besieged forty days, bombarded, and finally stormed; the city yielded on the 13th of August; the English had won a booty of three millions sterling, and all but conquered the rich island of Cuba. This great victory of Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, in the West Indies, was accompanied by one scarcely less valuable in the Eastern Asiatic Archipelago; where Manilla, with all the Philippines, fell an easy prey to Sir William Draper. The French West Indies, as well as the Spanish, were doomed to pay forfeit, within a very short time, for the rashness of the two allied monarchies in their "Family Compact." Admiral Rodney was there; and the isles of Martinique, with Grenada, Santa Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago, were soon in British possession. These sudden and splendid successes were capable of being made the justification of a British Government already intent on retiring with fair credit from the costly European war.

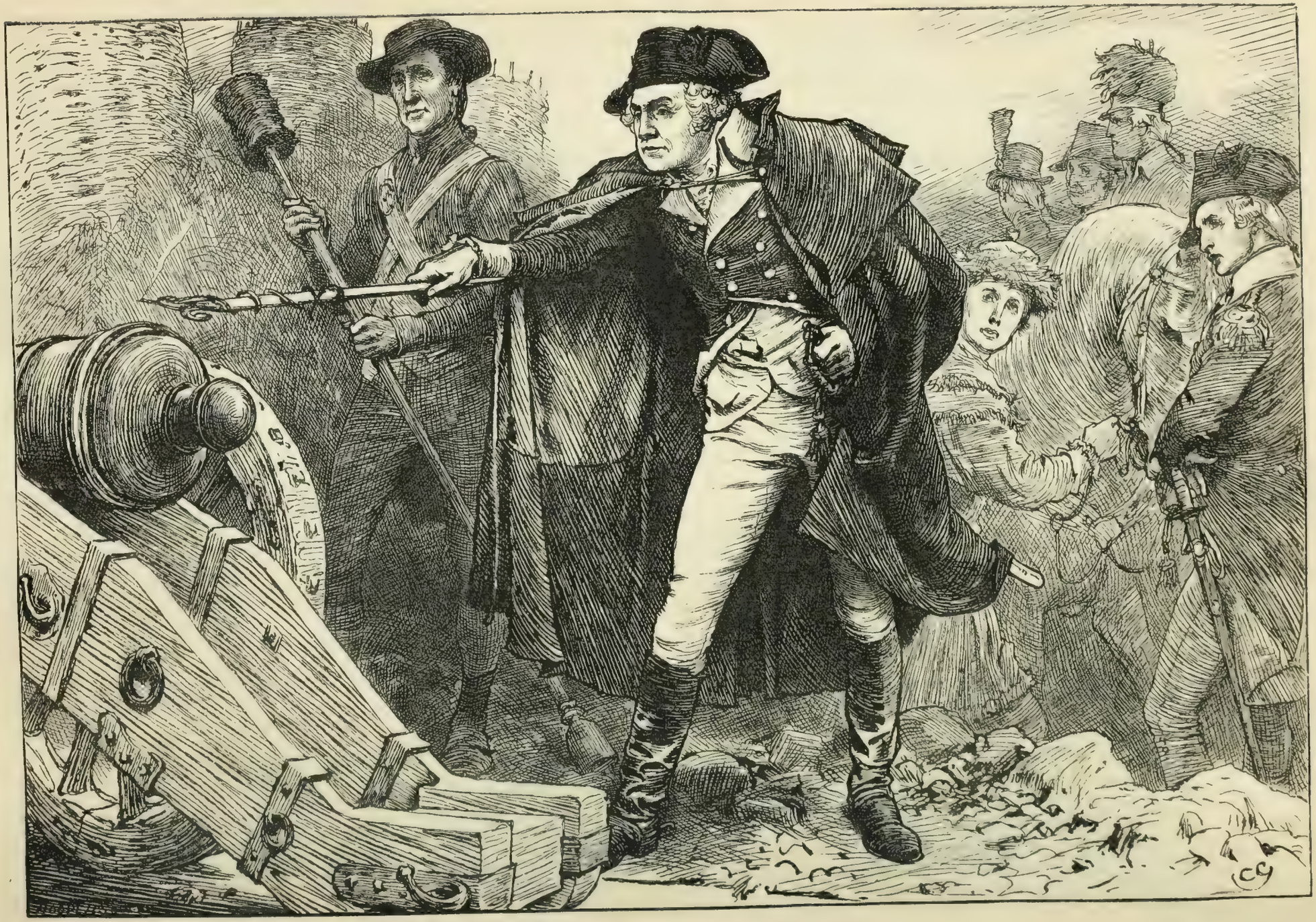
Omitting, therefore, some contemporary foreign transactions, the Spanish invasion of Portugal and the English help in its defence, the capture of another year's shipload of Spanish bullion, not to reckon millions of dollars and doubloons, the relief of Frederick II. by a change in the Russian Empire, and the rebuffs which France now began

to suffer in the western parts of Germany, let us see the conclusion of the seven years' general strife, only so far as concerns the British Empire.

The Duke of Newcastle had been jostled out of the Ministry by Lord Bute, whose supporters were Henry Fox and George Grenville. The Duke of Bedford, the most powerful man of the Whig party, had been sent to Paris as diplomatic negotiator for peace, while Bute and the King privately settled the terms of peace with him, their real object being to make him an insignificant figure. These were matters of the greatest importance to his Majesty's Government. For the rest, England was to get all Canada, with all the shores and islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Acadie or Nova Scotia; the Mississippi Valley, and part of Louisiana, with all Florida; the islands of Tobago, Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent; the African territories of the Gambia and Senegal; the undisputed power of making conquests in India, leaving but some French trading factories on the coast; the Mediterranean isle of Minorca; and a pledge of demolishing the fortress of Dunkirk. While Martinique, Havannah, and Manilla were given back, Florida and Louisiana were delivered instead. Such was the aggrandisement of the British Empire about the beginning of the reign of George III. Its older provinces, the fruit of peaceful English colonisation, were still most worthy of regard. They might claim, at any rate, to be fairly and frankly treated by the Government of Great Britain.

We have somewhat anticipated the measured course of this history, by casting here a comprehensive forward glance over the events, at home and abroad, which terminated the foreign war at the end of 1762, and thereby introduced such administrative changes as could not but affect the situation of the American colonies. Those events will, however, be related more circumstantially in the opening chapters of our Second Volume.

END OF VOLUME I.



WASHINGTON AT THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN.

(*See p.* 430.)

CASSELL'S

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY

EDMUND OLLIER.

* *

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MONTREAL.

CASSELL'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Position of the English Army before Quebec—Surrender of the City—Danger of an Attack from the French—Action with De Levi in Front of the Walls—Defeat of the English, and Investment of the City by the French—Raising of the Siege on the Approach of an English Squadron—Concentration of French Forces at Montreal—Amherst's Plans for the Conquest of Canada—Capture of Isle Royale—Junction of Three English Armies before Montreal—Capitulation of the City, and entire Subversion of Canada—Decline of French Power—Outbreak of the Cherokees on the Borders of Virginia and the Two Carolinas—Collision with the Savages—Siege of Fort Loudoun by the Cherokees—Reduction of the Rebellious Indians to Submission—Governor Pownall and Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts—Ill-judged Message to the Assembly—Death of George II., and Accession of George III.—Character of the latter Monarch—Early Events of the New Reign, and Evil Prognostics for America.

WOLFE'S heroic death before Quebec, and the victory by which it was accompanied, sealed the fate of Canada; but the effect was not immediate. The city did not at once surrender, and it was a year before the province submitted to the rule of England. The situation of the British army on the St. Lawrence was still serious, notwithstanding the great achievement of September 13th, 1759. The fortifications of Quebec were still intact; an army yet stood within the walls, beaten indeed, but not utterly demoralised. If the garrison should rally, they might drive the English back in disastrous rout. If the troops then concentrated in various parts of Canada should march to the rescue of the capital, the besiegers might be assaulted in their rear at the same time that they were attacked in front. A great point had been gained; a great success had been accomplished; but the dangers of the position were considerable, in view of the weakened state of the invading hosts, and of the

improbability of any reinforcement reaching them. General Townshend, therefore, on succeeding to the command, thought it prudent to fortify his camp, at the same time that he took all necessary measures for the investment of the hostile city. But he was spared the tedious operations and uncertain issues of a siege. On the 17th of September, the French made proposals for a capitulation. The death of Montcalm and of his second in command, and the great losses of the regiments engaged on the 13th—1,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, against only 640 on the side of the English—had broken the spirits of the garrison, while the scarcity of food rendered their situation even more precarious than it would have been in a merely military sense. The season had become wet, cold, and stormy, and winter, in those northern latitudes, was not far off. Everything conspired to daunt the French and Canadians, and to make them desirous of a pacific arrangement. The English were equally glad to post themselves in a city, the fortifications of which, being uninjured by a cannonade, would be the better able to exclude the enemy, should he make an attack in force. By the terms of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected, during the remainder of the war, in the free exercise of their religion; but their future political fortunes were left to be decided at the return of peace.

The surrender of Quebec took place on the 18th. The city, besides its garrison, contained a population of about ten thousand persons; but the prevailing elements were the military and the clerical. Convents, hospitals, and public buildings, each with a large garden about it, occupied the greater part of the space within the fortified walls; and the priest threaded his frequent way along the winding and precipitous streets, visiting the posts of the soldiery, or the dwellings of the working colonists. But now the priest had no longer any soldiers to visit: the banner of the Bourbons was struck down, and that of England floated in its place. On the 19th of September, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on transports, to be conveyed to England; and a garrison of five thousand British troops, commanded by General Murray, took possession of the conquered town. The fleet soon afterwards departed, carrying with it General Townshend, who now returned to London; and the French colonists in the neighbourhood of Quebec entered the city in great numbers, voluntarily delivered up their arms, and took an oath to observe strict neutrality during the war. All immediate danger was at an end; but, shortly after the capitulation, the English General learned that that portion of the French army which escaped from the field of battle had been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions from Montreal, and that Bougainville, with eight hundred men and a convoy of provisions, had contemplated throwing himself into the town. For the present, however, the French accepted their defeat, though cherishing in their minds many projects for the future. At the same time, the operations of General Stanwix in the west were so completely successful that the emigrants who had been expelled by the French returned to their settlements, and even pushed their way still farther into the desert.

Montreal was now the only place of importance left to the French in Canada; but, in the early part of 1760, it was resolved to make an endeavour for the recovery of Quebec. The British fleet had departed; all communication with England was cut off by the ice in the Lower St. Lawrence; and the defences of the town were not in themselves very formidable. The Canadian Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, had at his disposal about five thousand regular troops, and an equal number of Canadian militia; and it appeared to him that a dashing movement might not improbably result in the expulsion of the English from the city they had won. The winter did not pass without some enterprises to this end being attempted; but they proved wholly unsuccessful. The British outposts were found to be strong and vigilant; and, although De Levi possessed a number of frigates which gave him command of the river, and the nearest English squadron was at Halifax in Nova Scotia, nothing could be effected. It was fortunate that no serious attack was made during the winter; for the garrison under Brigadier Murray suffered severely from excessive cold, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions produced a terrible outbreak of scurvy, resulting, before the end of April, in the deaths of a thousand soldiers, and the disabling of twice that number. This reduced the total number of effectives to about three thousand; but the approach of spring had a beneficial effect on the sick. Murray had entrenched his troops on the Heights of Abraham, and all needful measures were taken for interposing, between the ramparts and any hostile force, several extemporary defences, such as would, under the worst of circumstances, delay the enemy for a considerable time. This, then, was the state of affairs at Quebec, when, on the 26th of April, the British commander learned that the French had landed at Point-au-Tremble. Though snow still lay on the ground, the navigation of the Upper St. Lawrence was by this time free from ice; and, the artillery, military stores, and

heavy baggage of the French having been embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under convoy of six frigates, De Levi marched in ten days to the vicinity of Quebec. His army consisted of ten thousand white men and five hundred savages, against whom Murray could only muster a very inferior force. He therefore ordered all the bridges over Cape Rouge to be broken down, and the landing-places at Sillery and Foulon to be secured. Marching in person at the head of a strong detachment, he took possession of a post which prevented the French from cutting off his advanced guards; but, finding himself still threatened by his adversaries, he formed the daring design of giving them battle in the open field—an attempt which had ended disastrously to the French when confronted by Wolfe, and for which Murray was in a less advantageous position than Montcalm.

The little army marched out of Quebec at half-past six o'clock in the morning of April 28th. As soon as the several brigades were drawn up in line of battle, the French were seen, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile, approaching in single column. Murray, conceiving that he could successfully attack them before they had formed, advanced rapidly, and at first swept the enemy from the heights; but the hostile regiments soon rallied, and, after a desperate conflict, drove back the English with serious loss. The latter were by this time outflanked, and in great danger of being completely surrounded. Disorder had set in throughout the ranks; several of the regiments were mobbed; and, having maintained the struggle for nearly two hours, Murray withdrew into Quebec, with the loss of nearly all his artillery, and of a thousand men in killed and wounded. The French are said to have lost in a much greater proportion; but they enjoyed the consolation of victory, and had taken the first step towards retrieving their damaged position. The English commander was greatly blamed for the rashness of his endeavour, considering his great numerical inferiority to the French; and he seems in truth to have been inspired with the audacity of Wolfe, without possessing Wolfe's judgment. It had been a saying of the conqueror of Quebec that nothing was impossible to a victorious army; and Murray relied on this dictum in too literal a spirit. His purpose, in the event of failure, was to hold out at Quebec to the last extremity; then to retreat to the Isle of Orleans, or Coudres, and there await reinforcements.* He was not reduced to the worst of these contemplated conditions, but he had to sustain a siege.

* Murray to the Secretary of State.

On the very evening of the day when his forces were defeated in the field, trenches were opened against the town by the victorious army. The garrison exerted themselves with praiseworthy spirit and energy in improving the fortifications of the place, but it is not likely that it could have held out long. On the 11th of May, the French opened their batteries against the walls. Murray, to encounter this cannonade, planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, and the superior fire of the besieged silenced after awhile the batteries of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the position of the English was extremely critical, for a fleet with reinforcements had been despatched from France, and, had it arrived, the fate of Quebec would probably have been decided. But, fortunately, the English fleet from Nova Scotia, under Lord Colville, and a squadron from England, had sailed in time to anticipate the advent of their rivals; and before the middle of May some English ships were before Quebec. They at once prepared to attack the French vessels which had brought De Levi's artillery, and which were still in the St. Lawrence, a little above the town; but the latter, on seeing the enemy's approach, fled without risking an encounter. Some of the French ships were wrecked, others taken and destroyed; and the blow so disheartened De Levi that he instantly raised the siege, and retreated with so much precipitation as not to allow himself sufficient time to remove the whole of his artillery and stores, the greater portion of which fell into the hands of General Murray. The French commander retreated to Montreal, but on his route thither was deserted by a number of Canadians and Indians, who seem by this time to have made up their minds that the star of France in that part of the world was irrevocably setting. It was the intention of Murray, on the morning after their disappearance, to attack the besiegers in camp by a vigorous sortie. Learning that they had gone, he followed with all speed, and succeeded in taking some prisoners. But the bulk of the army was beyond reach, and Murray returned to Quebec without the satisfaction of avenging his late defeat, but with the comforting assurance that the capital of Canada was safe in English hands.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil now saw that he must make his final stand at Montreal. The case was desperate, but he did not shrink from doing his utmost. He called in all his detachments, and concentrated his forces in the second city of Canada. He circulated false intelligence of the successes of France in other parts of the world, where she had in fact been as unfortunate as in America. By these

patriotic fabrications, and by liberal promises of approaching succour, he endeavoured to raise the spirits of the provincials and of their savage allies; but he must have seen that his chances were of the slightest. General Amherst was now making extensive preparations for the entire subjugation of Canada, and De Vaudreuil had no force at his disposal capable of resisting the hosts that were being directed against him. He depended principally on the difficulties presented by the natural features of the country—on the woods, mountains, and morasses which flanked his position. But obstacles of this nature are seldom insuperable when a commander is determined to surmount them; and the French Governor of Canada knew only too well that an apparent impossibility had been accomplished by Wolfe. Three armies were by this time in motion against the doomed city. Amherst had conveyed instructions to General Murray to advance up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, with all the troops he could spare from the garrison of Quebec. Colonel Haviland, with a body of troops from Crown Point, was to take possession of the Isle-aux-Noix, in Lake Champlain, and thence to press on by the shortest route to the St. Lawrence; while Amherst himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to about ten thousand men, including Indians, would proceed from the frontiers of New York to Lake Ontario, and sail down the chief river of Canada to the last stronghold of the enemy.

On the 9th of July, Amherst arrived at Oswego, where his forces were augmented by a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, under the command of Sir William Johnson. The entire army with their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, embarked on Lake Ontario, in open boats, on the 10th of August, and proceeded to the St. Lawrence. After encountering a French sloop, which ultimately surrendered, although not without a warm engagement, the squadron sailed towards Isle Royale, where the French had a fort which gave them command of the channel, and also of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. Amherst determined to reduce this fort, and, having first taken possession of some neighbouring islands, he invested the principal position, which, having been cannonaded for some time, capitulated when the prospect of a successful assault became imminent. The English commander then pursued his course down the St. Lawrence, the navigation of which he found very difficult and dangerous, on account of frequent rapids and falls, which caused the death, by drowning, of about ninety men, and the loss of forty-six *bateaux*, seventeen whaleboats, one row-galley, and some artillery, stores, and ammunition. But these accidents, however regrettable in themselves, had no effect in retarding the expedition. The invading force arrived before Montreal on the 6th of September, and it was joined by General Murray on the very same day, and by Colonel Haviland on the next. The city is planted on an island in the river St. Lawrence, and is about equi-distant from Quebec and Lake Ontario. At the period in question it was poorly fortified, though the second town to Quebec, and a place of importance, as being the chief seat of the Indian trade. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had counted too much on the natural difficulties by which his position was surrounded. These had all been overcome by the skill, courage, and enterprise of the three commanders; and so well had Captain Deane piloted Murray's flotilla up the St. Lawrence from Quebec that not a vessel was lost. As he advanced, Murray published manifestoes to the populace, of whom a large number submitted to English rule, and at once took the oath of neutrality. Others, who resisted, were disarmed, and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of their conquerors. At Montreal it was clearly seen, after the junction of the three armies, that successful resistance was impossible. Amherst had only just commenced his preparations for a siege, when De Vaudreuil, on the 7th, made proposals for a capitulation. The following day, Montreal was surrendered to the English; and Detroit and other places of importance followed. The Commander-in-chief immediately afterwards issued a general order to the army (including the regulars, the provincials, and the Indian allies), thanking them for their exertions, and bespeaking their humane consideration for the Canadians, now become British subjects under the protection of King George II.

Thus, by a most remarkable series of successes, the whole of Canada passed from the possession of France to that of England, which has ever since retained this vast territory. The French were reduced to a third-rate position on the continent of America; for, after the capitulation of Montreal, they possessed nothing more than Louisiana—a country, doubtless, of immense extent, but so thinly peopled, and so poor, as to have but little value. The military honour of Great Britain, which for some years had undergone a strange eclipse, was splendidly re-established by these great events, and the English race became thenceforward, beyond dispute, the leading power of North America. The fortunes of Canada, as a rule, do not belong, except in a collateral way, to a History of the United States; but it has been necessary to relate the fore-

going circumstances in detail, because Anglo-American soldiers fought with the armies of Great Britain in the reduction of Canadian cities, and because the conquest of New France had a very important influence over the relations between England and her transatlantic colonies. With the reduction of French power in their immediate neighbourhood, the Americans lost what they at least considered their only motive for continued loyalty.

To complete the humiliation of the French, the armament despatched from France to the relief of Quebec was attacked in the Bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Nova Scotia, by Captain Lord Byron, commanding the British vessels stationed at Louisburg, who, having been informed of the enemy's movements, went in pursuit. The French squadron, which consisted of a single frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, was assailed by Byron with five ships of war, and speedily destroyed, together with two batteries which the French had erected on shore. The entire population of those northern parts, including the native tribes, were now completely subdued. French and Indians were eager in making their submission, and the whole of the fur-trade fell into the hands of the English. So little did the latter apprehend from an enemy who had recently been dangerously powerful, that the fortifications of Louisburg were blown up, and the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, conveyed to Halifax. Only three hundred soldiers were left in barracks in what was formerly the chief town of Cape Breton. The French must have trembled for the small possessions left them. There can be little doubt that the settlements on the Mississippi could have been readily subdued, had the attempt been made. As was fully known at the time, they were so ill-provided with necessaries that the people could hardly have lived without the supplies which they derived from a contraband trade with the English colonies. This trade was made the subject of complaint by the naval and military commanders; and Pitt, in a circular letter to the provincial Governments, denounced the practice, and directed that severe measures should be taken against it.

During the progress of these events, some of the southern plantations were troubled by an Indian war of rather formidable character. At the commencement of the struggle with France, the Cherokees, acting in accordance with treaties that had been concluded some time before, sent several of their warriors to join the English expedition against Fort Duquesne. On their return march, after the reduction of that post, they supplied their want of horses by seizing on such as they found wandering about the woods. The animals being the property of the Virginians, great indignation was felt at their abstraction, and an attack was made on the offenders. Twelve or fourteen Indians were killed, and several more taken prisoners, on which the Cherokees, in their exasperation, began to listen to the suggestions of the French, who imputed ferocious designs to the Virginians, and supplied the savages with arms and ammunition. In the autumn of 1759, the latter made a hostile descent on the back settlements of Virginia and the two Carolinas. Numerous white men were murdered and scalped, and it became necessary to take military measures on a large scale against the threatening inroad. The three provinces affected sent a considerable military force into the country of the Cherokees, where a treaty was concluded, and guaranteed by the customary delivery of Indian hostages. Unfortunately, however, the savages were again provoked by the arrogance of Governor Lyttleton, of South Carolina; and, as soon as the military force was withdrawn, the Cherokees, early in 1760, resumed their attacks with greater fury than before. Several traders who had ventured among them were murdered; whereupon the Legislature of North Carolina retorted by passing a law which enacted that all Indian prisoners should become slaves to their captors, and that a premium should be paid to every colonist producing an Indian scalp. Nevertheless, the audacity of the savages proceeded so far that they laid siege to Fort Prince George, in the hope of recovering the hostages, who were confined there. Those unfortunate captives were presently slaughtered in resisting the orders of the commandant that they should be put in irons; and the Indians, wild with rage, menaced the most frightful revenge against their adversaries.

Alarmed for their safety, the Carolinians sent a despatch to General Amherst, begging for immediate assistance; and some regulars were at once supplied, to help in controlling the savages. These being joined by the provincial forces of the previous year, the united army advanced, during the month of May, into the country of the Cherokees, destroyed all the towns of the lower nation, and, marching to Fort Prince George, compelled the Indians to relinquish their blockade. In the native villages through which the soldiers passed on their way to the fort, they discovered the mangled bodies of several white men, and were so enraged at the sight that they slew most of the Indian prisoners whom they took. Colonel Montgomery, who was in command of the regulars, expected that the relief of Fort Prince George, and the terror of these

executions, would have inclined the savages to submission; but they rejected his terms of accommodation, and maintained an attitude of defiance. He therefore marched forward through the Dismal Swamp, where progress was toilsome and dangerous, and arrived within five miles of Etchoe, the central town and settlement of the Cherokees. He was now at the entrance of a deep valley, shadowed with thickets, and crossed by a muddy river, flowing between steep banks of clay. Some rangers were sent forward to scour the ground between the bushes; but immediately on entering the obscure valley, they fell into an ambush, and were galled by a heavy fire from concealed parties of Indians. Their comrades advanced to their assistance, and were similarly encountered. It was necessary to bring the whole force into action to dislodge the lurking savages, whose numbers were so great, and whose position was so difficult of access, that the task of dispersing them was a work of time and hazard. At length, however, they retired, but in good order, and only to take up in succession other positions of strength. Montgomery himself was among the wounded in this affair, and thought it prudent, on defeating the enemy, to retire to Fort Prince George. Shortly afterwards he withdrew his regiment from the Carolinas, and the people were left to make the best provision they could for their own defence.



GENERAL WOLFE.
(*From the Portrait by Sir Benjamin West in the British Museum.*)

The Cherokees now assembled a considerable force, and laid siege to Fort Loudoun, situated in the north-eastern part of the present State of Tennessee, but on ground which was at that time included in North Carolina. The fort had been built three years before, and was not a place of any great strength. It was occupied by two hundred and fifty men; but the garrison were ill-supplied with provisions, and the remoteness of the situation precluded the hope of succour. The besieged held out for a long while, supporting themselves on horseflesh, until the failure of every species of food compelled a surrender. By the terms of capitulation, the garrison were to retire unmolested with their baggage, and were to be conducted on their way by trusty guides. The Indians professed to desire a lasting peace and a fairly-regulated trade with the white men; but they were secretly planning an act of treachery. When the troops were about fifteen miles from the evacuated fort, they were deserted by their guides, and attacked by a large number of Indians, who fired on them from all sides, killed twenty-five of the soldiers and all the officers but one, and made the rest prisoners. The captives, after passing a miserable time in the towns and villages of the red men, were redeemed by the province of South Carolina. Several small forts were subsequently besieged by the Cherokees; but, on the conquest of the whole of Canada, Amherst sent another force against these marauders, and, with the help of provincial troops and Indian allies, succeeded in bringing them to submission, in the summer of 1761, after another obstinate battle on the scene of Montgomery's misadventure.

Before this final success had been achieved, the rebellious Indians in the eastern parts of New England, who had for a long while sided with France, confessed their error, and, seeing the hopelessness of the French cause, and the extraordinary triumphs of the English arms, sought to make the best terms they could for themselves. In the course of 1760, the Penobscots sent deputies to Boston, and concluded a treaty of peace, by which they acknowledged themselves, without restriction or limitation, the subjects of Great Britain. By this treaty they undertook to dwell near a strong fort erected in their country by Pownall, the Governor of Massachusetts, and to deliver up all future offenders of their tribe to be judged by the authorities and laws of the province. The Penobscots were now greatly reduced in number, owing to the long continuance of war, and were glad to obtain the protection and favour of the Power they had defied. Shortly afterwards, Governor Pownall was removed to the richer Presidency of South Carolina, and was succeeded at Boston by Francis



TREACHERY OF THE CHEROKEES.

Bernard, formerly a proctor in the ecclesiastical courts of England, and more recently Governor of New Jersey. Pownall had been a very popular official. He had favoured the principles of the party most inclined to support colonial privileges, and was of course held in high esteem by all its members. But there was also a party in favour of the Royal prerogative; and although the holders of that view were a minority, they were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently influential to vex even the jovial spirit of Governor Pownall. It is said that he was not sorry to quit a position where he had been dragged into so many contentions. When he embarked for England (for he never actually took possession of office in South Carolina), both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature attended him in a body to his barge. In England, he was elected to the House of Commons, and, both by word of mouth and by his pen, warmly supported the cause of the colonists in their struggle with the mother country.

Bernard was a man of very different views. He allied himself with the prerogative party, the chief leaders of which were Hutchinson and Oliver—native Americans, whose views were in favour of the Court. The new Governor gave a very injudicious and unfortunate indication of his political bias in a phrase occurring in a message to the Legislature on the recent successes in Canada. He desired the two Houses to bear in mind the blessings they derived from their "subjection" to Great Britain, without which, he observed, they could not have been a free people. It was no doubt perfectly true that France had been humbled more by the Imperial power of England than by the efforts of the colonists themselves; for, however valuable the aid which the latter had rendered, and however gallant the conduct of the provincial troops, it is inconceivable that America, at that stage of her development, could have coped with the military resources of France so successfully as to strike down her banner from every stronghold in her Canadian possessions. But "subjection" was an ugly word, carrying with it many dangerous meanings, and it is not surprising that the Massachusetts Legislature repudiated it. The Council, in replying to Bernard's message, acknowledged that they owed their freedom to their "relation" to Great Britain; and the House of Representatives reminded the Governor that the obligation had been mutual, for that if the people of Massachusetts, for more than a century past, had not waded in blood, and burdened themselves with expenses, in repelling the common enemy, England would probably at that day have had no colonies to defend. The neglect of her colonies by England in previous times had perhaps done more towards the creation of a sense of independence than the injudicious interference of later days had operated to provoke a desire for it. At any rate, both feelings were now very prevalent, and very strongly developed. Burnaby, an English writer who travelled through North America in 1759–60, declared that he heard sentiments of independence expressed in almost every province that he visited.* These sentiments, however, were by no means novel as far as Massachusetts was concerned. They had existed from the very commencement of the colony, and in recent times had only been thinly disguised by rather hypocritical expressions of loyalty.

The provinces were now on the eve of their great struggle, and an event which happened in the autumn of 1760 may be said to have drawn the line between the old and the new state—between colonial history and the history of an independent Power. On the 25th of October, George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson, then a young man of two-and-twenty. That this event was really the first of what may be called the later steps towards the War of Independence, cannot be doubted. George III. had from an early age conceived very high ideas of the Royal prerogative. He was surrounded by advisers who encouraged those ideas to the utmost, and it was not long after his accession to the throne that he called to his councils the very Ministers whose policy with regard to America led to such disastrous results. The new King was not a man of commanding abilities or of large acquirements. His intellect was narrow; the range of his studies slight. Yet he was not the mere fool which it has sometimes been the fashion to represent him. On some subjects he had a good deal of plain sense, though unfortunately his prejudices were strong, and his resolutions, when once formed, were carried out, or at least pursued, with an obstinate pertinacity which was often productive of great mischief. He was undoubtedly honest and sincere in all his convictions and all his acts; he was certainly courageous; he was virtuous after the sober fashion that English people love. His religious feelings, though of a conventional order, were thoroughly unaffected; and the purity of his court, though unduly formal, and leading to an excess of formalism in the whole body of English society, had a good influence in correcting the brutal coarseness and immorality of previous reigns. George III. understood, up

* Grahame's History of the United States, Book X., chap. 6.

to a certain point, the people whom he ruled, and he was in harmony with some of the most distinctive qualities of the nation to which it was his boast to belong. Through a large part of his reign, he was one of the most popular monarchs who ever sat on the English throne. Yet all this did not make him a good politician; still less did it fit him for dealing with the difficult problems of colonial government. As we have before indicated, he was bent on breaking down the ascendency of the Whig aristocracy. To some extent he was right in his object; but he could not see that the world had advanced too far for a return to the political principles of Henry VII. On the next morning but one after his accession, the King made Lord Bute a Privy Councillor; and to Bute were due most of the early political ideas of George III. The Scotch peer was bent on making the King absolute; the King was only too well inclined to abet the project; and the colonies were to be among the first subjects of the doubtful and perilous experiment.

Pitt, who had gained the confidence of the late monarch since his accession to power, though he had previously been cordially disliked by the Second George, soon found that he should not have a supporter in the Third. The new sovereign was opposed to the war which Pitt had conducted with such brilliant success; he thought the Secretary too independent and too powerful; he preferred the more courtly ways of Newcastle; and he saw the Duke before any other member of the Administration, and before holding a Council. When the Privy Council met, the King's speech to that body was read. It had been drawn up by Bute, and it spoke of the war as bloody and expensive—which wars are apt to be. The declaration was entered on the Council books without any previous consent with Pitt; and when that Minister read it, he was much hurt at what he regarded as an implied condemnation of his policy. He insisted that the address should be altered as it stood on the books; and, after a long and angry dispute with the northern favourite, he obtained the King's consent to substitute for the objectionable passage the words:—"As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary, war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." This was on the very day of the King's accession to the throne, and therefore before the summoning of Lord Bute to the Privy Council. George III. was extremely angry at the change in his speech which had been forced upon him, and he determined to look still more to the Duke of Newcastle and the Scotch Earl as the chief agents in the enforcement of his political ideas. A witty lady of that day said it had now become a question what sort of coal the King should burn in his chamber—whether Scotch coal, Newcastle coal, or Pitt coal. In truth, the last of the three alternatives was very nearly excluded. Pitt retained power for nearly a year more; but he was no longer in that position of undisputed ascendency which he had enjoyed ever since his accession to the Government. Other times had brought other men, and America was shortly to experience the nature of the change.

CHAPTER II.

Designs of the Favourite, Lord Bute—Secret Opposition to Pitt—Bute made Secretary for the Northern Department—The General Election of 1761—Intrigues for Peace—Negotiations opened with France—Reduction of Belle-Isle by the English—Imperious Policy of Pitt—Progress of the Negotiations—The "Family Compact" between the French and Spanish Bourbons—Pitt outvoted at the Council—His subsequent Resignation—Efforts of the Americans—Declaration of War against Spain—Military Aid rendered by the Colonists—Conquest of the French West India Islands, and of Havannah—Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle—Premiership of Lord Bute—Conclusion of a Treaty of Peace at Paris (1763)—Terms of the Treaty—Various Opinions as to the Peace—The Floridas and their Previous Annals—Close of the First Epoch of American History.

BUTE grew in favour every day, and he presently cherished the ambition of displacing Pitt. The desire of the young monarch to make peace as soon as he decently could, was flattered by the Scotch Earl, as any other desire of the same exalted person would have been. Pitt was even more disposed than at first to prosecute the war with energy, so as to humble the Bourbon sovereign, and effectually break the power of France. "He is madder than ever," said Bute one day to Bubb Dodington, his intimate friend and political coadjutor. The Southern Secretary knew his power, and would not brook dictation: Bute and Dodington felt their inferiority, and did not venture to cope

with him openly. They endeavoured to work on public opinion by the issue of numerous pamphlets and handbills, sharply criticising the policy of the great War Minister. In the Cabinet, they had an active ally in the Duke of Newcastle. He had never forgiven Pitt for casting him into the shade, and he was delighted at the prospect of dethroning him. The question for the moment turned on whether the King of Prussia was to be supported in his Continental policy, or whether he should be abandoned, in the hope of patching up a sudden and not very glorious peace. George III. would have deserted Frederick, and have entered at once, and solely, into negotiations with France. Pitt, with the support of Parliament, made his own views prevail; but the coalition against him gathered strength. On the 21st of March, 1761, Parliament was dissolved, and on the same day the *Gazette* announced several changes in the Ministry. They were of such a nature as plainly to reveal the influence which the favourite was exercising over the counsels of the King. Legge had on a former occasion displeased Bute in some electoral matters: he was now removed from his post as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Adherents of Bute were promoted to higher offices; and on the 25th of March, Bute himself was Gazetted to the office of Northern Secretary, from which the Earl of Holderness was dismissed. The last-named had already expressed to the rising star his willingness to quarrel with his fellow-Ministers, and resign, so that Bute might come in, without seeming to displace anybody. By this crafty arrangement, Bute became a Minister of importance in the Cabinet—a fact of evil omen for both England and America.

In the day of his blossoming fortunes, Pitt had been flattered and caressed by Bute, who had told him that their views were in almost exact accord, and that he considered the great Minister the only man to save the wreck of Royal authority from total destruction. Now, when he found that Pitt would no more be the agent of the Tories than the underling of the Whigs, he plotted against his influence, with the countenance of the young King. The war was still popular; but those were days in which the popular sentiment had scarcely any way of expressing itself, except by rioting and turbulence. The House of Commons was to a great extent elected by corrupt means. In some places, members were returned at the dictation of the aristocracy, whose great landed estates gave them predominance; in others, the King possessed the ruling influence: only in a few large constituencies did the commonalty exercise freely their right of choosing representatives. The General Election of 1761 was managed chiefly in the interests of the sovereign, and it resulted in the return of a House of Commons devoted to the Royal prerogative. Venality was never carried to a more disgraceful pitch than in those spring months of 1761. The borough of Sudbury, which in more recent times held a conspicuous place in the annals of corruption, had the audacity to advertise publicly for a purchaser;* and many others, though not so impudently shameless, were well known to be open to the highest bidder. The King fully availed himself of this discreditable state of things; and yet, only a few days after his accession to the throne, he had acquired great popularity in certain circles by publishing a Proclamation "for the encouraging of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." But in the eighteenth century it was not supposed that morality had anything to do with politics.

By these methods, George III. and his flatterer, the Earl of Bute, obtained an ascendency in the House of Commons. The King was heartily desirous of peace—as it would seem, from motives of humanity. France was disgusted with a contest which, for her, had been fruitful of reverses. The French Minister, the Duke de Choiseul, was beginning to insist that peace was a necessity, since his countrymen had lost the art of making war. Pitt clung tenaciously to his original ideas, and was for striking still fiercer blows against the staggering bulk of France. In England, the peace party found an open supporter in the Duke of Bedford—a more guarded advocate in the Earl of Bute. There were those who would have conceded a great deal to France, for the sake of attaining their objects; but Pitt was still powerful enough to hold his own. The French Ministry made proposals, on the 25th of March, for opening separate negotiations with England. Pitt agreed to the suggestion, but entered on the debate with the most haughty resolve to yield nothing. Choiseul proposed, as the basis of the treaty, that each of the two belligerent nations should (subject to exchanges and equivalents) retain what it had conquered from the other, and held in actual possession on the ensuing 1st of May as regarded Europe, on the 1st of July as regarded the West Indies and Africa, and on the 1st of September as regarded the East Indies. This arrangement was certainly advantageous to England, as the balance of successes was greatly in her favour; and Choiseul was willing that the dates of possession should be

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 37.

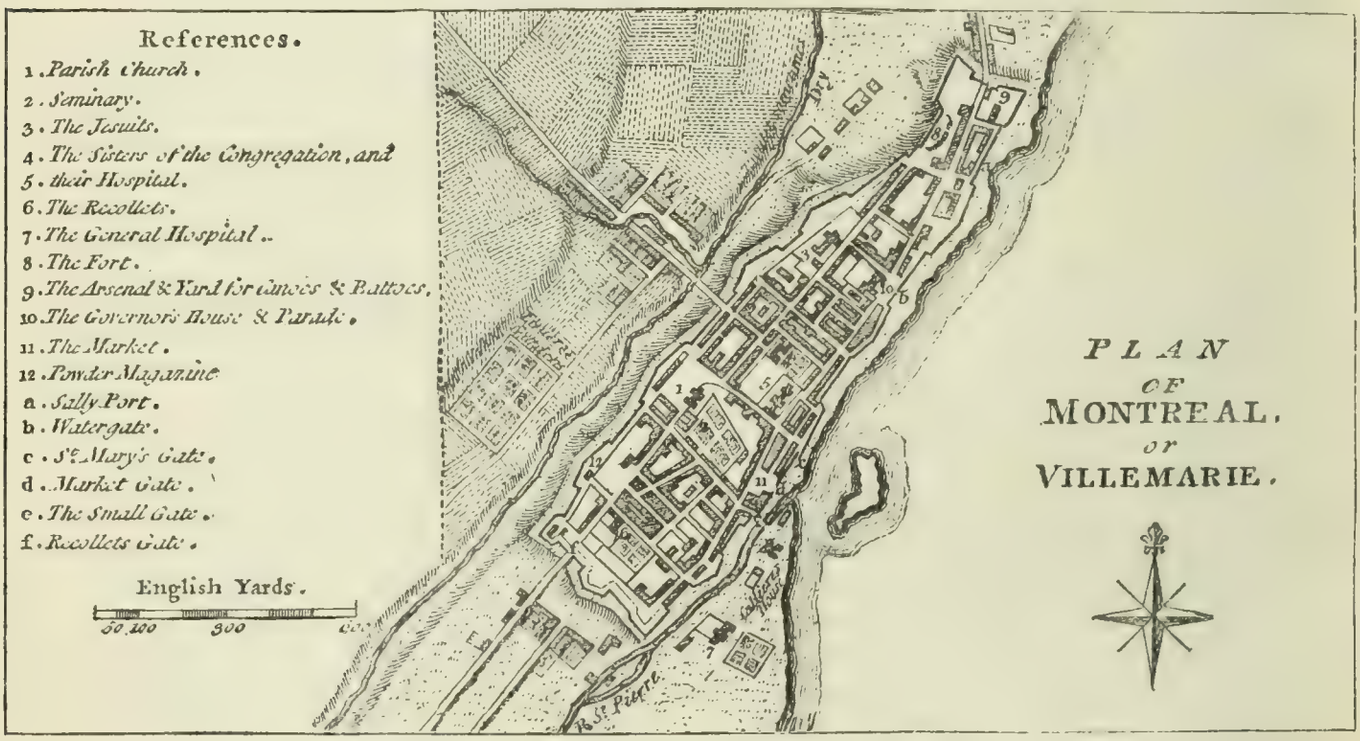
subject to the revision of his rival. The principle was accepted by Pitt, who, however, delayed the settlement of the epochs till, by means of a large fleet which sailed on the very day he gave his answer, he had effected the conquest of Belle Isle, on the coast of Bretagne. It is to be feared that this great Minister was inflamed by the rage of glory, and that on the present occasion his ambition blinded his sense of honour. Belle Isle was reduced by the 7th of June, after an obstinate and heroic defence. The land, which is little better than a rock peopled by humble fishermen, was, in itself, of no value to the conquerors; but its possession by England was an additional humiliation and an additional menace to France, and Pitt believed that it would have the effect of inclining that Power still more to make peace on almost any terms. Previous to this last success, the French envoy in London, M. de Bussy, had fought hard for concessions. The restoration of Canada was mentioned; but Pitt rejected the idea on the instant. Choiseul expressed surprise at this decision to Mr. Hans Stanley, the English envoy at Paris. "I wonder," he remarked, "that your great Pitt should be so attached to the acquisition of Canada. The inferiority of its population will never suffer it to be dangerous; and, being in the hands of France, it will always be of service to you to keep your colonies in that dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada shall be ceded." * Events very soon showed that in this respect Choiseul was a true prophet.

Pitt grew more and more imperious in his policy. He was pushing matters too far—was risking thousands of lives for the vainglory, or rather the mischievous glory, of dragging France into the dust. He demanded everything; he would concede nothing. Choiseul desired to retain a harbour in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the freedom of the fisheries, which were thought to be indispensable to the maintenance of an effective navy. Pitt refused to comply. The French Minister became exasperated, and, shortly afterwards, the capture of Belle-Isle roused the most vehement sense of opposition throughout the whole French nation. There was even some danger of the war taking a fresh start from the negotiations by which it was sought to bring it to an end. But Pitt had by this time many opponents in the Cabinet. The Duke of Bedford boldly questioned his reasonings where others, who equally dissented, shrank in fear from encountering the thunders of his eloquence, the lightning of his scorn. "The endeavour to drive France entirely out of any naval power," said Bedford, "is fighting against Nature, and can tend to no good to this country, but, on the contrary, must cause all the naval Powers in Europe to enter into a confederacy against us for adopting a system of monopoly of all naval power, dangerous to the liberties of Europe." He added that, if it should be decided to carry on the war on another campaign, he for one would wash his hands from all the guilt of the blood that might be shed. For once Pitt had made a mistake by sending out the expedition against Belle-Isle, he had introduced a dangerous element into affairs. The humiliation of France on her own soil had excited the most vehement desire for revenge, and the result was a close alliance between France and Spain. The sovereigns of both countries were Bourbons, and the agreement concluded between them was called the Family Compact. While it was being negotiated, in the course of July, Bussy was instructed by his Government to demand, on behalf of Spain, indemnity for seizures of vessels, the right to fish at Newfoundland, and the demolition of the English settlements in the Bay of Honduras. However disposed some members of the Cabinet may have been to concede these points, Pitt maintained his ascendency. It was unanimously resolved that the proposals were inadmissible, and it was declared to the French envoy that the King would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be mixed up with the question of peace or war between England and France. A few days later—on the 29th of July—Mr. Stanley presented to the French Government the English ultimatum. It was of so sweeping a nature, and was so manifestly designed to secure the superiority of England in America,* the West Indies, Africa, and the East Indies, to say nothing of Europe, that the Duke de Choiseul said he would never put his hand to such terms.

The Family Compact was concluded on the 15th of August, and on the same day France and Spain signed a special convention by which the latter undertook to declare war against England, should peace not be concluded between that Power and France by the 1st of May in the following year. Pitt was well-informed of these matters before they had yet been publicly notified; and when M. de Bussy, on the 13th of September, presented the French ultimatum, which conceded several of the English demands, while still refusing others, the Minister, relying on the renewed appetite for war that would be excited among his own people by the threat of a Franco-Spanish alliance, rejected the proffered terms with scorn. The negotiations for peace were then broken off by the English Government, and Pitt immediately formed the design of declaring

* Bancroft.

war against Spain. The extraordinary energy and soaring genius of the man were stimulated, rather than depressed, by difficulty and peril. To destroy the power of France in the West Indies, and to reduce the whole of Spanish America to a kind of subjection to Great Britain, seemed to him perfectly feasible plans. But neither the King nor the majority of the Government supported these daring views. The question of recalling the English Ambassador from Madrid was discussed at three meetings of the Cabinet, the last of which was held at the beginning of October. So extreme a step found only one advocate besides Pitt himself



PLAN OF MONTREAL. (*From Jeffery's American Atlas.*)

have certainly compelled *us* to leave *him*. But if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this Council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this Board he is only responsible to the King. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that *we* should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measures he proposes." * Two or three days after, Pitt, having first delivered

—Pitt's brother-in-law, Earl Temple. The great dictator was at length brought to bay; but, rousing himself to the full measure of his powers (though his hereditary malady of gout, and the anxieties of office, had by this time greatly reduced his strength), he observed, in proud and almost defiant accents, that he had been called to the Ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself responsible, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him accountable for measures he was no longer allowed to guide. It is said that the President of the Council, Earl Granville, then not far from the close of his long career, replied in words which, if really uttered, showed that Pitt was no longer dreaded as one whom it was not safe to attack. "I find," he is reported to have said, "the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise in writing a statement of his reasons in favour of the policy he had desired to follow, resigned his office into the hands of the King. Temple also quitted the Government, and the peace-making party was now supreme.

While these matters were going on in England, America, secured from danger by the great successes of Wolfe and Amherst, remained in tranquillity. In the earlier part of the year, Pitt, while still in office, had addressed a letter to the provincial Governors, representing that the King was determined to prosecute the war with vigour until the enemy should be compelled to make peace on terms

* The observations of Pitt and Granville on this occasion are to be found in the *Annual Register* for 1761, to which Burke is believed to have furnished them; and their authenticity was never disputed. They are quoted by Earl Stanhope in his "History of England," chap 37.

conducive to the advantage and glory of his crown, and to the welfare, in particular, of his subjects in America. At the same time he required the colonies to co-operate with the Royal policy, by raising troops to the amount of two-thirds of the forces they had contributed for the campaign of the previous year. The provincials responded with energy and goodwill. They repaired and strengthened the various fortified posts in Canada; constructed new works of a defensive character; erected houses and barracks wherever it seemed necessary to maintain garrisons; and watched with sleepless vigilance over the great acquisitions of the war. With the fall of Pitt from power, they lost their great friend; but England was too much involved in conflict to pursue, for the present, any designs which the reactionary party may have conceived. Both the English and the French King desired peace; but circumstances were too strong for them. George III. even suggested, through the Spanish Ambassador in London, that the French Court should renew its last propositions. Choiseul refused in the most decided terms, and affairs advanced towards a new stage. The war with Spain, which Pitt would have anticipated by striking the first blow, was not long in coming. The hostile designs of that Power grew so unmistakably apparent in the late autumn that, before the close of the year, the Earl of Bristol received orders to quit Madrid, where he represented the British Government, and the Spanish Ambassador at London was dismissed. Spain had been practising on the credulity of King George and his Ministers by the most friendly professions, in order that time might be gained; but, with the arrival of the South American treasure-ships in the old country, the demeanour of that Government became so insolent that it was impossible any longer to avoid a rupture. War was declared against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762.



LORD BUTE.

Lord Bute had now become the most influential Minister in the Cabinet, although the Duke of Newcastle, as First Lord of the Treasury, still remained the nominal Premier. The office of Southern Secretary, vacated by Pitt, was filled by the Earl of Egremont, a man of Tory principles and no great ability; and the Privy Seal, which had been held by Lord Temple, was kept in reserve for the Duke of Bedford. One of the earliest official acts of Lord Egremont in 1762 was to despatch a powerful force to Havannah for the reduction of the Spanish settlement there. Previously to this, the English troops on the American continent had received orders to proceed against the French West Indian colony of Martinique; and the provincial Governments were required to support as many colonial regiments as they had contributed in previous years, to replace the regulars in the positions then occupied by them. The provinces were very willing to obey these directions; for the desire of military distinction had taken general possession of colonial society, and it was doubtless a matter of policy to prove that America was equal to her own defence. Moreover, a redundancy of population had of late begun to show itself in several places. Emigrants were passing from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia in not inconsiderable numbers, and a class of idlers had been formed by the events of the last few years, to whom active service in the army was very acceptable. The provincial Governments offered bounties to encourage the enlistment of Americans into the regular forces of England; and in this way about nine hundred men were added by Massachusetts alone to the army sent against the French West Indies. The operations of that army were completely successful. On the 14th of February, 1762, Martinique was taken by the land forces under General Monckton, and the fleet under Admiral Rodney; and the surrender of all the lesser islands belonging to France soon followed, so that the whole of the Caribbees fell into English possession as the consequence of one happy stroke. In the attack on Martinique, great assistance was rendered by the New England troops, who had likewise a share in the subsequent reduction of the Spanish possessions at Havannah. They had been invalided and sent home to their own country from the siege of Martinique; but, finding their health restored on the voyage, they ordered the ships to put back, steered for Havannah, and, reinforcing the regular troops before that place, at a period when their numbers were dangerously reduced, enabled them to conquer the settlement in August. Some weeks earlier, the French had had a brief success. Making a sudden attack on Newfoundland, on the 24th of June, they compelled it to submit; but the island was retaken, on the 18th of September, by a force despatched to its rescue by General Amherst.

Before all these great successes had been accomplished, the Duke of Newcastle had resigned his nominal Premiership, on finding his colleagues and the King opposed to granting a subsidy in aid of Prussia. This was in May. Bute now became the titular, as well as the real, head of the Government, and he soon employed his additional powers in the furtherance of his great desire—the conclusion of a peace. In August, overtures were made by him to the Court of Versailles through Sardinia. They were eagerly accepted, and by the middle of September the Duke of Bedford was representing the English Government at Paris, and the Duke de Nivernois the French Government at London. When news of the negotiations reached America, great anxiety was felt lest England should relinquish Canada, as she had given up Cape Breton after the war of 1744–8. It was known to be a question in the old country whether it would be more advantageous to retain Canada or the French islands in the Caribbean Sea; but to the Americans the arguments seemed all in one direction. Israel Mauduit, a merchant in London, brother of Jasper Mauduit, the agent of Massachusetts, published a pamphlet in which he insisted on the importance of Canada to the well-being of the English colonies. In the year 1760, during a residence in England, Franklin had entered the same field with a little treatise entitled "The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to the Colonies, and the Acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe." The argument was strongly in favour of England retaining Canada as a protection against French encroachments; and this view, which was emphatically Pitt's, prevailed in the end, though the West India islands had their advocates, both in the Cabinet and the country. As the reader is already aware, a good many astute politicians feared—and not without cause, as events soon made manifest—that the Americans, on being delivered from the dread of French conquest, and from the necessity of depending on England for defence, would sever all connection with the mother country. It cannot be doubted that many aspiring minds in America desired the acquisition of Canada for that very reason, and with that very design.

Before the end of 1762, preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. By this treaty, the French King renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia; ceded

Canada and its dependencies to England, together with Cape Breton, and the other islands and coasts adjoining the river St. Lawrence and the gulf of the same name; and disclaimed all reservation of any pretence to require the slightest departure from this general cession and guarantee. In order to remove for the future every occasion of territorial disputes, it was stipulated that the boundaries between the dominions of Great Britain and France on the continent of America should be irrevocably defined by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source as far as the river Iberville, an outlet from the greater stream which strikes off fourteen miles below Bâton Rouge, and, flowing east, enters the river Amité, which falls into Lake Maurepas. Thence the line was to follow the course of the Iberville and the Amité to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain (the southern shore of the latter of which waters is about five miles north of New Orleans), and so on to the sea. To give effect to this stipulation, the French King ceded and guaranteed to the English monarch the river and port of Mobile, and all the French claims and possessions on the left bank of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated. England, in return, gave back to France her West India islands, with the exception of Grenada and the Grenadines, to which France relinquished all claim. To Spain, England restored those Spanish settlements in the West Indies which had been conquered during the war; while Spain, on her part, ceded to England the settlement of Florida, with Fort St. Augustine, the Bay of Pensacola, and all the territory that Spain possessed or claimed on the continent of North America to the east and south-east of the Mississippi. It was stipulated that the inhabitants of the countries ceded by France and Spain should be allowed the enjoyment and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion as far as might be consistent with the laws of England, and that they should retain their civil rights, if they chose to live under the British Government, or should be entitled to dispose of their estates to British subjects, and retire with the produce to any part of the world. These were the chief features of the treaty as concerned America: the other provisions do not belong to this narrative.

Lord Granville, the President of the Council, declared on his death-bed that the war had been the most glorious, and that the peace just signed was the most honourable, that the English nation had ever known. Many, however, formed a different judgment of the peace. When the preliminaries were laid before the House of Commons, in the December of the previous year, Pitt vehemently denounced most of the stipulations, but the House affirmed the contemplated treaty by 319 to 65 votes, while in the Upper Chamber the Opposition did not dare to challenge a division. The country, notwithstanding, was much disappointed that the French and Spanish West Indies, and other acquisitions of the war, were given up. In their zeal for an arrangement, Lord Bute and his colleagues appear to have yielded too much. The peace was denounced as a treacherous and disgraceful capitulation; and Bute was even charged, though seemingly upon insufficient grounds, with receiving a large sum of money for making the terms of the treaty so favourable to France.

Shortly after the ratification of peace, the territories ceded by France and Spain were erected into four distinct Governments, entitled Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. Cape Breton and the adjacent islands were united to the Government of Nova Scotia, and the region situated between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's was annexed to the province of Georgia. Of the two Floridas, the eastern included all comprised in the present State of Florida as far west as the Apalachicola river, while the western extended from that stream to the Mississippi, and from the 31st degree of latitude, on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. Portions of the modern States of Alabama and Mississippi were thus included in West Florida. That part of America had been discovered by the Spaniards in 1512, and a small settlement was formed by them at St. Augustine in 1564. Some French Protestants entered the country about the same time, and it was a question which race would prevail. The Indians were at first won over to the side of the French by the considerate treatment which for awhile they experienced at their hands; but the Spaniards were resolved to tolerate no rivals. They fell upon the French unawares, flayed the Governor alive (so, at least, say the French accounts), and hanged the rest. In 1567, Dominic de Gourgues, a Gascon gentleman, fitted out a vessel at his own charge, re-took the forts, and hanged the Spaniards on the same trees on which they had hanged the French. Nevertheless, the Spaniards retained possession of the country, and, as we have seen, became very troublesome neighbours to the English in South Carolina and Georgia. The subsequent course of this History will show that Florida did not remain very long in the possession of England. It was not until 1819 that it finally ceased to be Spanish, and passed under the Government of the United States.

With the conclusion of the war which conferred

Canada on England, the first epoch of Anglo-American History may be said to terminate. The period of colonisation, and of the slow and difficult formation of self-governing commonwealths in what had previously been a savage desert, is at an end. We stand on the threshold of an independent national life, and have now to consider, not the experiments and trials of a number of provincial communities, but the struggles of a youthful people with the Power which had called it forth.

CHAPTER III.

England left Mistress of America by the Peace of 1763—Designs to alter the Government of the American Colonies—Official School of Politicians—Character of George Grenville—The Bute Ministry—Grenville, Egremont, Halifax, and Charles Townshend—Lord North's Rise in the Crown Service—Erroneous Notions of Colonial Policy—Constitution and Powers of the Board of Trade—Functions of the Secretary of State—Persistent Intrigues of the Board, from 1748, to subvert Colonial Liberties—Description of the Colonial Governments—Public Opinion in the Colonies—Efforts and Sacrifices during the French War—Existing Grievances in America—The Admiralty Courts and the Collection of Revenue—The Prohibition of Trade with Foreigners—Customs' Duties for the Regulation of Commerce—Difficulty of Enforcing these Laws—Writs of Assistance—James Otis before the Superior Judicial Court at Boston—Governor Bernard and the Massachusetts Assembly—Appointment of Judges during the King's Pleasure—The Indians of the Western Territory annexed in 1763—Weakness of British Posts on the Ohio and the Lakes—Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas—The Indian War—Siege of Detroit and of Fort Pitt—Demarcation of Canada, reserving the Lakes and the Mississippi Valley.

THE peace with France and Spain left Great Britain in possession of nearly all on the North American continent which had been disputed with her by foreign Powers. The prospect henceforth of a secure and unchecked dominion in that vast territory of the Western World was offered to the political ambition of English statesmen. It naturally led them to entertain fresh schemes for consolidating and centralising the offices of colonial administration, and augmenting the powers of the Imperial Government over its separate provinces in America. This intention, though seldom openly avowed, had been cherished during the late war by active politicians of different party connections, whose habits or turn of mind disposed them to magnify the official element in State affairs. Among the most prominent and persistent, though unhappily mistaken, representatives of such a characteristic tendency was George Grenville, brother of Lord Temple, and brother-in-law to Pitt; a diligent man of business, skilled in legal and parliamentary forms, and tolerably honest in his dealings with those around him. His great fault was that practical bigotry and stolid obstinacy which men who lack imagination are too apt to contract from their incapacity of feeling with other people, or of seeing matters from different points of view. It is by these austere, inflexible, narrow-minded rulers, with all their presumable rectitude of purpose, that revolutions are provoked.

The King's favourite Minister, the Earl of Bute, had immediately appointed George Grenville Secretary of State for the Northern Department; while to Lord Egremont, the brother-in-law of Grenville, was confided the office of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which, as the reader is aware, comprised the colonies. Lord Halifax, who had already, at the Board of Trade and Plantations, shown his eagerness to force arbitrary measures upon the King's subjects in America, now became First Lord of the Admiralty, to harass them in another way. The Bute Administration included also the clever but fickle Charles Townshend, second son of Viscount Townshend, and Frederick, Lord North, a son of the Earl of Guildford. These two men were destined, within a short time, one after another, to carry on the mischievous work to its natural consummation in the permanent separation of political interests, further signalised by an unhappy war, resulting, under Lord North, in the utter defeat of those sovereign pretensions which they had chosen to set up. But though every one of the persons just named must bear his own share of the blame due to the side which chiefly erred in this great quarrel, it seems certain that the Earl of Halifax, some years before the period now in question, was the first to conceive that disastrous policy, and to prepare for its adoption. He had repeatedly suggested that, upon the termination of the foreign war, Parliament should take in hand the government of America; that it should restrain the powers of the Provincial Houses of Assembly,

and should provide for the maintenance of the Civil Service, and of the magistracy, as well as for a standing military force, by some permanent revenue, to be levied in America under an Act of Parliament. There is no doubt whatever that these intentions were cherished at the Board of Trade, though not encouraged by the chiefs of the Ministry, during the whole course of the French war. Some of the colonists then residing in London, too complaisant either to offer a timely remonstrance or to sound an alarm, were perfectly well aware of the measures designed.* Some of them had even officiously tendered their advice to Ministers upon the kind and method of taxation by the British Parliament which could be imposed with least chance of resistance. So far back as 1755, for instance, in a pamphlet by Mr. Huske, of Massachusetts, who afterwards got into the House of Commons, we find the proposal for the Stamp Act. Not only Pitt during the late war, but Sir Robert Walpole at an earlier period, had met the dangerous proposal to tax the colonists with a decided refusal. But Pitt, though a great presence and power in debate, was not always able to control the private action of his subordinate colleagues. They ceased not to intrigue with the Governors of the colonies—men selected by the Board of Trade, as in the case of Francis Bernard, for that very purpose—who were allowed to urge perpetual complaints against the provincial Legislatures (complaints which were not invariably without reason), and to recommend the substitution of a more peremptory rule by Great Britain. Some of the clergy, amongst whom was Sherlock, Bishop of London, were prompted by their impatient zeal for an Episcopalian establishment in America to meddle with this constitutional question; and it was regarded with interest, upon the same ground, by Archbishop Secker. As the events of the war, in the conquest of Canada and of the Ohio and Tennessee valleys, drew public attention to America, it became a popular topic of writers and speakers in England to insist on making the colonies pay for these gains of empire supposed to be acquired on their behalf. Little was known in England of the efforts and sacrifices which the colonists had loyally borne in the seven years' military struggle; for no British Minister cared to raise his voice in Parliament, and speak in their praise. They were on the distant shore of a broad ocean; they had little power to gratify or to assist the ambitious politicians of London.

The respective official functions of his Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the Lords Commissioners for the regulation of Trade and Plantations, with regard to the colonial administration, had become very unsettled. The Board of Trade, though not always represented in the Cabinet, and possessing an imperfectly defined share of responsible authority, had in course of time got beyond the mere transaction of ordinary business in detail with the colonies, and reception of despatches and accounts, to which it was at first restricted. Under the presidency of Lord Halifax, assisted by Charles Townshend since 1749, it had in practice acquired the powers of a Ministry of State for Colonial Affairs. By an Order in Council dated March 11th, 1752, the patronage of all Crown appointments in the colonies was vested in this Board. The colonial Governors were then directed to correspond with the Board alone, except in cases of particular importance, which exception was understood to mean affairs that might touch the relations of the kingdom with foreign States. But when, in 1761, Halifax and Townshend left the Board, the former to become Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the latter to be Secretary at War, these colonial matters were summarily transferred, or rather were restored, to the Southern Department of the Secretaries of State. This was done upon Lord Bute's accession to the Ministry, of which both Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle were still the leading members. It was probably arranged by Lord Bute and the King with Lord Halifax and Charles Townshend, in order to prevent any interruption of the persistent intrigue against colonial liberties. A few months later, when Lord Bute himself was placed at the head of the Government, Townshend became President of the Board, with all the powers which Halifax had before enjoyed, and with a seat in the Cabinet. But in April, 1763, the office was given to Lord Shelburne, who proved less docile than had been expected for the purposes in view, and who even disputed with Lord Egremont, the Secretary of State, his proper degree of authority at the Board of Trade.† It was quite evident that

* The officials dependent on the Crown, in almost every province, had been apprised of the intention of Ministers. Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the United States (Vol. IV., chap. 16), quotes to this effect the letter of Calvert, Secretary of Maryland, in January, 1760. "It has been hinted to me that, at the peace, Acts of Parliament will be moved for amendment of government and a standing force in America; and that the colonies, for whose protection the force will be established, must bear at least the greatest share of charge. This will occasioh a tax." Calvert, therefore, prepared himself to supply the Board of Trade with information concerning the safest modes of raising a revenue in America by Act of Parliament. The counsels already offered to the English Government by such men as Ellis, Governor of Georgia, Richard Lyttelton, of South Carolina, and Arthur Dobbs, of North Carolina, are quoted in the same page of Bancroft's History.

† The correspondence may be read in the "Life of William, Earl of Shelburne," by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Vol. I.,

Shelburne, who had been useful to Lord Bute, yet was a sincere admirer of Pitt, and a man of liberal sentiments, would not be made the tool of that official clique, namely Halifax, Grenville, and Townshend, already described. Their projects, however, went on apace during these months, notwithstanding the sudden death of Lord Egremont, the King's coolness toward Grenville, and the open hostility of Pitt. The "Great Commoner," as Pitt was still called, was summoned to form a new Ministry on Lord Bute's retirement, but was unable to agree with the King about its composition. Pitt was too full of unforgiving pride and anger, of morose antipathies and morbid self-esteem. Grenville therefore obtained the conduct of the Government in September, 1763; Lord Halifax became Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Lord Hillsborough, one of the same official clique, took the Presidency of the Board of Trade. The political machinery was thus firmly erected for starting that system of British Parliamentary control of the colonial franchises, and of the civil rights of fellow-subjects abroad, which had so long been designed by statesmen too covetous of power.

The real motives of this dangerous policy are not difficult to perceive. There was the pedantic satisfaction of narrow opinions concerning the prerogative of the Imperial Legislature, which would inspire such minds as those of Halifax and Grenville; there was also, in men of less integrity than Grenville, a servile wish to please the young King, who seems to have confounded that principle with his own Royal prerogative. This was a powerful consideration with men of restless ambition like Charles Townshend, who hoped some day to be summoned by his Majesty to the highest post of Government. Lords North and Hillsborough, and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, late private secretary to Lord Bute, were influenced by a similar wish to earn Court favours; and they knew that the King had, from courtierlike and clerical instigation, a strong feeling of personal dislike to the provincial Assemblies of America. But there were also, common to the whole Board of Trade and to the Treasury, the interests of official patronage and the distribution of paid employments in the colonies among their lordships' friends. They had always looked forward to an opportunity of converting the entire administrative service out there into an establishment which should derive its appointments directly from the Crown, but which should be financially supported by a permanent charge, in the way of a Civil List, to be settled upon the colonists or their trade beyond the reach of their representative Legislatures.

It is most important to observe that this design was entertained with great persistency by some departments of the Imperial Government from the time, so far back as 1748, when the Duke of Newcastle exchanged the Southern Secretaryship with the Duke of Bedford, at whose request the Earl of Halifax was then placed at the Board of Trade. That was fifteen years before the occasion, in 1763, when the Tory Ministry made a pretext of the war expenses, incurred meantime in America, to bring forward new projects for taxing the colonies. The pretext was untrue, inasmuch as the colonies had shown their willingness, in a manner to be seen presently, to contribute towards those war expenses, and Parliament was actually repaying the past colonial advances on that behalf. We can hardly fail to discover that the real contention between the British Ministry and the American colonists, during the lifetime of a generation, was for something more precious than money. It was for liberty, and the security of ordinary civil rights; that their social life and industry might be free from the prying, meddling, grasping intrusion of a host of irresponsible officials sent out from England, and countenanced by judges subservient to their patrons in England, the whole establishment being kept up at the cost of the oppressed people. This was the danger which the descendants of those English settlers in America, who in the seventeenth century had quitted their native land for the sake of religious freedom, now saw to be imminent over their heads in the middle of the eighteenth century.

We must look at the actual state of provincial institutions and society, to estimate the means of resisting such treatment. British America, without speaking of the provinces recently won from the French, was divided into a dozen separate communities, with different political constitutions. There were the Royal colonies, the Proprietary colonies, and the Charter colonies of freemen. Of the first class were Virginia, New Jersey, New Hampshire (then including Vermont), New York, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which last had surrendered its charter, in 1751, for the payment of its expenses by the Crown. These Royal colonies were administered almost uniformly by a Governor and Council of Crown appointment, with an Assembly elected by the freeholders. The Government acted under instructions from the Crown, and the acts of the Assembly could be dis-

chap. 4. Lord Shelburne resigned his office, which he had taken in April, in the September of that year.



VISIT OF PONTIAC AND THE INDIANS TO MAJOR GLADWIN.

allowed or repealed by his Majesty in Council. We shall presently see the working of this system in New York. But in the Charter colonies there was a very different state of affairs. In Maryland, the Baltimore proprietary, and the Council of its appointment, had the power of making laws, with the assent of the freemen in their Assembly; but the income from quit-rents, fines, and a fixed toll on the export of tobacco, placed the Lieutenant-Governor almost above the need of proposing new taxes. In thriving Pennsylvania, which had sent Franklin to England for the purpose of advocating a reform in its proprietary government, the privileges yet enjoyed by Thomas and Richard Penn were obnoxious to the people; but the Assembly had the real legislative power. The Deputy-Governor could reject their measures, but could not dissolve or prorogue the Assembly, whose annual votes furnished his support. The New England provinces, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and even the Royal colony of New Hampshire, were in the exercise of practical self-government. Some limitations had indeed been put, in the renewal of their charters, on the political and commercial liberties granted by the Stuart Kings. In the last charter framed for Massachusetts, there was an express clause to establish the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts, which were meant to serve, as will be seen, for the collection of a Customs' revenue. The Rhode Island new charter had reserved an appeal to the King in Council, in questions "of a public nature," from the acts of the provincial Legislature. These partial encroachments on local self-rule, as well as restrictions of the powers of trade in Maryland and Pennsylvania, showed the disposition of the Crown to increase its authority. But the constitution of Rhode Island and Connecticut was thoroughly democratic; the Assembly, elected by the freemen, appointed the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Assistants, who in conjunction with the Assembly made the laws and provided the administration, with the appointment of magistrates and judges. In Massachusetts, while the Council was nominated by the Court of General Assembly, which likewise appointed all the civil servants, the Governor, who had a veto on legislation, was appointed by the Crown. Yet the local and municipal public franchises of New England, more especially in Connecticut and Massachusetts, were admirably complete. Every township had the power of holding its meetings at will, to discuss all matters of public concern; to choose its own local officers for the year, and its representatives in the Assembly of the province; to levy and apply rates for the support of highways, of schools, of churches, and of the poor; and to keep up an armed militia, in which every able-bodied freeman was enrolled.*

The population of the thirteen British colonies, in 1754, before the war with France, amounted to 1,165,000 persons of European race, besides 260,000 negroes. The New England provinces were then estimated to have 425,000 inhabitants; the middle provinces, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania with Delaware, had 457,000; and the rest, with the greater part of the negroes, belonged to the South. Both population and commerce had increased during the French war, in spite of the great losses and disturbance it had caused to our countrymen in America. In 1766, when Franklin gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, he reckoned the number of white men, between sixteen and sixty years of age, at 300,000. The population of his own province, that of Pennsylvania, was at that time 160,000, one-third being Germans, and one-third Quakers; and it had doubled in sixteen years. New York and Massachusetts had increased in a nearly equal proportion. The import and export trade of the colonies had been growing still more rapidly than their population, as their wealth enabled them to buy English manufactures and other foreign produce. Their yearly imports from Great Britain amounted to upwards of two millions sterling. The efforts they had made during the late war to aid the forces of the mother country were quite as great as what England had done for them. They nobly responded to the summons of William Pitt in 1758, to join in the expedition to Canada. Twenty thousand men of their militia and volunteers, at one time nearly twenty-five thousand, were kept under arms to serve with the Royal army, during five or six years, being equipped and maintained at the cost of the colonies. In the campaigns on the St. Lawrence, on the Lakes, on the Ohio, their sturdy valour was exerted. The building and arming of forts and of guardships, the hire of transports, and many services or supplies to the regular troops, were cheerfully undertaken and performed. Massachu-

* Bancroft, Vol. III., chap. 6, on the "Old Thirteen Colonies," draws a glowing picture. "New England had been settled under grants to towns, and the institution of towns was its glory and its strength. It was an aggregate of organised democracies. There, each township was also substantially a territorial parish; the town was the religious congregation; the Independent Church was established by law; the minister was elected by the people, who annually made grants for his support. There, too, the system of free schools was carried to great perfection; so that there could not be found a person born in New England unable to read and write. He that will understand the political character of New England in the eighteenth century must study the constitution of its towns, its congregations, its schools, and its militia."

setts alone, when called upon to raise a quota of 2,300 men, sent forth not less than 7,000 effectives, and kept them in the field to the end of the war; besides manning the forts, supplying three hundred seamen to the Royal navy, and equipping a twenty-gun war-ship, and an armed sloop, at a total yearly cost of £80,000. The colonial war-expenditure, altogether, had left a debt of two millions and a half, laid upon the provincial exchequers; but this debt was being rapidly paid off. We must not forget the large subsidies freely voted by each provincial House of Representatives upon requisitions made by the Crown through their respective Governors. Their loyalty to the Empire, and to King George II. and King George III., had been abundantly proved; and both those Kings had borne emphatic testimony to their "zeal and vigour," in the Royal speeches at the opening or closing of Parliament. The House of Commons had thereupon voted, year by year, from 1759 to 1763, the sum of nearly £200,000, "to enable his Majesty to give proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America, for the expenses incurred by them." In this manner, about £700,000 was repaid, which was not one quarter of what they had expended in the war. So recently as April and May, 1762, the Crown Governor of Massachusetts, Francis Bernard, had formally commended its Legislature and people,* for "the unanimity and despatch with which they had complied with the requisitions of his Majesty." He bore witness that they had "acted under no other influence than a sense of their duty, as members of a general empire," and from "motives of loyalty and public spirit." Unfortunately, however, this devotion to the interests of the Empire, and to the well-being of the colonies themselves, had been preceded by a period of factious opposition, and of disregard of the common safety. The readiness with which the provinces allowed the French to invade their frontiers, while they quarrelled among themselves or with the Home Government, had fostered the designs of English officialism.

The Ministerial covert design against American constitutional liberty was long antecedent to those questions of taxation, of tariff, duties and stamps, which finally brought about the American Revolution. There were certain men among the colonists, some of them misguided, some venal traitors to their fellow-citizens, who had been privy to a series of preceding intrigues, and overtures or approaches to political usurpation. They had corresponded with members of the Board of Trade in London, ever since 1748, upon the most convenient means of establishing a revenue and an administration which should not be dependent on the votes of the Representative Assembly. But that was a scheme threatened in the future. The immediate grievances and perils which the colonies already felt, and those which they had narrowly escaped, were sufficiently serious.

Soon after the beginning of the late war, the rule was laid down, by an Order of the King in Council, in violation of colonial statutes, that troops might be quartered in the colonies without the consent of their Legislature; while it was decreed also that their own local militia should be put under the Mutiny Act. The colonists, however, were more disposed to resent the exercise of a jurisdiction by the Admiralty Courts, at Boston and other seaports, in the enforcement of fiscal regulations. The strict lawfulness of the actual cause of complaint in this particular instance would appear to be questionable. The provincials had been accustomed to carry on a trade with the Spanish and French American colonies. It was a trade forbidden, or subjected in time of peace to prohibitory duties, by British legislation, in the interest of our own West Indian possessions, and of their mercantile connections at home. The statute passed in the sixth year of George II., chap. 13, forbade the import of foreign rum, and heavily taxed that of foreign sugar, in the British colonies. The people of Boston and New York did not offer to dispute the authority of Great Britain to enact a restrictive commercial policy. Parliament might impose Customs' duties "for the regulation of trade," but not for the sake of a revenue, on the foreign merchandise brought to colonial ports. This was no infringement of their political rights, and they relied upon mere smuggling to defeat the prohibitory law. No men in Boston had more greedily engaged in the contraband traffic than some of the partisans of arbitrary government in Massachusetts. But it was very difficult to enforce the exaction of these Customs' duties, which the ordinary colonial officials forbore to collect, under the influence of some of the New England shipowners and merchants. No class of citizens, however much

* The following is the message of his Excellency, who represented the British Government, on the 27th of May, 1762:—"Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. Everything that has been required of it hath been most readily complied with; and the execution of powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops, hath been as full and complete as the grant of them was. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field, as they have been this year; the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the General Courts, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King."

averse to smuggling, could like the method of proceeding. The conduct of the Admiralty agents and Crown revenue officers was sometimes harsh and vexatious, and certainly unlike the proper way of dealing with charges before a civil magistrate. It came to be understood that the executive officers of the Civil Service in the colony, with the tacit approbation of the Legislature, would decline to render any assistance to the Admiralty Courts, or to the Crown officers, in the enforcement of Acts of trade and navigation. In February, 1761, upon an instance of such refusal, the superior judicial tribunal, in which Hutchinson presided, was asked to issue a writ compelling those whose aid was sought to serve the execution of these obnoxious Acts. The law under which this writ was demanded was an Act of Parliament, in the reign of William III., which had never been adopted by the colonial Legislature. The advocate on the popular side was an eloquent barrister named James Otis, who was enthusiastically devoted to ideas of liberty and patriotism. He vehemently denied the right of Parliament to make laws for their commonwealth, and delivered a speech of fiery indignation, which aroused a strong feeling in the public mind. The judges of the Court, not daring to pronounce their own decision in favour of the revenue officers, adjourned the case, and by the next term procured a judgment from Westminster to that effect. They were obliged in the meantime to hear another speech from the popular Boston advocate upon his motion for the reservation to public use of a share of the contraband forfeiture, according to law, from the booty which was obtained by the revenue officers and informers. These incidents, having stirred up the provincial spirit of independence, were in September, 1762, followed by a dispute between the House of Assembly, on the one hand, and Governor Bernard with his Council, on the other, upon an item of unauthorised expenditure for the fitting-out of a sloop of war.

A subject of quarrel in the province of New York was of perhaps still greater importance. The highest judicial appointment there, upon the death of the late Chief Justice in 1761, had been conferred upon a Boston lawyer, not by the usual tenure of such offices, "during good behaviour," which means for life, as in the case of English judges, but "during the King's pleasure." The provincial Legislative Assembly, jealous for the independence of the judges in New York, passed vigorous resolutions addressed to the Governor, and refused the grant of a salary to the newly-appointed judge. On the representations submitted to his Majesty by the Board of Trade, the Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, in December, 1761, gave general instructions to all colonial Governors that they should issue no judicial commissions but "during the King's pleasure." This was a most pernicious innovation, against which the leading members of the Bar, in New York and New England, protested as became their liberal profession.

Before entering upon the narrative of those transactions in the British Government and Parliament, which completely altered the relations of America to England, there remains to be noticed a brief conflict with the Indians of the western territory lately won from France—an after-clap of the war which ended in the year 1763. The whole of that extensive region, westward of the Pennsylvania mountains and north of the Ohio river to the shores of Lake Erie, Lake Huron, and Lake Michigan, was a forest inhabited by numerous warlike tribes, the Delawares, the Senecas, the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Wyandots and Pottawatamies, the Ottawas, the Ojibways or Chippewas, and the Hurons, partially subject to French influence. These people, whose character and habits are vividly portrayed in Longfellow's poem of "Hiawatha," had become in some degree attached to the sociable and gallant Frenchmen, settlers and soldiers, the dealers in cheap European luxuries, and the Roman Catholic missionary priests. It was an unwelcome change for the western Indians that the French establishments among them should give place to those of the sterner and stronger English, who had never mingled amicably with their wild neighbours on the Atlantic shores. They perhaps failed to understand immediately that the cessation of the war between King Louis and King George, upon the terms ratified at Paris, would involve their own submission to the dominion of those accustomed foreign enemies, whom they had been taught by their French protectors to hate and despise. So it came naturally to pass that, in the spring and early summer of 1763, the preparations of the English military for occupying this western country provoked a stealthy movement through the forest of men gathering for a sudden leap of deadly intent. Sir Jeffery Amherst, who was still in command of the English troops, was inclined to underrate the forces and martial skill of the Indian population, when the officer posted at Miami detected the sending of a bloody wampum-belt, which was their secret signal, to the tribes on the Wabash.

Except at Fort Pitt, on the Ohio, and Detroit, on the banks of the river connecting Lake Huron or Lake St. Clair with Lake Erie, the British posts were wretchedly feeble. Scattered at wide intervals, many days' journey from one another in

the pathless woods, they were mere block houses, usually guarded by an ensign, a sergeant or corporal, and a dozen or a score of soldiers. The fort at Detroit, indeed, commanded by Major Gladwin, had more adequate defences. Near the French village of thriving peasant-farmers was a stockade, twenty feet in height, enclosing a circuit of twelve hundred yards, within which stood the houses or huts of the garrison. This consisted, in the first week of May, only of the remnant of the 80th Regiment, which now mustered but a hundred and twenty men, with three small guns and as many mortars, scarcely fit for use; but two armed vessels lay in the river. The principal native chief in that district was Pontiac, ruler of the Ottawa tribe, who seems to have been the chosen head of a wide confederacy, at this time, for the destruction or expulsion of the English. He visited Detroit once or twice, with peaceful and friendly professions, accompanied by a large retinue, bearing concealed knives, tomahawks, and guns under their blankets. Major Gladwin, who had been warned against an intended massacre in the midst of feasting or speech-making, took care to keep a guard at hand during these interviews, and Pontiac went away, but soon returned with an army to besiege the fort. He at the same time sent word to the French officers still on duty in Illinois, where the cession had not yet been completed, promising to kill all the English, and that the Indians would carry on the war, as their own war, another seven years. Detroit was closely blockaded during May, June, and July, until the garrison became short of provisions.

The minor forts and remote military posts, those of Sandusky, near the upper end of Lake Erie, St. Joseph, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan, and Forts Mackinaw, Miami, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, Venango, and Ouatanon, in different parts of the country from Pennsylvania to Indiana, were presently surprised by the savage foe, who in some instances gained admission under the guise of playful or convivial friendship. The garrisons in the more distant and lonely places were slaughtered; others were bound and carried off for hostages; but, all over the country, hundreds of peaceful farmers or traders, with the women and children of their families, were cruelly slain. The most important stronghold of English dominion west of the Alleghanies was Fort Pitt, under the command of Captain Ecuyer, supported by Fort Ligonier, fifty miles distant. It was attacked, at the beginning of June, by a large force of Delawares, Mingoes, and Shawnees, who had purchased muskets, gunpowder, and lead from reckless English traders. Captain Ecuyer had about three hundred soldiers, besides officers, in Fort Pitt, but was encumbered with the charge of two hundred women and children. He repaired and augmented the defensive ramparts with log walls and palisades, and did all that skilful diligence could effect with the means he had at his disposal. The savages, increasing their force and boldness towards the end of June, as they gathered up from their successful assaults on the dispersed English posts, thrice summoned Ecuyer to yield, assuring him of an unmolested retreat. As he stoutly refused, the siege was more closely pressed; the enemy digging holes in the ground before the ramparts, and there taking shelter while they annoyed the garrison with incessant volleys of musketry, and with burning arrows to fire the woodwork. This continued through the month of July.

Detroit, in the meantime, though accessible by navigation from Lake Erie, whereby the British forces at Niagara might be sent to its relief, had suffered, from its persistent siege by Pontiac, a greater peril. The first party that landed at the mouth of the Detroit river was cut off or dispersed by the Indians there. In June, a schooner arrived at the fort, with a reinforcement of sixty men. On the 29th of July, Captain Dalyell, with two hundred and sixty, made good his entrance into the beleaguered stockade. He came with Sir Jeffery Amherst's express orders to lose no time in attacking the besiegers at their camp two miles up the river. Notwithstanding the contrary advice of Major Gladwin, this was rashly attempted on July 31st, with a disastrous result. The English, after marching along the river-bank till they reached the Indian breastworks, were thrown into confusion by a sudden discharge of musketry, which killed twenty, and wounded forty or fifty, Dalyell himself being one who fell. The siege now became still more formidable, the numbers of the enemy being raised to upwards of a thousand. When the news was brought to General Amherst, at New York, he denounced all the Lake Indians, with intemperate and undignified bitterness, as "the vilest race of beings that ever infested the earth, whose riddance from them is a meritorious act for the good of mankind." He promised £100 to any man who should kill "that cowardly villain Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas," and desired the officers of his army to "take no prisoners, but put to death all that fall into your hands of the nations who have so unjustly and cruelly committed depredations." There were some of the colonists, however, who did not approve of such precepts and practices in warfare. The Pennsylvania Assembly

once more, while voting the instant levy of its militia for the defence of the frontier, declined to put them under the orders of the British General. Reproaches on this account were again repeated against the colonists, in the official correspondence with the Home Government.

But the struggle begun in the western wilds by Pontiac, and not at all supported by the French, was drawing near its end. Colonel Bouquet, advancing by orders of Sir Jeffery Amherst through Southern Pennsylvania with part of two Highland regiments, passed by Carlisle and Bedford, crossed the Alleghanies, and reached Fort Ligonier on the 2nd of August. He led about five hundred soldiers, with a long train of pack-horses, oxen, and sheep, to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt. Twice on its farther road, at Edge Hill and Bushy Run, he was encountered by the Indians, who fought with great valour and pertinacity, so that one quarter of the English were wounded or killed. This was on the 6th of August, and four days afterwards the safety of Fort Pitt was secured. Detroit was also saved by reinforcements in September; but on the 14th of that month a convoy was intercepted near Niagara, by the Senecas, and was entirely destroyed, with the slaughter of seventy men. It is creditable to the French officer, De Noyon, then in command at Fort Chartres, Illinois, that he made great exertions, in October, to pacify the Indian Tribes from the Ohio to the Lakes, and everywhere east of the Mississippi. He sent wampum-belts and calumets with messages to their twenty-five nations, and more especially to Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, to desire that their war with the English might cease. Pontiac and his allies loyally obeyed this summons, and a stop was put to hostilities by the close of November.



PRIMEVAL FOREST AND INDIAN LODGES.

The political distribution of those vast territories so recently annexed to the British Empire was a subject of anxious debate in London between the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade. Here again Lord Egremont's views, or rather the views of Townshend and Grenville, his overbearing colleagues, did not coincide with Lord Shelburne's. The latter was averse to the proposal that Canada, denoting at that time merely Lower Canada, should be used as the handle of a vast military administration to cover all the western parts of the Continent, as far as the Mississippi, including the southern as well as northern shores of the great Lakes, and the Ohio valley with its tributaries. Such an arrangement would have placed the older English

colonies on the Atlantic shores in a very disadvantageous position, and would have debarred them from all that they might gain by the French cession of the West. The Board of Trade, however, was happily at this moment, in June, 1763, under the direction of Lord Shelburne; and his opinions, St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Lake Champlain, to the west as far as Lake Nipissing, which would have excluded nearly all the peninsula of Upper Canada, between Lakes Erie and Ontario and Lake Huron. At the same time, the south-eastern boundary was so defined as to give Canada only



SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

expressed in an official reply to the minutes of the Secretary of State, were allowed to prevail.* The westward and southward limits of the province of Canada, or Quebec as it was at first called, were therefore fixed by a line drawn from the river that strip of land on the right bank of the St. Lawrence which sheds its waters northward into that river; leaving to the New England colonies, or to Nova Scotia, all that looks towards the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean.

* Life of Earl of Shelburne, chap. 4, containing the chief passages of this discussion. "If this great country," he said, "should be annexed to the government of Canada, we are apprehensive that the powers of such government would not be properly carried into execution, either in respect to the Indians or British traders, unless by means of the garrisons at the different posts and forts in that country, which must contain the greatest part of your Majesty's American forces, and the Governor of Canada would become virtually Commander-in-Chief, or constant and inextricable disputes would arise between him and the commanding officers of your British troops." A few weeks later brought news of Pontiac's war, when Sir Jeffery Amherst sent troops from Pennsylvania and New York to rescue the Western forts.

CHAPTER IV.

Financial Schemes of the Grenville Ministry—Military Establishment in America—Customs' Duties for Revenue—Lord Shelburne evades giving his Opinion—Grenville and his Colleagues—His Resolutions for taxing America, proposed in March, 1764—The Project of Stamp Duties—Difference between Internal and External Taxes—Advice of Colonists in London—Compensating Boons to America—The King's Speech in closing the Session—State of Affairs in America—New Hampshire Boundary Question—Public Opinion in the Colonial Provinces—Admiralty Courts' Jurisdiction—Restriction of the Colonial Paper Currency—Drain of Specie by Taxation, and Monetary Derangement by Stoppage of Contraband Trade—Popular Barristers: James Otis, Morin Scott, and Patrick Henry—Reception of Grenville's Measures in America—Boston Town Meeting—Samuel Adams—The Massachusetts Committee—Massachusetts House of Assembly—Excitement in New York—The "Rights of the Colonists"—The Provincial Assemblies—Addresses to the Crown and to Parliament—General Protest against Taxation by the British Parliament—Hutchinson's Remonstrance with the Ministry.

THE financial position of the British Government, in 1763, was such as to excite the anxious consideration both of King George III. and of Grenville, as both were of a thrifty disposition. The public debt had been increased to one hundred and forty millions sterling, besides a floating debt of fourteen millions. The seven years' war, which had left so great a burthen on the kingdom, had been waged partly in Germany, for the sake of the King's Hanoverian possessions and connections; and its expenses partly accrued from the engagements to pay our German allies, whose claims were magnified without shame or scruple. But some portion of the new debt had been incurred in America; and it was expected that the keeping of our large territorial conquests there would fix a heavy annual charge upon the Imperial exchequer in future. A standing army of twenty regiments, or ten thousand men, was to be maintained in America, by the resolutions which the Secretary-at-War laid before the House of Commons in March of this year. Charles Townshend at the same time explained that the cost of their support would be borne by England only during the first twelvemonth. It was intended by Ministers, he said, that the support of these regiments afterwards should be defrayed entirely by the colonists.* But a beginning was at once to be made with the raising of a revenue from America by immediate taxation, by way of giving a pledge and material guarantee to the English landed interest that the colonies should pay for the augmentation of the military establishments. With this view, as it appears, while Charles Townshend was yet at the Board of Trade in Lord Bute's Ministry, alterations were proposed in those prohibitory customs' duties on the import of foreign rum, sugar, and molasses into the English colonies, the enforcement of which at Boston had provoked much discontent. The plan devised now was to reduce these duties to a scale of rates that would not be prohibitory, so as to make them yield a certain amount of revenue; more stringent measures being at the same time adopted to enforce their collection. This was an artful contrivance, to give the appearance, not of imposing new taxes, but of lowering taxes which had been imposed in the reign of George II. The House of Commons was therefore entertained with tales of the resistance of the colonists to the levy of those duties on French or Spanish sugars, rums, and molasses; and it was represented that their collection, while it cost £7,000 or £8,000 a year, produced only £2,000 a year; as if the object with which they were imposed had been to yield a profit, not to carry out a protectionist commercial policy.

Resolutions were brought forward accordingly by Charles Townshend, on the 9th of March, and were readily passed, to the effect above described; after which a Bill founded upon these resolutions was framed by a Select Committee, of which Lord North was a member; but, the session approaching its close, the Bill was withdrawn on the 29th of that

* The following extract from a London correspondent's letter, dated March 27th, which appeared in Weyman's *New York Gazette*, is preserved by Mr. Bancroft:—"I cannot omit mentioning a matter much the subject of conversation here, and which, if carried into execution, will in its consequences greatly affect the colonies. It is the quartering sixteen regiments in America, to be supported at the expense of the provinces. The inutility of these troops in time of peace, though evidently apparent, might not be complained of by the people of America, were the charge defrayed by England. But to lay that burthen on the plantations, already exhausted by the prosecution of an expensive war, is what I believe you would not have thought of. The money, it is said, will be levied by Act of Parliament, and raised on a stamp duty, excise on rum distilled on the continent, and a duty on foreign sugar and molasses, &c., by reducing the former duty on these last-mentioned articles, which it is found impracticable to collect, to such a one as will be collected. This manner of raising money, except what may arise on the foreign sugars, &c., I apprehend, will be thought greatly to diminish even the appearance of the subject's liberty, since nothing seems to be more repugnant to the general principles of freedom than the subjecting a people to taxation by laws in the enactment of which they are not represented."

month. Six weeks later, when Lord Shelburne had succeeded Townshend at the Board of Trade, upon Lord Bute's resignation, the new Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, addressed to that Board some general questions concerning the new establishments to be formed in America. One question was this: "In what way, least burthensome and most palatable to the colonies, can they contribute towards the support of the additional expense which must attend their civil and military establishments upon the arrangement which your Lordships shall propose?" The expediency and propriety of taxing the colonists were points here quietly assumed to stand beyond question. This was the view propounded by Grenville and his colleagues, but it never gained the assent of Lord Shelburne. In his reply, on behalf of the Board of Trade, to the inquiries of the Secretary of State, he contented himself with saying:—"On this point, one of the highest importance, it is entirely out of our power to form any opinion which we could presume to offer for your Majesty's consideration, as most of the materials necessary to form a just and accurate judgment upon it are not within reach of our office." It was certainly not within the official competency of the Board of Trade to decide a grave question of constitutional law. The new Attorney-General, Charles Yorke, may be supposed to have advised Government upon this occasion; and his opinion was already shown, by his having been one of the Select Parliamentary Committee to draw up the first taxing Bill. Lord Shelburne, as we have seen, did not remain many weeks longer at the Board of Trade, and soon became an active member of the Opposition. The affair of John Wilkes and his prosecution for an obscene libel then engrossed public attention: America was little regarded. As soon as the Ministry was reconstituted, with Grenville for its virtual chief, Lord Halifax for Secretary of State, and Lord Hillsborough at the Board of Trade, they prepared to execute the policy which they had in view. The Commissioners of the Stamp Duties were ordered, in September, to furnish the draft of a Bill for imposing stamp duties upon his Majesty's subjects in America and the West Indies. In adopting this measure, Grenville seems to have taken the advice of Jenkinson, his chief secretary to the Treasury, contrary to that of Richard Jackson, his secretary for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Grenville himself knew little about the colonies, and did not share the wish of Halifax to bring their entire administration into mere dependence on the Crown. He was more desirous to uphold the strict mercantile monopoly of Great Britain in the colonies, and to lighten the burthen of taxation in England by laying what he could upon his American fellow-subjects.

With these objects in view, before the meeting of Parliament towards the end of 1763, Grenville issued a set of instructions to the colonial Governors, and to the naval and military commanders in America, for the more rigorous enforcement of existing laws concerning trade and navigation. All officers, both of the army and navy, with the troops and crews under their command, were to co-operate with the revenue officers, and were to be rewarded by getting a large share of the forfeitures, adjudged by the Courts of Admiralty without trial by jury, and with an appeal only to the King in Council. This was Grenville's practical response to the opposition raised in Massachusetts, during two years before, to the execution of the revenue laws; and it was by no means adapted to conciliate the people in the colonies, or persuade them to accept new schemes of taxation. But when the session of Parliament opened, on the 15th of November, there was not a single member of either House who seemed able to foresee the coming storm in the western horizon. The King's Speech once more called attention to "the heavy debts contracted during the late war, for many of which no provision had been made." The renewal of the land tax, which would produce two millions sterling, was readily voted; but it was quite understood in the House of Commons that America should be made to pay; and Mr. Huske, the American M.P. for Maldon, officiously promised to show how they might exact from the colonies half a million sterling of new revenue, which would give the English landed interest such relief as it wanted.* The session thus opened went on, passing over Christmas, into the first months of 1764; and the 9th of March arrived, which was a critical day in the history of the British American Empire.

On that day, in Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Grenville appeared with his Budget, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated his intentions with regard to taxing the American colonies. Besides new import duties, to be immediately laid upon their trade, he would, in the next session, bring in a Bill for stamp duties. "He now gave notice of this, because he understood that some people entertained doubts of the power of Parlia-

* This speech was uttered either on the 5th or 6th of December, in Committee of Supply on the military forces in America, or on the 7th or 8th, in Committee of Ways and Means on the land-tax. There was talk of reducing the land-tax one shilling in the pound, which would relieve the landowners to the amount of half a million. (Bancroft.)

ment to impose internal taxes in the colonies. Although, of all the schemes which had fallen under his consideration, he thought a Stamp Act was the best, he was not so wedded to it that he could not give it up for any one that might appear more eligible. If the colonies themselves thought any other mode would be more expedient, he should have no objection to come into it by Act of Parliament." But he challenged his opponents to discuss, if they thought fitting, the right of Parliament to lay any tax, internal or external, upon the colonies. Not a voice of those present in the House of Commons at this sitting was heard to deny the Minister's proposition. Next day, at a very late hour of the evening, and in a very thin House, he submitted a series of resolutions to the Committee of Ways and Means, setting forth the details of the new taxation. The Act of the 6th George II., chapter 13, so far as it prohibited the import of foreign rum and other spirits into the British colonies, was to be continued; but foreign sugar and molasses were to be subjected to certain duties for revenue, and duties were likewise to be imposed on foreign coffee, wine, silk, cambric, calico, and indigo. The 13th resolution was as follows:—"That the produce of all the said duties, and also of the duties which shall be raised, from and after the 29th of September, 1764, by virtue of the said Act made in the sixth year of his late Majesty, shall be paid into his Majesty's Exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by Parliament towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." Grenville is entitled to some credit for making this reservation —an example which was not followed by his successors in the same line of policy, Charles Townshend and Lord North. It was Grenville's purpose to secure the application of whatever Parliament should compel the Americans to pay, simply to keeping up the military defences of America, not to increase the power of the Crown over American official salaries.* But the fourteenth resolution of the series, which he got the House of Commons to pass on this occasion, was one of a most ill-advised and unfortunate character. It had been emphatically disapproved, in private, not only by Jackson, the able secretary to the Exchequer, but also by Lord Hillsborough, President of the Board of Trade. This resolution was—"That towards further defraying the said expenses, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations."

The impolicy of attempting this method of taxation in the colonies, which Walpole and Pitt had considered and declined, was in vain represented to Grenville. In the minds of colonial politicians, according to nearly all their own speakers and writers, an important distinction was made between external taxes on the import of merchandise into the colonies, and taxes levied in the interior of a province upon its domestic interests of property and business. The former might be supposed to belong to the general system of regulations for British commerce, with regard to foreign competitors and rivals, in which system the American colonists professed their willingness to acquiesce, though still disposed, at least in Massachusetts, to persist in a contraband traffic with the Spanish and French West Indies. But they would not submit to any internal taxation of the colonies by a Parliament at Westminster, because it seemed to be an infringement of their rights of domestic self-government. The charges of the Post-office they did not regard as a tax,† but as a payment for service done, and a payment to which no man was obliged who did not send or receive letters by post. But the use of stamps would be compulsory; for without them no one could inherit or bequeath an estate, recover a debt, secure a loan or contract, or enter into the matrimonial state. It was, moreover, obvious that the soreness of feeling provoked by this objectionable impost would be continually and universally kept in irritation by the daily need of using stamps under the proposed law. These and other arguments against the Stamp Act were privately submitted to Grenville by several persons in London, connected with America, favourable in general to the policy of the King's Government. Among those persons were Thomas Penn, one of the Pennsylvania proprietors, and Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. On the other hand, Jasper Mauduit,

* Bancroft observes that for this reason the Crown officers in America were lukewarm in support of Grenville, when they learnt that the taxes were to be applied exclusively to keeping up the army. What Bernard and others sought was a permanent civil list, laid upon perpetual funds. "But Grenville, accepting the opinions of his secretary Jackson, refused to become the attorney for American office-holders, or the founder of a stupendous system of colonial patronage and corruption. . . . When Halifax urged the payment of the salaries of the Crown officers in the colonies directly from England, in accordance with the system which had been maturing since 1748, Grenville would not consent to it; and though Halifax, at a formal interview with him, at which Hillsborough and Jenkinson were present, became extremely heated and eager, Grenville remained inflexible. . . . . He was narrow-minded and obstinate; but it was no part of his intention to introduce despotic government." (Bancroft, Vol. IV., chap. 9, note.)

† Franklin's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, February, 1766. Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV., page 192.

the agent for Massachusetts, made a merit of his servile acquiescence; and Knox, the agent for Georgia, likewise assented to the stamp duty. Mr. Huske, already named, now repented of his eagerness to promise a colonial revenue, and entreated a respite, that the colonists might speak for themselves; while Thomas Pownall, once Governor of Massachusetts, who afterwards became a champion in Parliament of American liberties, was one of the most forward to praise the measures of taxation proposed by Grenville. That Minister relied, moreover, on granting some valuable boons to colonial trade for the mitigation of the colonists' displeasure. Of these particular indulgences the most considerable was that of relieving the American whale-fishery from the differential duty on its products hitherto maintained for the advantage of British whalers, who had also been encouraged by a direct pecuniary bounty. The rice grown in South Carolina and Georgia was allowed to be sent to foreign countries. The growth of hemp and flax in America was to be rewarded with a bounty; and certain drawbacks were allowed on foreign goods exported from Great Britain to the colonies. With these supposed compensations, the Minister persisted in his design, while he repeatedly expressed feelings of regard and tenderness for the King's subjects in America. He remarked that they now had an opportunity, by signifying their assent to the stamp duty, of making a precedent for their being consulted in future, before any tax should be imposed on them by Parliament. If they could, however, propose some more convenient mode of taxation, which should be equally efficacious, he would give it all due consideration. But if any party objected to the Americans being taxed at all, they might save themselves the trouble of discussion, for he was determined that the colonies should contribute to the national revenue.

The other fiscal measures relating to the colonial tariff were embodied in a Bill which was presented on March 14th by a committee, of which Grenville, Jenkinson, and Lord North were members. This Bill, meeting with no opposition, was rapidly passed through both Houses, and instantly obtained the Royal assent on the 4th of April. The King, in closing that session of Parliament, commended members for "the wise regulations which had been established to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of the Crown, and to secure their commerce with Great Britain." In his narrow-mindedness and obstinacy, the head of the State was unable to perceive that Parliament had entered a path of the most dangerous tendency—a path that might lead, as indeed it did lead, to revolution and civil war. We must, of course, be careful how we judge by after events, yet it is impossible to doubt that the statesmen of England had evidence enough before them to form a correct idea of the temper of the American people. The wishes and resolves of the colonists were disregarded, rather than unknown; and it was hoped to subdue opposition by overwhelming force.

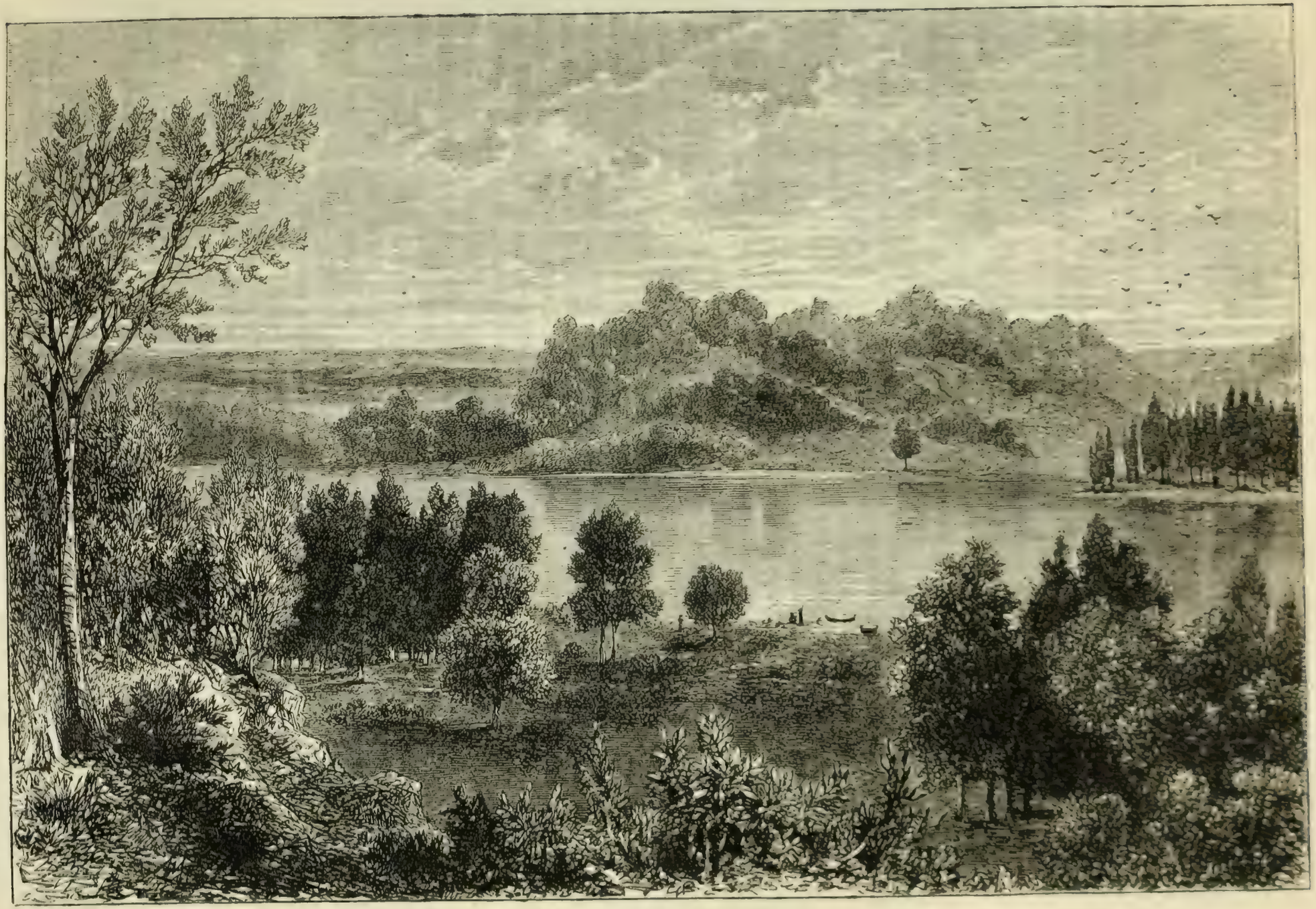
Meanwhile, till the full import of the British Government policy was realised in America, there were other matters of special concern to engage the attention of the different provinces. Numerous parties of hardy adventurers from Pennsylvania, from Virginia, and from North Carolina, soon made their way beyond the Alleghanies to the banks of the Cumberland and Tennessee. The vast region of the Mississippi, though forbidden to settlers by the authority of Royal Orders in Council, was freely ranged over and squatted upon by these independent pioneers of civilisation. The idea of a continental English dominion in America, instead of a group of detached and isolated provinces, now grew to large proportions. At the same time, there were some undetermined boundary questions affecting the more settled and populous territories. A matter of considerable interest to New England was the disposal of the back country situated between the Connecticut river, the Hudson, and Lake Champlain. This territory was claimed by New York; and the Governor, Colden, was urgent with the Board of Trade that it should be allotted to his province, instead of to Massachusetts or New Hampshire. Those eastern provinces, he said, were animated by a Republican and levelling spirit, whereas New York was more aristocratic; and it was therefore more proper that the latter should have its jurisdiction enlarged. The King's Government decided the matter as Colden proposed. But the temper of the New York people, by that time was not at all docile to the Royal authority.

It happened in New York, as regards the dispute on the tenure of judicial appointments, as it did in Massachusetts with that concerning the obnoxious method of procedure against contraband traders, and in other provinces with other grievances of a different nature. There were many concurrent sources of colonial dissatisfaction in the several portions of British America shortly before the announcement that they were to be taxed by the Parliament at Westminster. Though Pennsylvania, with Franklin for its counsellor and spokesman, was even then soliciting direct government by the Crown, to supersede that of its proprietary

lords, it had to complain of troublesome militia regulations, and interference with its legislation touching the use of a paper currency. This last, indeed, was a matter in which general inconvenience was caused by one of the measures that Grenville had already pushed through Parliament. The provincial Assemblies, during the late war, had been accustomed to issue bills which were made a legal tender in payment of debts. As they had become greatly depreciated, and merchants in England were thereby put to heavy losses, it was enacted, immediately after the peace, that such bills should not in future be issued, to be put in circulation as a legal currency. The salutary effects which this law might have produced were in some degree thwarted by the derangement of the colonial monetary system through other recent measures of British legislation. It was by the prohibited trade with the Spanish American dominions that the colonists had obtained a supply of the precious metals, enabling them to remit specie to England in payment for the goods they purchased. This supply was now cut off by the sudden adoption of extraordinary means to suppress that long-established traffic which had, though contrary to law, been practised with the security and punctuality of legitimate commerce. At the same time, they were required to pay the new taxes in gold and silver, transmitted to England for the Imperial exchequer; so that the scarcity of money in the colonies was severely felt, and many respectable citizens were threatened with the utter ruin of their private affairs.

The prominence at this time assumed by some eloquent pleaders at the bar in the colonial courts of justice, where cases affecting the Royal prerogative had come on for trial, was a rather ominous symptom. At Boston, upon the occasion related in our last chapter, the enthusiastic oratory of James Otis had won for him great influence with the people; but Oxenbridge Thacher was also esteemed a notable advocate of freedom. At New York, the members of the legal profession, in their remonstrance against the appointment of judges during the Royal pleasure, had been led by John Morin Scott, and one or two others, with courageous earnestness. In Virginia, which was destined to furnish the coming revolution with some of its most powerful agents, Patrick Henry, a young lawyer hitherto scarcely known beyond his native village, gained high popularity by the boldness of his speech in a case of some local interest. It concerned the payment of a commutation for tithes or other legal dues to a parish clergyman; but the real question at issue was the validity of an Act of the Virginia provincial Legislature, fixing the rate of such commutation in tobacco for money, which Act, in 1759, had been negatived by the Crown, at the instance of the Bishop of London. Patrick Henry, in his argument before a Virginia county court, vehemently denied the King's power at any time to annul laws of domestic operation, which had been formally passed by the representative Assembly, the Council, and the Governor of the province. This was taking higher ground of constitutional or political principles than had yet been ventured upon; and Patrick Henry was menaced with a prosecution for treason. He retired for a short time from the scene of his perilous forensic triumph; but the popular voice not long afterwards called him to a seat in the provincial Assembly. He was soon to appear as one of the foremost intellectual champions of the American cause.

In this condition of the public mind, with so many inflammatory agencies at work, the news of Grenville's financial scheme, more especially of his intention to propose a stamp duty early in the next year, aroused in the colonies a storm of angry feeling. But the attitude taken at first was calm in resistance. A town meeting was held at Boston in the month of May, when Samuel Adams, a citizen of modest fortune, but highly esteemed for the strict integrity of his character, and for his intellectual attainments as a distinguished scholar of Harvard University, led the discussion in a tone of uncompromising firmness. Resolutions were passed asserting the claim of the King's subjects in the colonies, not only by charter, but as their birthright, to the same freedom which other British subjects enjoyed; and especially declaring that they should not be taxed without their own consent expressed by a representative Legislature. They called on the provincial Assembly of Massachusetts, then in session, to give effect to these resolutions; and they appointed a committee, consisting of Otis, Thacher, Cushing, Gray, and Sheafe, to enter into correspondence with the other provinces for joint action. The Boston Instructions to representatives were drawn up by Adams, and were accompanied by a statement of the case, which Otis had been desired to prepare. These memorials demanded for the colonists, by the law of nature and reason, as well as by the common law of the realm, those rights which belonged to all Englishmen—personal security and liberty, the possession of their own property, and the power of local legislation for their own government, subject only to a negative of particular acts by the Crown, but with the sole power of imposing taxes in the colony. It was plainly declared that "the authority of the



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Parliament of Great Britain is circumscribed by bounds which, if exceeded, render its acts those of mere power without right, and consequently void." Again, the same memorial repeated—"Acts of Parliament against natural equity are void; Acts against the fundamental principles of the British institutions are void." The Massachusetts Assembly was not slow in responding to these injunctions from the citizens of Boston. A formal letter of instructions was addressed to Jasper Mauduit, their agent in London, setting forth the views which he was to lay before the British Government on behalf of their province. They protested against "the burdensome scheme of obliging the colonists to maintain a standing army," and recounted their past efforts and services in the late war. But they asked, as if incredulous of the news they had heard, "Can it be possible that duties and taxes shall be assessed without the voice or consent of an American Parliament? Ireland was a conquered country; yet no duties have been levied by the British Parliament on Ireland. A people may be free and tolerably happy, without a particular branch of trade; but without the privilege of assessing their own taxes they can be neither. Prohibitions of trade are neither reasonable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If this is once broken down, all is lost; if we are not represented, we are slaves." And they added, "The resolutions for a Stamp Act naturally and directly tend to enervate the goodwill of America towards Great Britain."

At New York, when the arrival of the English packet brought intelligence of what had been done, people of every class were loud in expressions of resentment. Their first notion was to defeat the imposition of the new Customs' duties by refusing to buy or use the imported goods subject to this taxation. They would drink no wine and wear no foreign manufactured stuffs, either those produced in England (such as woollen cloth), or those sent to them by English merchants. They would grow and manufacture their own wool in America; and for this purpose, to permit a more rapid increase of their flocks of sheep, they agreed to eat no lamb. It was a trivial incident of the popular agitation; but it took the fancy, and became a proverbial symbol: "I'll eat no lamb" was thenceforth a watchword of American patriots. But there were some who talked of dressing in sheepskins till they could manufacture cloth; in the meantime, all resolved to dispense with dyed broadcloth, and content themselves with homespun grey or brown fabrics of the country handlooms. This turn of their inclinations was further encouraged by the maxims of homely frugality which Franklin and others had lately taught in "Poor Richard" and similar publications. Adams even made it a point of heroic virtue, and prayed for his Boston that it might be "a Christian Sparta."

In September and October, when the movement begun in Massachusetts had spread, there were more signal demonstrations of the spirit now aroused in the neighbouring provinces. A treatise written by James Otis, entitled "The Rights of the Colonists," had much circulation amongst them. It was chiefly made up of high-flown declamation, concerning abstract principles of human liberty, and the weakness and wickedness of tyranny, in that style of which Rousseau had set the example in France. But it also contained some pithy sentences in which lay the gist of the argument on the American side. The opinions here stated were more advanced than such as were previously referred to. "A time may come," said Otis, "when Parliament shall declare every American charter void; but the natural, inherent, and inseparable rights of the colonists as men and as citizens will remain. There is no foundation," he proceeded (thus going beyond the views of moderate colonial politicians), "for the distinction between external and internal taxes. If Parliament may tax our trade, they may lay stamps, land-taxes, tithes, and so indefinitely; there are no bounds. But such an imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on land, on houses or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating property in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists, as British subjects and as men. Acts of Parliament," he repeated, in the terms of the Boston resolutions, "when against the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, are void." In conclusion, Otis referred to the possibility of an appeal to force. "Yet the colonists," he said, "well know the blood and treasure that independence would cost. They will never think of it, till driven to it as the last fatal resort against Ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad, and the weakest strong." This sort of language was not calculated to soothe the roused passions of his countrymen.

But the provincial Assemblies of America were mostly disposed to a firm, yet gentle and temperate, manner of proceeding. That of Rhode Island, acting together with the Governor, Stephen Hopkins, who was elected by the people, resolved indeed not to acknowledge that the British Parliament had any authority to make even laws of trade for the colonies. Their little province was "ready to exert its utmost efforts to maintain its privileges inviolate," and they appointed, like

Massachusetts, a committee of correspondence to act jointly with the other provinces. Connecticut addressed to the British Legislature an elaborate disquisition, proving that it had already performed its full share of service to the Imperial Government in the costs of the late war, and that for Parliament to lay on stamp duties, or any other internal taxation, would be a gross infringement of colonial rights. "It was humbly and firmly trusted, and even relied upon, that Parliament, as supreme guardian of the liberties of the subject, would not suffer the same to be done." Pennsylvania, still distracted by its conflict against the proprietary system of government, yet listened to the overtures of Massachusetts and Rhode Island for political joint action. This province alone had spent half a million sterling in the late war, and had sent a thousand volunteers to the more recent Indian expedition of Colonel Bouquet; its taxation now amounted to half-a-crown in the pound of all private incomes.* Its Legislature professed constant readiness to attend to a Royal letter of requisition, for pecuniary aids to be freely voted by the colonists, and levied in such manner as they chose. But this should be their own legislative act, in response to a message from the King by his Secretary of State; they would have nothing to do with a British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Resolutions were accordingly passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly, declining to allow the proposed taxes, but expressing their willingness to grant aids to the Crown, whenever called for in a proper, constitutional manner. They now appointed Franklin, who had come home in 1762, to return to England as the agent for the province, with new instructions which he was to show to the Ministry. The remaining provinces were not indifferent to the political emergency. The Assembly of Virginia addressed the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, with a protest against the taxation of America by the British Parliament. This was declared to be "subversive of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and of dangerous example." But the people of Virginia, if permitted to enjoy "their undoubted rights," would still cherish their connection with "Britain, the seat of liberty," as their greatest happiness. In North Carolina, likewise, an address was voted by the Assembly, claiming the exclusive right of imposing taxes; and a committee was appointed to act with the Massachusetts committee.

The New York Assembly met in September, and immediately took measures to secure for its constituents "that great badge of English liberty, the being taxed only with their own consent." An address to the King was agreed to, in which this "exclusive right" was claimed as one already recognised by his Majesty, and the loss of which would reduce them to "the lowest vassalage." They complained also of the laws restricting trade, of those interfering with the exercise of the financial credit of their province, and of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts without trial by jury. Separate and distinct addresses to the House of Lords and to the House of Commons were adopted at New York. These addresses disclaimed, "with the utmost abhorrence," any thought of independence for that colony, with regard to the supreme power of the Empire. They acknowledged, "in the most extensive and positive terms," the lawful authority of the British Parliament "to model the trade of the whole Empire," so as to subserve the interest of the trade of Great Britain: "but the freedom to drive all sorts of traffic," they added, "in subordination to and not inconsistent with the British trade, with an exemption from all duties in such a course of commerce, is humbly claimed by the colonists, as the most essential of all the rights to which they are entitled as colonists, and as connected in the bond of liberty with the free sons of Great Britain." It was not only the threatened Stamp Act, but the new customs' tariff, to which they objected. "For since all impositions, whether they be internal taxes or duties paid for what we consume, equally diminish the estates upon which they are charged, what avails it to any people by which of them they are impoverished?" In conclusion, the New York Assembly demanded for the people of that colony "an exemption from the burthen of ungranted and involuntary taxes;" as without this security there could be no idea of property or liberty, no happiness, and "life itself would be intolerable." It could never be, they said, that the Constitution of Great Britain allowed one part of the community for ever to tax and legislate for the other part. If it did so, it would be the most unequal Constitution that ever existed: "and no human foresight or contrivance," it was finally observed, "can prevent its resulting in the most intolerable oppression."

These demonstrations of the Provincial Legislatures, in the summer and autumn of 1764, were the reply made by the English people of America to Grenville's challenge from the Treasury Bench of the House of Commons. He had so little of the wisdom of a statesman that he never took the principle of their refusal into serious considera-

* Franklin's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

tion. Yet he received timely warning from an official quarter hitherto most favourable to the prerogatives of the Crown. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice and Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Exchequer, earnestly remonstrating against the Parliamentary imposition of taxes. His arguments, both of equity and of expediency, were clearly and forcibly stated; but he was a time-serving man, anxious to be in favour with the winning side. Persons well acquainted with America thought the Ministry were acting too rashly.

CHAPTER V.

Further Projects of Taxation entertained by the Bedford-Grenville Ministry—Remonstrances of London Merchants, and of the American Provincial Agents—Schemes of Bernard and Colden, at Boston and New York, to subvert Colonial Liberties—Command of Military Forces in America—Billeting of Troops at the Charge of the Colonies—Grenville's Proposal of the Stamp Act—Charles Townshend and Colonel Barré—Absence of Pitt—Exclusion of Petitions against the Stamp Act—Passing of the Act—Bribes and Bounties—Restraints on Trade and Industry in America—Slavery maintained as a British Interest—Reception of the Stamp Act by the Colonists—Patrick Henry in Virginia—The Assembly of Massachusetts—Provincial Corresponding Committees—South Carolina and New York—Invitation to a Congress of the Provinces—Ingersoll, of Connecticut, at Boston—The Newly-appointed Stamp Distributors—Compulsory Resignations—Andrew Oliver, the Boston Stamp-master—Riots at Boston—Riots in Rhode Island and in Maryland—Ingersoll waylaid in Connecticut—Governor Bernard and the Massachusetts Assembly—The Congress at New York in October—Resolutions and Addresses to Parliament—Governor Colden and the New Yorkers—Impossibility of executing the Stamp Act—Confirmation of Acts of the Congress—Change of Government in England—The Rockingham Ministry.

At the opening of Parliament in January, 1765, the question of further taxing America was referred to in the King's Speech, as one of "obedience to the laws, and respect for the legislative authority of the kingdom." This suggestion was answered by the two Houses in their Address, with the assurance of such "temper and firmness as would best conciliate due submission and reverence." Here was an evident consciousness of the approaching political struggle. It was next alluded to in the discussion of the Army Estimates, when Charles Townshend, as Paymaster-General, insisted upon establishing a large military force in America; "for the colonies," he said, "are not to be emancipated." The writings of Otis, and other declarations of the rights claimed in Boston and New York for those communities of English freemen, were now read by persons in London connected with the Government. A reply was drawn up and published by Soame Jenyns, one of the Board of Trade; while the Attorney-General, Charles Yorke, and the eminent Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice, studied their precedents and arguments of law, with a similar intent to uphold the Royal prerogative. Grenville, in the meantime, had to meet the deputations of London merchants, and the agents for several American provinces, who remonstrated in vain against the policy he had taken up. They asked him, instead of levying a tax, to make a requisition, through the Secretary of State, for the supplies needed on behalf of the military service. Franklin, who had now arrived in England as agent for Pennsylvania, offered a formal pledge that its Legislature would comply with such a requisition. Jackson, who represented Connecticut, dwelt upon the gravest political objection to Great Britain taxing the colonies; that if the Crown had a Civil List and standing army there, independent of their own Legislature, their civil liberties would be endangered. This was denied by Grenville; but the remark soon met with a practical commentary in a new order from the War Office, that the military commanders all over America should act without reference to the civil Governors.

This was indeed the purport, though not the express text, of the official determination arising from a dispute in Florida, which had no particular connection with the controversy we have followed. It was natural enough that the alarmed colonists should look upon all such measures and proposals as forming one system of policy adverse to their freedom. The chief promoter of this despotic system in America was Francis Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, who had just communicated to the Ministry his scheme of a thorough change in all the provincial Governments. He recommended a civil list, beyond the control of local Legislative Assemblies; an order of colonial nobility, with life-peerages; the abolition of existing charters; and either the administration of the whole by one Government, or the formation of three large provinces, suppressing Connecticut and Rhode

Island. At the same time, Colden, the Lieutenant Governor of New York, was contending for the subjection of all judicial proceedings in the colonies, even trials by jury at common law, without any writ of error from superior courts, to a decision by the King in Council.

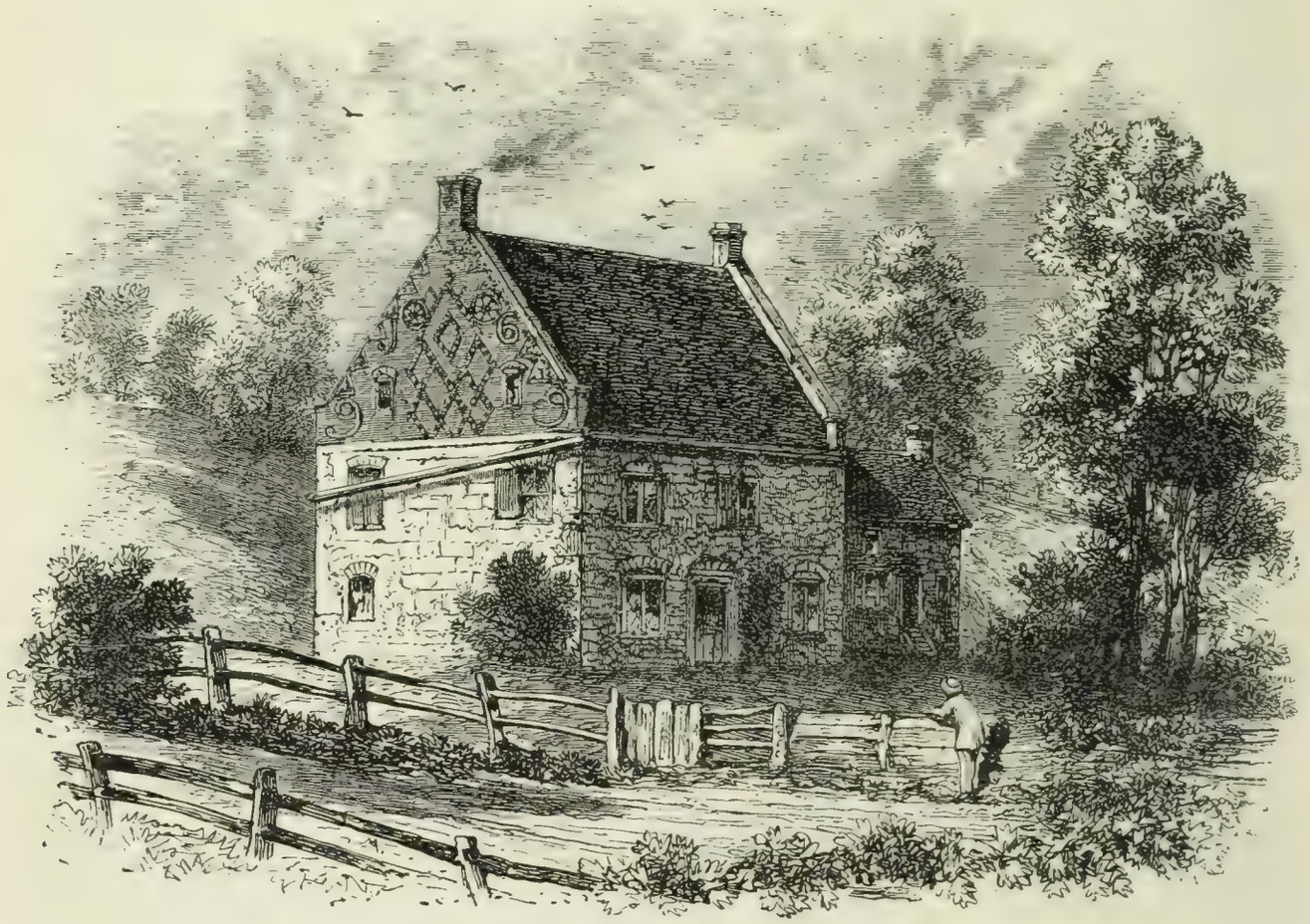
Another measure was in hand, which just then attracted but little notice, yet was destined to have momentous consequences in a short time. The extension of the Mutiny and Billeting Act to the army in America was managed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, Secretary at War, according to the recommendations of General Gage. It included provisions for billeting troops in the barracks of the provincial militia, in public-houses, inns and taverns, barns and empty houses; but the colonial Governments were required to furnish them with fuel for firing, candles, cooking utensils, bedding, beer or cider, rum, salt, and vinegar, at the cost of the colonial tax-payers. It was a small matter, apparently, in amount and in principle; but it was calculated to serve for the occasion of an irritating dispute between the Imperial and Provincial legislative powers.

The Stamp Act, however, which Grenville had frankly announced in the year before, was to become the more immediate subject of contention. It was on the 6th of February, 1765, that he proposed to the House in Committee fifty-five resolutions of minute detail, for an Act imposing a variety of stamp duties in America, and establishing the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts in all cases under this Act, as well as under the Customs' Acts. The Minister spoke at considerable length, and stated that it was found necessary to maintain an army of ten thousand men in America, which would cost £300,000 a year: that the duties and taxes already enacted would yield but £100,000; and that America could and should pay for the establishment of that military force employed for its protection. He compared the public debt of England with that of the colonies; the increase of taxation, and the cost of the public services, in the mother country, and in those distant provinces, respectively. He declared that Parliament, as the common council of the whole Empire, was fully capable of imposing internal taxes in the colonies, as well as taxes on their trade and navigation; and that all their charters were subject to the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain.

The resolutions were passed with few dissentients in Committee, though Alderman Beckford and Mr. Richard Jackson spoke against them, as both unjust and imprudent. The Stamp Act was then brought in, and was quickly put through its regular stages, giving rise to more than one lively debate. Among the speakers, one who most distinguished himself was Colonel Isaac Barré, an eloquent Irishman who had served with General Wolfe at Quebec, and had contracted personal friendships in America. He reproached the Ministry and the House for not knowing, feeling, or caring for the interests of the American people. Hereupon Charles Townshend, who also piqued himself upon his acquaintance with America, replied with a vehement asseveration of the great advantages that the colonies had gained from the last war at the cost of Britain. "And now," said he, "will these American offspring, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, till they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the heavy burthen of national expense we lie under?" This was an inconsiderate way of putting the case, inasmuch as it betrayed either ignorance or forgetfulness of the earlier periods of colonial history. It laid the Ministerial advocate fairly open to a powerful retort from that impassioned rhetorician, Colonel Barré, who was keenly sensible of every point in favour of his American clients. "They planted by your care!" he exclaimed. "No, it was your oppression that planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves, for the principles of true English liberty, to every hardship, and to the cruelties of a savage foe. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them; and as soon as you began to care about them, it was to send persons, in one department and another, to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to boil within them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, and exerted their valour on the frontiers, amidst their constant laborious industry in the interior of their country, which yielded all its little savings to your service. And believe me—remember I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom will actuate that people still. Prudence forbids me to explain myself farther; yet I claim to know more of America than most of you. Its people are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

This spirited passage of declamation, in which there was a certain portion of truth, but which

ignored some material considerations on the other side, was reported in the American journals. It afforded the highest gratification to the colonists, and encouraged them in their bold acts of resistance throughout the summer of 1765. Pitt was absent, from illness, during all the proceedings of the House with regard to the Stamp Act of that session; he would else have been their most efficient champion. Besides Colonel Barré, Alderman Beckford, and Jackson, their cause was defended by Sir



OLD DUTCH HOUSE, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK.

William Meredith and General Conway, more especially on behalf of Virginia. The memorials and addresses of the different provincial Legislatures were in vain presented to the House, or rather were brought up and offered for presentation. It was objected, by members on the Ministerial side, that no petition against a Money Bill could be received, according to the standing orders of the House. The petitions of London merchants and others trading with America were excluded by the same rule. In general, the opponents of the Government measure were scarcely prepared with sufficient knowledge of constitutional principles to maintain their cause in debate. They were easily overborne, as it seemed, by the peremptory assertions of such a lawyer as Yorke, who insisted that the colonies were but chartered corporations with the power of making bye-laws, but with no share of the supreme legislative power. The minority of votes on the resolutions in Committee, on the 6th of February, was but 49 against 245. The Bill itself, which was introduced by Grenville, Lord North, and Jenkinson, on the 13th of February, passed the House of Commons on the 27th, with no formal division. It went through the House of Lords very quietly, and obtained the Royal assent on the 22nd of March. Grenville had now procured the full sanction of Parliament to his American taxing policy. He still endeavoured to soothe the injured colonial interests by granting more bounties on special articles of their produce and traffic. The powerful Minister showed a patronising countenance to men like Pownall, Knox, and Mauduit, who told him that the colonies would acquiesce in his financial plans. But, in spite of all this seeming liberality, America was still to remain in a condition of galling restraint and injurious dependence on certain privileged British interests. Though some relaxation was now granted in the case of iron and timber sent to Ireland, the exportation of almost every American product to any country but England was absolutely

forbidden. With the exception of Madeira or Portuguese wine, the colonies were equally forbidden to procure for their own use any foreign commodity otherwise than from Great Britain. They were prohibited from working their own iron in furnaces and forges on a large scale; and the woollen manufacture, beyond mere household spinning and weaving, was made impossible by laws against carrying wool or cloth from one province into another. Other vexatious restrictions on trade and industry were sedulously maintained, and the African slave trade to America, together with the institution of slavery in Virginia and Carolina, was forced upon the colonists, against their earnest remonstrances, by the policy of Great Britain, for the profit of London and Liverpool or Bristol merchants.*



COLONEL BARRÉ.

The Stamp Act had now passed, and it was to be seen how the colonists would take it. The first movement of resistance began in the Virginia House of Assembly, in the month of May. The eloquent Patrick Henry, elected but a few days before for Louisa County, brought forward a set of five resolutions, declaring the sole right and power of that Assembly to tax the inhabitants of the colony. In the debate which ensued, and of which Thomas Jefferson and George Washington were silent hearers, bold language was freely used. The resolutions were opposed by the King's Attorney,

* "While free labour was debarred of its natural rights in the employment of its resources, the slave trade was encouraged to proceed with unrelenting eagerness; and in the year that had just expired, from Liverpool alone, seventy-nine ships had gone in that trade to Africa, and had borne to the West Indies and to the Continent more than 15,300 negroes." (Bancroft, Vol. IV., chap. 12.) The provincial Legislatures would have abolished slavery, as well as the slave-trade; but they were not allowed to interfere with the latter, because all trade from abroad to the colonies was for the Imperial Legislature alone to deal with.

Peyton Randolph, and by Robinson, the Speaker of the House, but were carried by a small majority; one was afterwards rescinded. The Lieutenant-Governor, Fauquier, then dissolved the Assembly; but the signal had been given to the other provinces. In the Assembly of Massachusetts, on the 6th of June, Otis proposed that an American Continental Congress should be convened, which was to consist of delegates from all the thirteen provinces. The project was approved, and letters were sent to every provincial representative body, inviting their committees to meet at New York, on the first Tuesday in October. They were "to consult together, and consider of a united representation to implore relief." It seemed doubtful, at first, whether this proposal of a Congress would not prove a failure. Though New York, as well as Virginia and Massachusetts, was strongly disposed to resistance, there was some hesitation in other provinces—New Jersey, Maryland, and New Hampshire—to commit themselves to the leadership of Boston. But in South Carolina, on the 25th of July, mainly by the deliberate earnestness of Christopher Gadsden, chairman of a committee to which the Massachusetts circular was referred, the provincial Legislature agreed to the plan of joint action. Two or three months, however, would yet be passed, either in painful suspense or in active preparation, before the meeting of the New York Congress. In the meantime, both in America and in England, some important transactions were to take place.

In Boston city, on the 8th of August, the reality of the obnoxious Stamp Act was brought home to the indignant townsfolk by the arrival of Jared Ingersoll. He was a Connecticut man, who had been sent as public agent of that province to England, and had betrayed its cause by assenting to the Stamp Act, for which he was rewarded by the appointment of Stamp-master. A similar appointment for Massachusetts was bestowed upon Andrew Oliver; while, for the other provinces, men were appointed whom the Royal Governors preferred, or who had official friends and patrons in London. It seemed good, therefore, to the uncompromising and determined opponents of the Stamp Act, that all these gentlemen should be compelled by popular demonstrations to resign their office. Nobody should be allowed to distribute stamps: and Grenville's Act of Parliament should be a mere dead letter. It was already known in America that the Grenville or Bedford Ministry was about to fall, and that the King had sent for Pitt. The Boston populace, in a rough and hasty manner, took upon themselves to inflict the sentence of ignominy upon that hated system of government which they hoped was about to be changed. They kept the birthday of the Prince of Wales with hearty cheers around their bonfire, not only for "Pitt and liberty," but also for "our true British King."

A company of mechanics or working-class men, calling themselves, from a phrase in Colonel Barré's speech, the "Sons of Liberty," made an uncouth effigy of Andrew Oliver, which they hung upon an elm-tree. This was on the 14th of August. The Chief-Justice and Deputy-Governor, Hutchinson, ordered the sheriff to take down the figure; but the order was not readily obeyed. The day passed on, while Governor Bernard, moved by Hutchinson, debated with the Provincial Council what they could do. In the evening came a multitude of people, with the effigy laid on a bier, which they carried in triumph through the streets past the State House and under the windows of the Council Chamber, shouting, "Liberty and no stamps!" They pulled down the frame of a wooden building, designed by Oliver for his stamp-office, made a pile and fire, and burnt the image of that unpopular person in front of his own dwelling-house. The commander of the town militia was in vain ordered by Hutchinson to beat his drums and disperse the mob: Hutchinson himself, approaching them with the sheriff, was soon obliged to fly, getting even one or two slight blows. They also made some noise in front of the Province House, where Governor Bernard lived, before dispersing for the night.

The next morning brought another crowd of people about the houses of Hutchinson and Oliver, to demand that the latter should give his written promise, which he did, not to serve as stamp-officer, and that Hutchinson should testify his disapproval of the Stamp Act. The Governor hastened to shut himself up in the fort, while issuing a proclamation for the discovery and arrest of the rioters. They were, indeed, not a few disorderly fellows, but nearly all the townspeople and those of neighbouring villages. In the course of another week or two, their rage was further stimulated to an attack upon Hutchinson, who was regarded as the prime author of all the obnoxious measures. On the night of the 26th, they kindled a bonfire in front of the State House; and, having seized on the records of the Admiralty Court, and the account books of the Comptroller of Customs, they burnt those documents with every token of derision. They next drove Hutchinson out of his own house, breaking open its doors with axes, and destroying his furniture and library. He took refuge with Bernard in the Fort or Castle, whence the two wrote bitter complaints to the Government in England. These outrages were blamed by men like Samuel Adams,

and other Boston leaders of colonial public opinion; but it can hardly be doubted that those leaders had done much to excite them. The demand that was to come for a grant of compensation to the individual sufferers will hereafter appear to involve a question of great moment.

The example of mobbing and terrifying the newly-appointed stamp distributors was soon followed by other provinces. In Rhode Island, on the 28th of August, and in Maryland, on the 2nd of September, the houses of persons connected with that detested measure were demolished by exasperated mobs; and the officials named under its operation, in New Jersey, New Hampshire, and New York, were compelled to resign by fear of the like ill-treatment. The Governors at Boston and New York kept the stamped papers still unpacked under guard at the forts of those towns, awaiting some opportunity for their safe distribution. But when Ingersoll proceeded to Connecticut, in order to begin the execution of his unlucky office, there was great trouble in store for him. The townsfolk of Newhaven, who had just elected Roger Sherman their representative in the Provincial Assembly, called upon Ingersoll to give up his appointment. He was reluctant to do this, but promised not to issue the stamps without consent of the people, and set out for Hartford, in company with Governor Fitch, to attend the meeting of the Assembly there. The roads were beset by numerous bands of mounted farmers and yeomen, who overtook Ingersoll, when he had parted from the Governor, and threatened him with vague words of terror, so that he was glad to subscribe his written resignation. This was done at Wethersfield, from which place he was conducted to Hartford, where he was obliged to present his resignation to the Governor and Provincial Assembly.

There were no further acts of violence; but the newspapers and pamphlets, the platform and pulpit orators, in each principal town of colonial America, kept up the popular spirit, in ardent anticipation of the New York Congress. Their arguments and expressions of sentiment were to the same purport as those already quoted. John Adams, of Massachusetts, and an able Maryland lawyer named Dulany, were two of the most effective writers. The provincial Legislatures began, one after another, to meet in September, with the exception of New York, which had not been convened. That of Georgia, the youngest, feeblest, and most dependent colony, was the first to come together, without a summons from its Governor, and to join the proposed Congress. Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, elected their delegates in good time for the 7th of the ensuing month. The Massachusetts Legislature met on the 25th of September, with fresh instructions from the constituent townships to oppose the Stamp Act and the Courts of Admiralty. Governor Bernard addressed them with a solemn warning to obey the authority of the British Parliament. He told them that their community was on the brink of a precipice; let them take heed to prevent its falling. He would cast the responsibility on them: from that day, he said, this arduous business of executing the Stamp Act should be put into their hands: it should become a provincial concern. It behoved them to look to it: and so they did. They enacted that all the courts of law in Massachusetts should do business without stamps. A resolution to the same effect had been adopted by the Rhode Island Assembly, with an indemnity for all public officers who disregarded the Stamp Act. Governor Bernard was astounded, and could only resort to a prorogation for several weeks.

At New York, where Governor Colden was supported by General Gage with the military and naval forces, and with the guns of the fort and the ships, there could be no such tumults as at Boston. But the General did not care to assist the Governor to stop the clamours of the press, and of bold speakers against the Stamp Act; and he rather despised the timid apprehensions of civilians like Colden and Bernard. The press was very much wilder, being anonymous, than the oratory of barristers and preachers. "Join or Die," with reference to the Congress of Provinces and their mortal danger from tyranny, was the motto of one paper, which bore the milder title of the *Constitutional Courant*. The *Gazettes* of New York, as those of Boston, of Providence in Rhode Island, and of New London in Connecticut, were filled with strenuous assertions of democratic principle. A sentiment of American nationality seemed also to be growing apace.

The Congress, which was to be the prototype of American national Assemblies, was held at New York, from the 7th to the 25th of October, 1765. It consisted of delegates from the Houses of Representatives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina; of delegates from Delaware and New Jersey, less formally nominated by the representatives of those provinces; and the members of the Corresponding Committee of the New York Assembly. New Hampshire and Georgia sent word that they would abide by the decisions of the Congress. James Otis and Samuel and John Adams, of Massachusetts, Judge Robert Livingston, of New York, the Rev. Stephen Johnson, of Connecticut, and

other Northern men, here met Christopher Gadsden, Lynch, and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, whom they found like-minded. Governor Colden told them at once that their Congress was unconstitutional and unlawful, but did not attempt to interfere with its meetings. Their proceedings were calm and judicious, for the end which they had in view. General Gage wrote to Governor Bernard, on the 12th:—"Those who compose it [the Congress] are of various characters and opinions; but in general, the spirit of democracy is strong among them, supporting the independence of the provinces as not subject to the legislative power of Great Britain. The question is not of the inexpediency of the Stamp Act, but that it is unconstitutional and contrary to their rights." There was, indeed, a great deal of abstract discussion on liberty, privilege, and prerogative, led by James Otis, of Boston. Some were for putting their case on the privileges secured to the colonies by Royal Charters; but the majority preferred to insist on their antecedent rights as men, and citizens of the English nation. Freedom from taxation, otherwise than by their own representative Legislatures, and the right of trial by jury, which was denied by the Admiralty Courts, were the two main points aimed at in the resolutions of this Congress. It was contended that all supplies to the Crown were free gifts; that neither the people of Great Britain, nor their Parliament, could give away the property of the colonists in America; that no representation of the colonists in the British House of Commons was practicable; and that the colonists must therefore be taxed only by their own Provincial Assemblies. These views were expressed in a petition to the King, and in an address to the House of Lords, though Gadsden and Lynch were for sending no address to either of the Houses of Parliament. To the House of Commons a different address was sent, with a general acknowledgment of "all due subordination to the Parliament of Great Britain," admitting its power to legislate for the regulation of trade through the whole Empire, or for the amendment of the common law, but disputing its authority to impose taxes on the colonies, and entreating to be relieved from such imposts. Towards the close of these deliberations of the Congress, great popular excitement was aroused in New York by the arrival of a vessel with stamped papers. The official distributor, M'Evers, had resigned, but the Governor had announced his intention to provide for the issue of stamps. Stern threats were uttered, and repeated in street placards, against the man who should begin this odious task. The Congress, however, finished its work quietly, by signing the resolutions, the petition, and the addresses to Parliament, from which only two names of delegates were withheld, as dissentient from its conclusions.

America had thus found the way to create for itself, upon emergency, a fit organ of expression for the common purpose of all its different provinces. The Massachusetts Assembly, of which Samuel Adams was now a member, replied to Governor Bernard's speech of warning, and refused to quit their defence of "the just rights of this province." Their address contained a pregnant description of the crisis. "The Stamp Act," it was remarked, "wholly cancels the very conditions upon which our ancestors, with much toil and blood, and at their sole expense, settled this country, and enlarged his Majesty's dominions. It tends to destroy that mutual confidence and affection, as well as that equality, which ought ever to subsist among all his Majesty's subjects in this wide and extended Empire; and, what is the worst of all evils, if his Majesty's American subjects are not to be governed according to the known and stated rules of the Constitution, their minds may, in time, become disaffected." Massachusetts, in fact, had now said its last word upon the question of England taxing America, and it was never to be unsaid. There was nothing more for Bernard to do; but the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, Colden, who was about to be superseded by Sir Henry Moore as Governor, would make another attempt to execute the Stamp Act. He appointed his son the temporary distributor of stamps, and on the 31st of October took his oath, as did most of the other Governors of provinces, to carry the law into effect. The Provincial Government Council, as well as the town council of New York city, advised him not to enter upon so rash an engagement. The citizens were determined to let no stamps be put in use.

It was on the 1st of November that these imposts were, by the Act of Parliament, to be introduced in legal and mercantile business. On that day, neither at New York, nor at Boston, nor anywhere else in the thirteen colonies, was there any person to issue the stamps. The church bells of every town rang a muffled peal, and other signs of public mourning were made in mockery of the deceased or still-born measure of British legislation. The newspapers, each printed without a stamp, told their readers of the defeat which American civil courage had that day inflicted upon usurping statesmen in England, and upon their venal accomplices near at hand. The New York merchants had, on the preceding day, met and agreed to renounce all trade with England, at least to

import no merchandise whatever, until the Stamp Act should be repealed. The New York mob, augmented by sailors dismissed from the ships in harbour, were headed by one Isaac Sears, and surrounded the Lieutenant-Governor's house, demanding the stamps, that they might burn them. Colden sent for a detachment of marines from the *Coventry* ship of war, but dared not bid them fire on the people. He retired into the fort, while the mob entered his coach-house, seized his carriages, and placed in one of them an effigy of himself, with another figure to represent the Devil, both of which they committed to the flames on the Bowling Green. Some negotiations took place next day between Colden and the town council; the stamps were given up by him to the custody of that municipal authority in the City Hall; and there was no further disturbance. The Assemblies of all the other Provinces confirmed the resolutions of the New York Congress, which were further supported by numerous town and county meetings. Every shop, farm, and private household, was bound to do without the commodities of importation from England, unless the British Parliament would repeal the Stamp Act. We shall presently see that the Americans had good reason to expect its repeal, which their unanimous resistance did in fact speedily obtain.

There had been a change of Government in England since the Americans were roused to anger by the passing of Grenville's unhappy measure. The Ministry of which the Duke of Bedford was the nominal head, but of which Grenville was the efficient director, had deeply offended King George, after his recovery from a first attack of mental disease, by its conduct in framing a Regency Bill. Some conferences with Pitt and others failing to produce any results, the Whig Marquis of Rockingham, in July, 1765, formed a new Ministry, in which the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were Secretaries of State, the latter for the Southern Department, including the American colonies, while the Earl of Dartmouth was President of the Board of Trade. These had never committed themselves to an arbitrary treatment of the colonies. On the other hand, both from Lord Northington, who continued to be Lord Chancellor, and from Charles Yorke, the Attorney General, legal doctrines of a severe and pedantic character had been heard in support of the prerogative which the colonists denied. It was therefore uncertain how the Rockingham Ministry would proceed with regard to America; and, though Edmund Burke was secretary to the Prime Minister, his first and last approach to official power, there was no probability of his being able to influence its decisions. Still, the Americans felt sure that they would meet with sympathy from the generous Conway; and in this they were not deceived. The opinions of Lord Shelburne, though not now in office, had considerable weight in Ministerial Councils, and were consistently inclined to a liberal and moderate course, while he privately cherished the acquaintance of Franklin. But though, during the autumn months of that year, every post from America brought news of fresh troubles, disputes, and riots, occasioned by the obnoxious Stamp Act, the Rockingham Ministry still delayed coming to any resolution upon this urgent affair of Imperial Government. The Secretary of State and the Board of Trade received and replied to their American correspondence, as so much ordinary business. Neither the alarming despatches of the Governors and Crown officers, who predicted an insurrection, nor the eloquent addresses of the colonial patriots and champions of freedom, nor the memorials of London merchants, who said that America owed them millions of money, which they feared to lose by this political quarrel, had much effect on the Rockingham Ministry. A witty epigram was written in those days:—

"Tell our statesmen the truth, if you may without shocking 'em,
For the Nation's asleep, and the Minister's *rocking 'em!*"

But the voice of Pitt, long unheard at Westminster, was now to wake them up.

CHAPTER VI.

Parliamentary Session of 1766—Pitt's Denunciation of the Stamp Act—Concession by Ministers—Committee of Inquiry—Ministerial proposals for Repeal of the Stamp Act—Declaratory Resolution asserting the Supreme Power of Parliament—Debates on these Measures—Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield—Sullen Displeasure of the King—Changes in the Ministry—Extraordinary Behaviour of Charles Townshend—Dissolution of the Rockingham Cabinet—The New Coalition—Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer—Continued Disputes between the Crown and the Colonies—The Billeting Act—Compensation for Damage by the Stamp Act Riots—Suspension of the New York Legislature—Ex-Governor Pownall's Warning—Harsh feeling in England against the Colonists—Townshend's Measures of 1767—An American Board of Customs—New Import Duties—Passive Resistance, and Non-importation of English Merchandise—Government of Lord North—Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1768—Circular inviting the Co-operation of other Provincial Legislatures—The Customs' officers and the Sloop *Liberty* at Boston—Troops ordered from Halifax—Refusal of the Assembly to rescind its former Acts—Dissolution of the Assembly.

When the King reopened Parliament, in December, 1765, his Ministers had settled no measure for the restoring of peace in America. They had, in October, by an address from the Board of Trade, informed his Majesty that the Acts of the British Parliament were "treated with indecent disrespect;" while Secretary Conway had instructed General Gage, as well as the Governors, to behave with "prudence and lenity," and to use "persuasive methods." They shrank from enforcing the Stamp Act by violent means, yet were reluctant to give up the claim of a taxing power; to a deputation of merchants, they talked of suspending the Act. The King felt extreme personal resentment at the humiliating defeat of his governing representatives in America. With the aid of Charles Townshend, who was an assiduous courtier, his Majesty looked for an opportunity of compelling submission on the part of the stubborn colonists. In the debates of both Houses on their Address of reply to the Royal Speech, amendments were moved denouncing the "insurrections of open and rebellious force" in America, and promising to repress them forthwith. Ministers said nothing; they were absent from the Commons; but Shelburne in the Lords, and Beckford in the Lower House, spoke for a repeal of the Stamp Act. All the party of high prerogative and official pedantry,—Bedford, Halifax, Sandwich, Temple, and Grenville, with Chancellor Northington, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield,—joined in a chorus of scolding menaces against the refractory colonies. Charles Townshend vowed that he would see them "reduced to their primitive deserts," sooner than yield to their pretensions.

This was the temper of powerful English statesmen towards their fellow-Englishmen abroad. But there was one, William Pitt, who reappeared in Parliament, after long absence, on the 14th of January, 1766, and spoke as follows:—"On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of virtuous and brave subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, I cannot be silent. When the resolution was taken to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, I would have solicited some kind hand to lay me down on this floor, to bear my testimony against it. America, being neither really nor virtually represented at Westminster, cannot be held legally, or constitutionally, or reasonably, subject to obedience to any Money Bill of this kingdom. Taxation is no part of the governing power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, his Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to his Majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to his Majesty the property of his Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms. The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

The Southern Secretary of State, General Conway, rose immediately when Pitt sat down, and spoke a few words that decided the repeal of the Stamp Act. "I not only adopt all that has just been said," he remarked, "but believe it expresses the sentiments of most, if not all, the King's servants, and wish it may be the unanimous opinion of the House." Upon this, Grenville stepped forth with an indignant speech in defence of the Stamp Act, insisting that taxation was part of the sovereign legislative functions of Parliament; and that it could and ought to be exercised, as in many other cases it was, over those who sent no representatives to Parliament. He reproached "the factions in that House" for giving birth to "the seditious spirit in America, now almost in open rebellion." Pitt was ready to meet this accusation. "The right honourable gentleman," he said, "tells us that America is obstinate; that America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. If its millions of inhabitants had submitted, taxes



FLIGHT OF HUTCHINSON BEFORE THE RIOTERS.

would soon have been laid by the British Government upon Ireland, without its consent. And then, if ever this nation should have a tyrant for its King, they who had been so dead to all feeling of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." This was a signal expression of political sentiment, such as could not fail to have its effect upon the whole public life of the nation and of the age —nay, of succeeding ages and of foreign nations— far beyond the controversy on the taxation of our American colonies. It was the signal, one may consider, for the commencement of the great Liberal movement, both in England and in France, which has not yet ceased, after a hundred years, to transform the political conditions of the world.

The words spoken by Pitt on that occasion were equivalent to a battle won. The King was next day advised, by Grafton and Conway, to send for Pitt, and take counsel with him; but this was not done, nor did the attempt to make room for Pitt in the Rockingham Ministry obtain success. Yet the petition and addresses of the American Congress at New York were duly laid by the Secretary of State before the King and the Houses of Parliament. They were received, notwithstanding some opposition; and the Commons ordered a thorough inquiry, in Committee of the whole House, examining many witnesses at its bar, of whom the most illustrious was Benjamin Franklin.* It was soon understood that the Ministry would propose the repeal of the Stamp Act. But this would be joined with a requisition obliging the colonial Legislatures to provide compensation for Hutchinson, Oliver, and the other persons whose private property had been damaged in the riots of the preceding summer. And, before the Stamp Act was repealed, they would pass a declaratory Act or resolution, affirming the rightful prerogative of the British Parliament to make laws for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." This was the limit of concession; this the extent of asserted power.

The debates upon these connected proposals, from the 3rd of February to the 17th of March, in both Houses of Parliament, will always be read with interest by the student of English constitutional history, but need scarcely detain us in this narrative. The most characteristic incident was the grand controversial duel in the House of Lords between two of the most eminent and accomplished British lawyers: namely, William Murray, Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice; and Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but soon afterwards Lord Chancellor. Never was a great constitutional question, of legal precedent and of general policy, discussed with greater ability, than by these two learned, acute, and eloquent men, in whose presence Lord Northington, the actual Lord Chancellor, made but a small figure. Camden had a mind superior to that of his great rival in its power of appreciating the principles of justice and sentiments of liberality belonging to a political question; while Mansfield was perhaps more completely furnished with historical and professional knowledge, and more dexterous in its application. Next to Pitt, Shelburne, and Conway, as their Parliamentary advocates, the gratitude of the colonies was fairly due to Camden, who not merely supported the repeal of the Stamp Act, but strongly disapproved of the Act declaring their subjection to the British Legislature. Five peers only—Camden, Shelburne, Cornwallis, and two others—voted against that declaratory resolution; and in the House of Commons there were less than ten members, including Pitt, Beckford, and Barré, to oppose it. The Act which embodied its purport was closely followed or accompanied by that for the Repeal of the Stamp Duties. Burke's maiden speech was made on this occasion. In the Act there was to have been a clause requiring the colonies to grant indemnities for damage done to private property by riotous mobs. The clause was taken out, but passed as a separate resolution. Several amendments and resolutions designed for the enforcement of the Stamp Act were urged in vain by the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville, with their party, Lords Lyttelton and Temple, and other sticklers for high prerogative. But the Ministry had a majority in the Commons of 275 against 167, and in the Lords, reckoning votes by proxy, of 105 against 71, the minority of peers recording a stiff protest. The King, who had wished for a modification, not a repeal, of the Stamp Act, was obliged to give his assent to its abrogation. This he lamented, in a private letter to Lord North, as "a fatal compliance, which has wounded the majesty of England, and planted thorns under my pillow."

The position of Ministers became daily more uncomfortable with their unforgiving Royal master. The Duke of Grafton resigned, and General Conway changed his post for another, to get rid of continual reproaches for his surrender to the

* Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV. His evidence, reported in question and answer, deals with a variety of facts and arguments which have been detailed in the last three chapters of this History. It deserves careful perusal as an exposition of the domestic affairs of Pennsylvania and other provinces, as well as of the sentiments with which their people then regarded the taxing measures of British legislation.

colonies. They succeeded, however, in obtaining one more boon for America—the permission to import Spanish bullion and Mexican cattle, by way of Jamaica and Dominica, which were constituted free ports. It was hoped that the agitation in America would presently subside. The colonists, indeed, had rejoiced at the news of the Stamp Act being repealed; and some provinces had voted for purchasing pictures or statues of their great friends in the British Parliament. But their fears of renewed attempts to overbear the provincial Legislatures were kept alive by the Declaratory Act, interpreted by such Government men as Bernard and Hutchinson. They were still further alarmed and irritated by the presence in the Ministry of Charles Townshend, and by the extraordinary manner in which he was permitted to talk about them.

That remarkable politician, a man of rare talents for conversation and social intrigue, as well as of smart and showy rhetoric in the debates of the House, was encouraged by the King's favour, and by the support of some influential peers, to behave as though he alone were to be leader of the Government. Whenever his colleagues, or even their chief, remonstrated with him for these egotistic displays, he would say that they dared not dismiss him, and he would do whatever he liked. There was a motion, on the 3rd of June, 1766, brought on by the Opposition party, to ask the King not to prorogue the session till they should have got satisfactory assurances that the rebellious dispositions of the colonists were altered. Charles Townshend, the Army Paymaster, replying from the Ministerial benches, took upon himself to promise that they would, in the coming recess, devise measures to supersede the Provincial Government Charters of America, and to provide a fixed revenue, so that its Royal Governors, judges, and attorneys might be rendered independent of the popular Assemblies. He contemptuously reprobated the "distracted madness," and the "odious, unpardonable resolves," of those subordinate colonial Legislatures. He hoped and intended to pursue a new system with regard to them; and if in this he should differ from the other members of the Administration, they must now take notice that he should withdraw from any further co-operation with persons of such narrow views in government.

The Rockingham Ministry, discredited by want of consistency and unity, fell to pieces in August. There was a new official combination, of which the Duke of Grafton was nominal head. William Pitt, "the Great Commoner" of former years, accepting an Earldom of Chatham, now lent the name and shadow of his grand personality, with no active direction or control, to an Administration partly composed of men who differed from himself in the most important respects. It was an inglorious and a disastrous passage of his career, and of English political affairs. That Charles Townshend, of all persons at that particular juncture, should thus become, with Pitt's apparent sanction, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, thereby giving him the opportunity of striking another blow against the liberties of America—this was one of the strangest and saddest turns in the history of the times. It is true that the new Ministry included Lord Chancellor Camden, General Conway, and Lord Shelburne, the last-named as Secretary for the Colonies; but whenever Townshend broke loose, as he did in the following year, his reckless and insolent self-conceit was sure to endanger the peace of the Empire. Lord Chatham, and those who thought with him, should never have allowed such a man to be in office with themselves.

But there were, in the meantime, still two existing causes of strife between the Crown and the American colonies, besides the Declaratory Act, which might have remained a harmless dead letter. These were, the clause in the Mutiny or Billeting Act, compelling the Legislatures of the provinces to supply particular articles for the use of troops in barracks; and the Parliamentary resolution ordering those Legislatures to give compensation for the damage of the late riots. Had a Royal Message been addressed to any of the Provincial Assemblies, in the old customary form, like those usually sent to the British House of Commons, asking either these small matters or anything else from their free suffrage, in the spirit of voluntary loyal service, it is possible that American tax-payers would have voted and paid a hundred times the sum required. It was the King's birthday, and the New York Assembly resolved to put up an equestrian statue of George III. in their city Bowling Green; while that misguided King and his evil counsellors in London were sullenly brooding over the check they had just encountered in their haughty attempt to snatch by force the subsidies which, on a frank appeal to loyalty and patriotism, might have been amply and instantly given. False pride was the ruin of their government in America, as it is apt to be the ruin of most human affairs.

The catastrophe was hastened by Governor Bernard in Massachusetts, of whose vexatious conduct we have already seen too much. Bitter disputes between him and the House of Representatives, upon various points of business and ceremony, were inevitable when they met, year

after year, with mutual distrust. In the annual joint nomination of the Council, were now excluded Judge Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, as being officers of the Crown; for which the Governor retaliated by disallowing several of the popular party whom the Assembly had chosen. This provoked an altercation, in the heat of which Bernard thrust upon them, on the 3rd of June, the Government order to indemnify the sufferers by the riots. It was founded, he maliciously observed, upon a resolution of the House of Commons, "whose authority would preclude all disputation about complying with it." The Assembly put off their decision till their adjourned session in October. There were fresh troubles, in the autumn months, concerning the Admiralty Courts' jurisdiction in revenue cases, and the execution of their writs by the ordinary constables. The Governor sent Charles Paxton, Admiralty Court Marshal, to represent all the complaints of the Crown officials in London; and this man became the confidential informer of Charles Townshend, and of Lord Hillsborough at the Board of Trade. When the Assembly met again, in October, they resolved, upon the motion of Joseph Hawley, to couple with the vote of compensation for the riots a grant of amnesty to the rioters, and to state, in the preamble of their Act, that it was passed "of their own free and good will," not upon the Government requisition. This Act, being transmitted to London, was disallowed by the Privy Council, as a manifest infringement of the King's prerogative to pardon criminal offenders. The chief sufferers by the riots at Boston, Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, were not the men to go without their compensation; and it was secretly provided for, a twelvemonth later, by annuities to be paid under a Treasury warrant out of the Customs' revenue. When this arrangement was discovered, so late as May, 1768, it furnished ground for again excluding Hutchinson, as a Crown pensioner, from the Provincial Council. As Chief Justice and *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor, he was not legally disqualified. Such were the quarrels constantly recurring in Massachusetts. The Assembly there had, since the Stamp Act, discarded its old provincial agent in London, the untrustworthy Mauduit, whose post was now held by Denis de Berdt.

The other questionable exaction above referred to, namely that prescribed by the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act, was to be contested in New York, the headquarters of the British military forces. In June, 1766, upon a requisition from General Gage, the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, desired the Legislative Assembly to vote the barrack stores, of which a list was specified by the Act of Parliament. But the Assembly, while readily performing most part of this demand, thought fit designedly to omit certain articles, firewood, beer or cider, salt, and vinegar, which they found were not usually provided for troops in barracks in England by the local authorities. They also took care to avoid, in their Act for this purpose, any citation or acknowledgment of the Act of Parliament. These legislative derelictions were brought under the notice of his Majesty's Government; and Lord Shelburne, as Secretary of State, instructed the Governor to tell the Assembly that they must comply with the Act as it stood. They deliberately refused to do so, holding that the point was one of constitutional privilege, which fidelity to their constituents forbade them to yield. The Ministry hereupon, in May, 1767, introduced a Bill to suspend the New York Legislature till its members should have satisfied the Governor of their disposition to comply. This harsh and injurious procedure, unworthy of a Government to which several Liberal statesmen were attached, did not tend to appease colonial discontents, still less to overawe their expression by the other Provincial Assemblies, though each might expect a similar treatment. In the House of Commons, their cause was now most warmly upheld by Pownall, formerly the Governor of Massachusetts, who knew that those Assemblies could not be safely used as if they were mere local assessors and collectors of taxes ordered by the Imperial Government. He warned the Parliament of Great Britain that these attempts to coerce America would never succeed. "You may levy taxes," said he, "if you will, by military force; but that is not government—it is war. The people there are husbandmen and tradesmen, unaccustomed to arms; yet, if you attempt to force them, you will find, perhaps too late, that they have a spirit to resist all force, a spirit to grow the stronger for being forced. And if this temper which is in them be inflamed by a sense of persecution, like that which has so much heightened their religious enthusiasm or fanaticism as Puritans in a former age, then will their love to the mother country be turned into the bitterest hate." Such was the prophecy of ex-Governor Pownall, in February, 1768; but its solemn utterance was more immediately occasioned by new projects of arbitrary exaction, the fatal legacy of Charles Townshend.

Throughout the year 1767, which was the last of his brief and brilliant, yet vain and even mischievous life, Charles Townshend had been left to speak and act pretty much as he pleased in the Ministry and Parliament. The only one of his

colleagues (the Earl of Chatham keeping aloof and inert) who would ever oppose this audacious Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Lord Shelburne; and him the King disliked. On the 26th of January, in replying to one of Grenville's frequent attacks of taunting censure on the repeal of the Stamp Act, Charles Townshend declared himself, on principle, still in favour of the Stamp Duty, and contemned the American colonists' distinction between external and internal taxation as "perfect absurd nonsense." He said he thought England would be undone if her claim to tax America were given up. "But you are such cowards," remarked Grenville, "you dare not tax America." "What!" returned Townshend, "you say that I dare not? I say that I dare tax America, and I will do it." He then promised to bring in some proposals for obtaining a revenue from America by a mode which he knew of, without giving offence to the colonists. It was of no avail that Conway and Shelburne, at the next private meeting of the Ministry, remonstrated with their headstrong colleague. A month after this, upon a motion for reduction of the land-tax, their opponents again reproached the Government for sparing America its due share of taxation, and there was an adverse majority of votes. At a meeting of the Cabinet on the 12th of March, Townshend insisted upon their adoption of his views of fiscal policy as applied to the colonies. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden were overborne by his vehement pertinacity, and yielded an unwilling consent. The Opposition party in both Houses lost no opportunity of driving Ministers into that course which Townshend was eager to pursue. On the 30th, when news had arrived of the Americans' resistance to the Billeting Act, there was a debate in the Lords, and the harshest language was used, branding the Americans as rebels and traitors. On the 10th of April, a motion was made by the Duke of Bedford for an address to the King to nullify the Massachusetts enactment of an amnesty for the Boston rioters. Much was said, by Lord Mansfield and other speakers, about the "folly and wickedness" of the colonists in their recent behaviour. Parliamentary opinion was thus ripened for Townshend's proposals, which were brought forward on the 13th of May.

He seemed rather to glory, for his own part, in connecting the fiscal measures he had devised with other measures of restraint and chastisement. The New York Legislature was to be suspended for its disobedience; and he reproached the Assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, with severity proportioned to their imputed offences. He now proposed to establish an American Board of Customs, and to levy import duties on several articles of consumption; the revenue so collected to be placed at the disposal of the Crown, for the payment of salaries and pensions to the Governors, judges, and other officials of the colony, to be specified in a civil list prepared by the Ministry. This would effectually remove the colonial Administration from the control of the Legislative Assemblies. It was, in that respect, a scheme much more objectionable than any before devised; but it did not go far enough to satisfy Grenville. He recommended that the Governor and Council of each province should be empowered, without the consent of its representative body, to draw bills for money on the provincial treasurer. If that public servant refused to pay such bills, he should be sent to England to be tried for the crime of treason. Every person admitted to any public office in the colonies should thenceforth be required to sign a test-declaration, acknowledging the sovereign powers of the British Legislature. Such was George Grenville's final prescription for the cure of that political uneasiness which he had been the first to provoke. Townshend's measures, however, were speedily embodied in two or three Acts of Parliament, which after the Whitsuntide holidays passed through both Houses with little opposition. Alderman Beckford and Edmund Burke were among the few speakers against them. The articles subjected to the new Customs' duties, by this Act of the 7th George III., chapter 46, were glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, pasteboard, and tea. The duty on tea, imported exclusively from Great Britain, was indeed very small (only threepence a pound), and its imposition in America was accompanied by the remission, in the case of tea sent to the colonies, of the shilling duty which was charged upon tea brought to England, so that the American purchaser would actually be saved ninepence a pound. This was Charles Townshend's notable contrivance for making his scheme of taxation acceptable to the people of America; but it was precisely this duty on tea, refused and resisted on principle, that was eventually to become the fatal occasion of a final quarrel. Together with the Customs' Acts, including that for the establishment of a Crown Board of Customs at Boston, was passed the Act for suspending the New York Legislature; and an address was voted requesting the King to order compensation to Hutchinson and Oliver, Ingersoll and Martin Howard, for their private injuries in the Stamp Act riots.

These enactments of the British Parliament,

when fully made known to the colonists in July and August, were met with a calm determination to nullify the objectionable policy by one simple ex-



MAP OF NEW YORK ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From Popple's Atlas*)

pedient. They resolved to enter into a domestic agreement to buy nothing whatever imported from Great Britain, so that British merchants would be compelled to use their influence with the King's Government in London for a reversal of that policy. In the meantime, the new Commissioners and Collectors of Customs were to take their appointed posts; they should have no revenue to collect, for there should be no import trade. This was the method of peaceful, passive resistance approved by a town meeting at Boston in October. A committee was deputed to get it adopted throughout the other provinces; and both at New York and Philadelphia its adherents commanded the popular assent. The published letters of "A Farmer," written by John

Dickinson of Pennsylvania, had a powerful effect at the moment. But all went on quietly, and, when Parliament reassembled towards the end of November, the Ministry had heard nothing to alarm them. Charles Townshend had died in September, and his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer was filled by Lord North, with Jenkinson for his chief assistant. Conway had resigned office, and Shelburne had relinquished the administration of the colonies (now erected into a distinct Secretaryship) to Lord Hillsborough—a bad exchange for the interests of American freedom. As for Lord Chatham, his head was hidden in the clouds, and not a word or sign of disapprobation came from him, while the Ministry seemed bent on enforcing Townshend's measures.



LORD NORTH.

The next year, 1768, began with a series of perfectly constitutional resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts House of Assembly. They furnished their London agent, Mr. De Berdt, with a temperate statement, drawn up by Samuel Adams, of their objections to the recent Acts of Parliament; they also petitioned the King, appealing to his "wisdom and clemency" against those Acts; and they memorialised the Lords of the Treasury and the Secretary of State, but refrained from addressing either the House of Lords or the House of Commons. Letters were written to Chatham, Rockingham, Camden, Shelburne, and Conway, in the name of the Provincial Assembly, soliciting their continued advocacy of its rights. It was impossible to find fault with these proceedings so far; but in the first week of February they were followed by a new resolution, to send a circular letter from the Massachusetts Assembly to those of the other provinces, inviting them to follow its example. The circular, which, like the preceding documents, was composed by Samuel Adams, contained nothing but an argumentative statement of their political case, mentioning as grievances the imposition of taxes without their consent, the provision of a civil list independent of the colonial Legislatures, the establishment of the Crown Board of Customs, and the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act. It was, however, the approach to federal action, in communicating these views to the other provincial Legislatures, that now again exposed Massachusetts to the severest Ministerial displeasure.

Governor Bernard, in his chronic strife with the representatives of the people at Boston, found an ally in the members of the new Board of Customs

there, which had little else to do. They mutually supported, by exaggerated and distorted reports sent to London, the complaints with which each official authority ceased not to beset the Home Government, and to call for the aid of a military force against the dangerous agitators of colonial society. Some misrepresentations of facts in the letters of Bernard having become known to the popular leaders at Boston, the Assembly was moved to petition for his removal from the Governorship; and while this question was pending, his Excellency thought fit to call their attention to a gross and virulent libel on his character in the *Boston Gazette*. The language of that article was quite indefensible, reviling the Governor as a monster of "treachery and wickedness," inspired by a "diabolical thirst for mischief." But the House of Representatives declined to order a public prosecution; and when the Governor appealed to the criminal law against the printer of the paper, the bill was thrown out by the Grand Jury. On the 18th of March, the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, there was a procession and feast of the "Sons of Liberty," who indulged themselves by hanging the revenue officers in effigy on the Liberty Tree, and by hooting or groaning before the Governor's house. This was represented by Bernard and his friends as a formidable riot: he sent to Commodore Hood, the naval commander at Halifax, for the protection of an armed force, and wrote also to Lord Hillsborough, in London, that troops should be despatched to Boston. Hillsborough, before the arrival of that request, had instructed General Gage, the Commander-in-chief at New York, to be in readiness to use the military forces, in case of need, for the maintenance of order at Boston or elsewhere.

This being the painful and precarious state of relations between the people of Massachusetts and the representative of the Crown, Midsummer brought them fresh materials and incentives of discord. Lord Hillsborough, on the 22nd of April, sent out to Governor Bernard his positive orders to require the Assembly to rescind its resolution of February, which originated the circular addressed by Massachusetts to the sister provinces. In letters simultaneously written by the Secretary of State to all the Colonial Governors in America, that circular was denounced as a factious and seditious attempt to inflame the minds of the people, and to procure a dangerous combination against the British Parliament. The Governor of Massachusetts, in case of the House of Representatives refusing to undo what it had done in February, was enjoined to dissolve that House immediately. No consideration was allowed for the fact that an interval of four months would have elapsed, during which the circular had been formally received and proceeded upon by the other provincial Legislatures, so that Massachusetts could not withdraw and disavow its initiative without miserable desertion and self-stultification. It had been cordially responded to, in April, by the Council and Assembly of Virginia, and by the Connecticut Assembly in May; those of New Jersey and of Georgia were the next to act upon its proposals, which amounted to no more than the petitioning of the Home Government against certain grievances. His Majesty's Ministers, while declining to receive those petitions, might have expressed a disapproval, *ex post facto*, of the manner in which they were got up by the joint action of the provinces; but it was a harsh and impolitic demand that the leading provincial Government should annul its past invitation to the others.

Again, the popular agitation and excitement of feeling at Boston had been much increased by the behaviour of the new Customs Board and its officials there, who were emboldened by the presence of the frigate *Romney*, under Captain Conner, lying in that port. On the 10th of June, a sloop named the *Liberty*, owned by John Hancock, one of the most active and zealous champions of colonial rights, was seized by Hallowell, the Comptroller of Customs, upon the allegation that a false entry had been made respecting her cargo or destination. The owner was just then absent; but some of his friends interfered when the Customs' officers, aided by seamen and marines from the *Romney*, were about to take the sloop away from her moorings beside the wharf. A violent altercation ensued, and rash threats were uttered on both sides, but there was no actual conflict. The Customs' officers were pelted with mud, and the windows of Hallowell's house were broken. This affair, magnified to the outbreak of a revolt or insurrection, was reported to the British Government by its representatives at Boston. Despatches from Bernard, letters from Hutchinson, and the personal evidence of Hallowell, who sailed for England on purpose to tell his tale of the colonial insults, were plied to the same effect. Even the captain of the *Romney* had to complain of resistance to the impressment of New England sailors for service on board his ship. The men of Boston were meantime assembled in their town meeting, on the 14th of June, to request that the *Romney* might be sent away, contending that every man-of-war in their harbour ought to be under the authority of the provincial Legislature. They further resolved that any person who should seek to bring bodies of soldiery into

Boston was to be deemed a traitor, and a disturber of the peace. These resolutions were carried by a numerous deputation, riding in a line of coaches up to the Governor's house, and Bernard received them with a show of respectful deference. But the citizens of Boston were not easily deceived: they met again on the 17th, and instructed their representatives in the Assembly to persist in the defence of their liberties "at the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes." It was a fact that Lord Hillsborough had already ordered a regiment to Boston, at the urgent request of Bernard.

The Provincial House of Representatives and the Provincial Council now met for their ordinary session. They appointed a joint committee of investigation to find out what measures had lately been taken, or were then in hand, for the execution of the recent unconstitutional Acts of Parliament by the aid of the naval or military forces. At this critical moment, Governor Bernard received from Lord Hillsborough his instructions to demand that the Assembly should, on pain of instant dissolution, rescind its February resolution to send the circular to the neighbouring provinces. Having consulted with Hutchinson and Oliver, the Governor put this demand to the House of Representatives on the 21st of June. It occasioned a warm debate, in which Otis and other members expressed their ardent hopes of another Congress of the American Colonies to maintain their common cause. A majority of 92 votes to 17 resolved not to comply with the demand of the British Government, and a firm but respectful and temperate exposition of their motives was addressed to the Secretary of State. Governor Bernard thereupon, at the end of June, dissolved the Assembly, but continued his efforts to persuade the Council that they might yet expect some concessions from the Royal indulgence. He was rewarded with a baronetcy, and with the promise of another colonial government.

The chief city of New England, and the important province of which it was the capital, now lay under daily apprehension of a complete suppression of their inherited and chartered liberties by military force. They were, like New York, deprived of the exercise of representative self government; but the people still came together in Faneuil Hall, or in the Old South Meeting House, to renew their mutual pledge that they would use no English merchandise, and to forbid the notion of a feeble surrender. On the other hand, the English Ministry determined to make a signal example of the rebellious city of Boston.

CHAPTER VII.

Excitement in Boston at the Report that Royal Troops were to be sent there—Republican Sentiments of Samuel Adams—Meetings for the Redress of Grievances—Assembling of a Convention from Massachusetts Towns and Districts—Petitions to the Governor and the King—Refusal to receive them—Alarm of Governor Bernard—Refusal of the Council to Billet the Troops—Arrival of Two Regiments in Boston—Difficulties as to Quartering the Soldiers—Desertions from their Ranks—Opinion in England—Determination to crush the Colonies—Views and Designs of France and Spain—The Colonial Agents in London, and Lord Hillsborough—Proceedings in Parliament—Events on the Mississippi—Dissolution of the New York Assembly, and New Elections—Representations of American Officials—Information against Samuel Adams—Debates in the English House of Commons—Attitude of France and Spain.

The news that Royal troops were shortly to be expected at Boston, added fresh fuel to the fire now raging in so many of the North American colonies. Indignation was expressed without reserve, and to many it appeared that civil war had actually begun. Samuel Adams, in particular, denounced with the utmost boldness the policy of the British Government, and the complicity of Bernard, Hutchinson, and the Commissioners of Customs, in the designs of the King and his Ministers. He denied that England had any right to send troops to America. He affirmed that, if they came, they would come as foreign enemies; and he argued that it would be justifiable to destroy every soldier whose foot should touch the shore. Moving to and fro with unresting activity, addressing public meetings, and talking to every knot of men whom he could find in the streets or about the dockyards, he insinuated his views into hundreds of minds already well-disposed to receive such counsels. He vowed that the people would take up arms, and shed their last drop of blood, before the King and Parliament should usurp power over them. Kings, he contended, were not essential to the well-being of a State:

Rome was never in a more prosperous condition than when she had no monarch. These teachings helped to deepen the Republican sentiments which had long existed among the New Englanders, and which were indeed a legacy from the original colonists—the Puritan Fathers, who had fled from the tyranny of James and Charles. Adams found many seconders. The *Boston Gazette* of September 5th, 1768, contained an article, recommending the calling together of a General Assembly, with instructions to pray for an enlargement of privileges to the extent of the original charter, which gave to the colony almost entire independence of the mother country. If, however, an army should be sent to reduce the people to slavery, an appeal to arms, and to the Supreme Judge, would, in the opinion of the writer, be the necessary consequence.

In the principal city of Massachusetts, the popular discontent increased with every day, and was rendered all the more suspicious and angry by the sailing of two ships from the port of Boston, which, it was said, had been despatched to Nova Scotia to fetch three regiments. Numerous meetings were held, and, on the 12th of September, the arms belonging to the town, which consisted of four hundred muskets, were deposited in boxes on the floor of Faneuil Hall, in the midst of a large gathering. On this occasion, a committee was appointed, with instructions to inquire of the Governor the grounds of his apprehension that regiments of his Majesty's troops were daily to be expected, and to request him to issue precepts for a General Assembly, in consequence of the precarious situation of affairs. Bernard refused to call an Assembly: it was evidently part of his scheme to coerce the people by postponing to an indefinite period the summoning of the popular representatives. The citizens hereupon declared in public meeting that "it is the first principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, that no law of the society can be binding on any individual without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his representative, of his own free election." After appealing to the Revolution of 1688, to the Bill of Rights, to the principles on which the House of Hanover succeeded to the throne of England, and to the charter which they had themselves received from King William III., the Bostonians declared by a solemn resolution that they would, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, privileges, and liberties; and at the same time they affirmed that money could not be levied, nor a standing army be kept up in the province, but by their own free consent. Another vote, carried by a great majority, was to the effect that every one of the inhabitants should provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition; but it was considered prudent to connect this resolve with an alleged impression that a war with France was likely to break out. The reason was an obvious pretence, and it annoyed many, even of the patriotic party, by its disingenuousness. It was also considered by the more cautious that so irritating a menace was ill-judged; and certainly it amounted to little short of a direct invitation to that civil war which, as against the parent State, was deprecated.

The next step was to create a deliberative body that should really represent the province. The select-men of Boston issued a circular, inviting every town in the colony to send a committee to a general Convention; and the suggestion was widely adopted. Ninety-six towns and eight districts of Massachusetts despatched their representatives to Boston, and a species of Parliament, the functions of which, however, were confined to discussion and advice, was speedily sitting on the classic ground of American democracy. The step was a bold one, and it excited considerable alarm amongst the timid. Some even considered it tantamount to high treason. The Convention, however, preserved at least a show of loyalty. It disclaimed all legislative authority. It made warm professions of devotion to the King; expressed as much aversion to popular tumults as to standing armies; offered to assist in preserving the peace; and recommended patience and good order to the people. The real intention of the leading men was too obvious to be concealed by any such array of words; but it is very possible that others may have sincerely desired conciliation. The Governor refused to receive a petition prepared by the Convention, and declined to recognise the body as a legitimate assemblage. As a friend of the province, he said, he must implore the malcontents to desist from the dangerous and criminal course on which they had entered. It was accordingly resolved to present a similar petition to the King; and, this having been drawn up, the Convention dissolved itself. The address to the throne, though expressed in very respectful language, was rejected equally with that to the Governor. The representatives of authority wilfully shut their eyes to the grievances which the Americans had to allege, and, for the sake of technical forms, which had doubtless been violated, denied the right of the colonists to meet for the discussion of matters gravely affecting their interests as a community. The proceedings and opinions of several of the popular leaders may have been rash and regrettable;

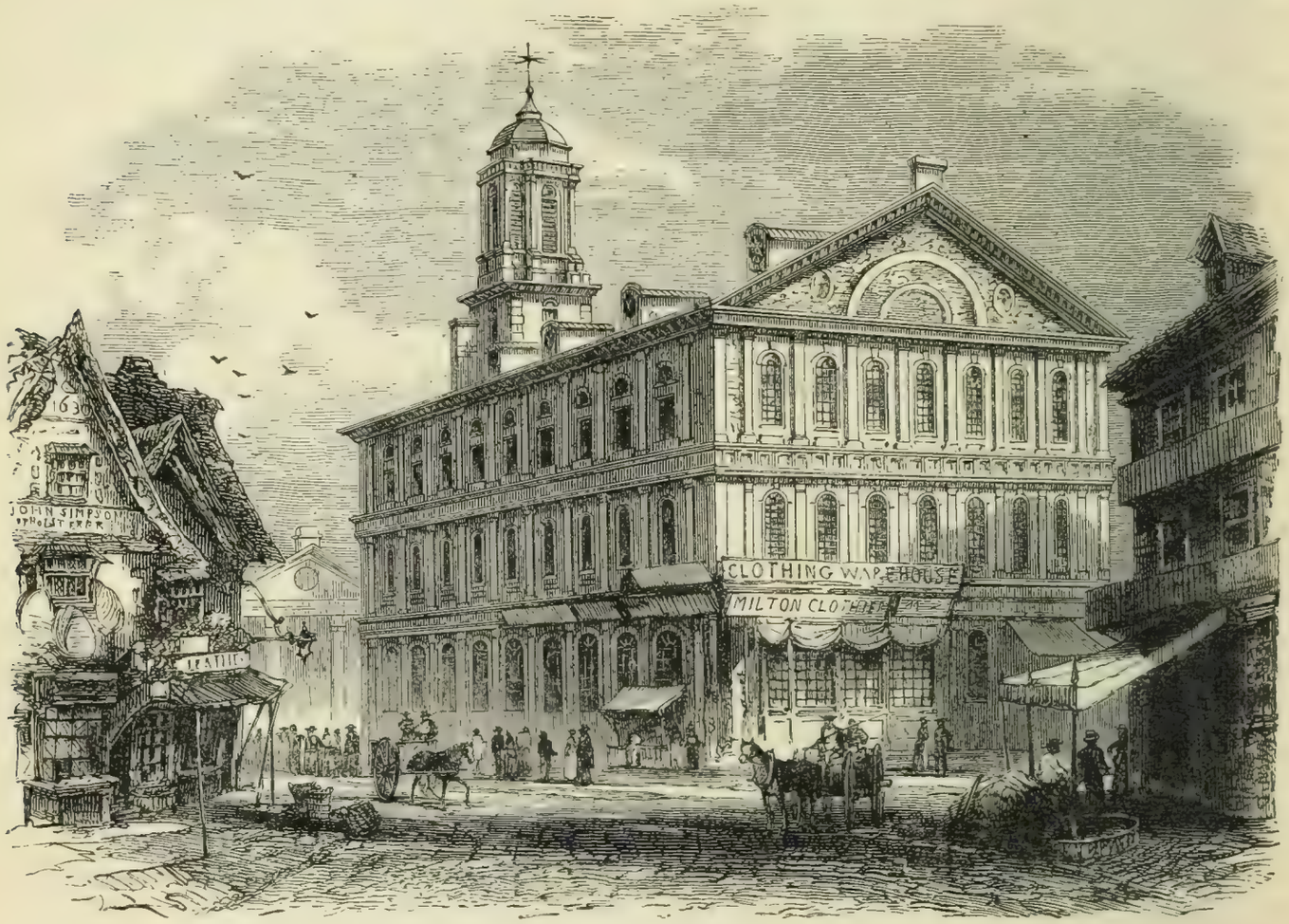
but the acts of the English Government, and of its officials in America, were calculated to exasperate the existing disaffection to the pitch of madness.

Even before the meeting of the Convention, Bernard was alarmed at all he heard and saw; and well he might be. He even feared for his life. He looked every day for the breaking out of an armed rebellion, and owned that he wished he were away. But, although he had an offer of the vice-government of Virginia, and thankfully accepted it, he found himself unable for the present to leave Boston. Matters were hastening to a crisis; the troops were expected every day; and it was necessary to make arrangements with the townspeople. The Council were desired to find quarters for the soldiers: they answered that the Castle was sufficient for that purpose. Bernard produced a letter from General Gage, directing that one of the regiments should be quartered in the city itself. It was replied that such a proceeding would be contrary to the provisions of the Act of Parliament regulating these matters; that the presence of troops in the town would be needlessly irritating; and that the peace would thus be endangered. Mortified at finding his arguments so well met, Bernard wrote to Lord Hillsborough, the Colonial Secretary, that the Government was entirely subdued, and that the forfeiture of the charter was a thing devoutly to be wished. When the Convention met, on the 22nd of September, his fears and perplexities increased. He commanded the members to break up immediately, on pain of being made to repent of their rashness; but his orders were scornfully disregarded. Pending the arrival of the troops, he had no power to enforce his will, and he keenly felt the degradation of his office and of himself. The existing difficulty was enhanced by a paper issued by the Council, which concisely stated the reasons of their conduct with respect to the billeting of troops, and asserted the legality of the position they had always assumed. Bernard shortly afterwards reported to Lord Hillsborough that the publication of this document was the greatest blow that had been given to the King's Government. Most of the Council were men of emphatically loyal principles; and the views they ordinarily held gave additional force to the strictures they now put forth.

The Convention broke up on the 27th of September. At noon next day, the squadron from Halifax arrived in Nantasket Bay. On board were two regiments, with artillery, for which Bernard had made a special request. The dispute with respect to quarters was renewed, but the Council refused to give way. On the 1st of October, the troops landed on the Long Wharf, each man carrying sixteen rounds of shot, and the whole marching with fixed bayonets. After proceeding through the town, with colours flying and drums beating, they paraded in the afternoon on Boston Common. At the same time, eight ships of war, accompanied by tenders, drew up off the wharfs, with loaded cannon pointed against the city. Bernard, with deplorable want of spirit, had made his way into the country, so that the conduct of affairs was solely in the hands of the commanding officer of the troops, Colonel Dalrymple. He encamped the 29th Regiment on the Common, persuaded the Sons of Liberty to let the remainder of his soldiers pass the night in Faneuil Hall, and in this way gained possession of the arms that had been piled up there. Next morning, the State House was opened, by order of the Governor, for the reception of the soldiers, and two field-pieces, together with the main-guard, were stationed in front. Other public buildings, including the chamber of the Assembly and the Court-house, were occupied by the military, and the members of the Council, in proceeding to their place of meeting, were compelled to pass through guards placed at the doors. Martial spectacles and martial sounds filled the streets; the citizens, as they went to and fro at night, were challenged by the sentries; and Boston presented all the appearance of a conquered town. But the Council still maintained their refusal to provide quarters for the troops until the barracks were full, and it was at length found necessary to hire private houses for the accommodation of the men. Had the officers put them into quarters on their own responsibility, they would have violated the Act of Parliament, and would have been liable to be cashiered on conviction before two justices of the peace. The military authorities had made their demonstration, but it had produced no other effect than to increase the exasperation of the citizens.

General Gage, the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was soon afterwards convinced, from inquiries he had set on foot, that the disturbances in March and June, on which the demand for troops had been founded, were trivial, and quite insufficient to justify the steps that had been taken. Yet those steps were not retraced, and Gage even advised the erection of barracks and a fort on Fort Hill, to command the town. The two parties to the quarrel had indeed got into so difficult a position towards one another that retreat was almost impossible to either. The authorities were especially embarrassed, and their troubles were soon enhanced by numerous desertions from the

regiments stationed at Boston. Soldiers are seldom so entirely reduced to the condition of machines that they are beyond the reach of popular influences. Those who were now in Massachusetts found that the fresh New World, with its countless openings for industry and adventure, presented many attractions, which some were unable to resist. Still, these were only the exceptions, and the majority were in a little while on the worst of terms with the townspeople. They were accused of profligate and



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

irreligious ways, and the Bostonians, who still retained a good deal of the old Puritan strictness, were much scandalised by the playing of military music on Sundays. Notwithstanding the desertions of individual members, the army, on the whole, continued staunch, and Governor Bernard felt more easy under the protection he now enjoyed, though he saw plainly that nothing but the deprivation of political privileges and powers would ever lay the people entirely at the mercy of the parent State.

New York joined with Massachusetts in the resolve of that province to cease importing British goods until the redress of grievances. This measure, not unnaturally, excited great indignation in England. The House of Lords, in December, passed a censure on all such agreements as factious and menacing combinations. Yet America was not without supporters in the old country. Chatham and Edmund Burke advocated her cause with all the strength of their eloquence and their reasoning; and Wilkes used her name as a weapon against the Ministry of the day. Still, the most prevalent feelings of the English people were a sense of anger at being defied by a body of provincials, and a determination to spare no effort for the re-establishment of Imperial authority. Hillsborough unquestionably spoke the sentiment of the greater number when he said to the agent of Connecticut, who had laid before him a petition from that colony:—"Depend upon it, Parliament will not suffer their authority to be trampled on. We wish to avoid severities towards you; but if you refuse obedience to our laws, the whole fleet and army of England shall enforce it." To the same effect the King addressed the Lords and Commons, at the opening of the session on the 8th of November. "Boston," he said, "appears to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitu-

tion, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off its dependence on Great Britain. With your concurrence and support, I shall be able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons who, under false pretences, have but too success

them afterwards. This may have been a mistaken view, but it should be recollected that it is never easy for a powerful and high-spirited nation to recede before a threat. The views of the Ministry were clearly expressed by Lord North, who said: "America must fear you before she can love you.



BOSTON COMMON.

fully deluded numbers of my subjects in America." The concurrence and support were not wanting. In the debate on the Address, a few speakers, including Burke, were found on the American side; but the general sense was against yielding to the menace of rebellion. Some even of those who disapproved the policy of the English Government were nevertheless strongly impressed with the necessity of putting down sedition. They would have subdued the Americans first, and conciliated

If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance,—you may regulate in no instance. Punishment will not be extended beyond the really guilty; and if rewards shall be found necessary, rewards shall be given. But what we do, we will do firmly: we shall go through our plan now that we have brought it so near success. I am against repealing the last Act of Parliament securing to us a revenue out of America. I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at my feet." Such

was the feeling of the immense majority of both Houses. The Address was carried without a division, and the country, in the main, ratified the resolve that had been come to by its representatives and hereditary legislators. As a consequence of this unanimity, the remonstrant provinces were reprimanded by the Home Government, and assured that the King would not listen to the representations of men who were so wicked as to question the supreme authority of Parliament.

In the colonies themselves there was a considerable agreement of opinion. The circular letter of Massachusetts was supported by provinces holding very divergent ideas on many subjects, and it was generally felt that the chief New England settlement was standing in the van of American liberty. The regiments at Boston had failed to crush disaffection: it was now sought to cripple trade. An order was issued by the three Secretaries of State to the ministers, consuls, and agents of the British Government in the ports of Europe, Madeira, and the Azores, to keep watch on the merchant-vessels of America, so that they should not establish with France and Spain a commerce in those articles which the provincials had refused to take from or through England. The French Government was particularly desirous of developing such a trade, as being lucrative in itself, and of a nature to injure the prosperity of Great Britain. But the King of Spain did not care to take any active measures of this kind, and nothing was done, though Franklin was consulted on the subject, and gave to it all the penetration and experience of his sagacious and ever-active intellect.

The colonial agents in London did the utmost they could to advance the cause of their several provinces; but the position of defiance, not far removed from actual rebellion, which had been taken up by the popular leaders at Boston, made compromise almost impossible. The denial by the colonies of any jurisdiction inherent in the English Parliament, compelled that body to assert its power, or give up the colonies altogether. If the patriotic leaders in America really desired, as they sometimes professed, to retain some degree of friendly connection with England, they acted in the worst way for promoting such an object. If, on the contrary, their wish was to foment a quarrel, to take every advantage of a provocation, in order that they might find or create an opportunity for establishing complete independence — a supposition rendered probable by the whole tenor of New England history—then, indeed, their policy was admirably adapted to the end in view, and its success, under the circumstances of the case, is not surprising. England often behaved capriciously and unjustly to her plantations; and the desire for independence on their part was very natural, all things considered. But it is essential to a complete view of the facts to bear in mind that the Americans were frequently defiant even of a just jurisdiction; that they sought occasions of rupture; and that they advanced pretensions which no parent State was likely to acknowledge. In one breath they claimed the privileges of Englishmen, and rejected the rule of England.

When giving an audience to the colonial agents in a body, on the 6th of December, Lord Hillsborough said:—"Administration will enforce the authority of the Legislature of Great Britain over the colonies in the most effectual manner, but with moderation and lenity. All the petitions we have received are very offensive, for they contain a denial of the authority of Parliament. We have no fondness for the acts complained of: particularly, the late Duty Act is so anti-commercial that I wish it had never existed; and it would certainly have been repealed, had the colonies said nothing about it, or petitioned against it only on the ground of its inexpediency. But the principle you proceed upon extends to all laws; and we cannot, therefore, think of repealing it, at least this session of Parliament, or until the colonies shall have dropped the point of right. Nor can the conduct of the people of Boston pass without a severe censure." The argument of Lord Hillsborough on this occasion was not unreasonable. The particular objections of the Americans to particular acts of the English Legislature might have been met and satisfied. It was the denial of all Parliamentary jurisdiction that made the struggle as inevitable as, on the part of many of the Americans, it was evidently desired.

The friends of America made a gallant stand in Parliament, but were completely outvoted. Alderman Beckford, in the Commons, demanded a general inquiry into the affairs of the colonies, with a view to measures of relief; but, in a House of two hundred, a hundred and twenty-seven voted in favour of the Government, who were for confining the inquiry to a consideration of the conduct of Massachusetts. The Ministry were determined to follow without flinching the path on which they had entered. Lord Hillsborough, in the House of Lords, said that legislation and taxation must stand or fall together, and added that, if pacific measures proved insufficient, the whole force of the country would be exerted to bring the colonies into subjection. He then introduced a series of resolutions condemning the acts of the patriotic party in Massa-

chusetts, approving the resort to military force, and indicating various approaching changes in the charter of the province, and in the local government of the towns. In addition to these resolutions, the Duke of Bedford moved an address to the King, praying him to bring to condign punishment the chief authors and instigators of the recent disorders, and, on sufficient grounds appearing, to put them on their trial for treason before a special commission in England, pursuant to the provisions of a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., the object of which was to punish treason committed "abroad." To revive so obsolete a statute—one, moreover, which could not possibly have been intended to apply to circumstances at all resembling those which had arisen under George III.—was a most injudicious and despotic exercise of power; but the resolutions and address were carried with scarcely any opposition, and the Government of the day had made another step towards the inevitable crisis. Every move on one side of the ocean was seconded by a similar move on the other side. The representatives of authority in New England threatened to send the popular leaders to the old country for trial; but they seemed afraid to carry out their own menaces. Samuel Adams was more violent than ever in his opposition to the Royal Government and its agents; yet no attempt was made to restrain him. At his suggestion, the justices at quarter-sessions found various soldiers and officers guilty of disorderly conduct. The higher courts sometimes set aside these convictions, but nothing more was done.

In these irritating discussions and acts, the year 1768 came to a close. But events of another kind had been occurring in the direction of the Mississippi, which it will be fitting to relate in this place. After the Peace of 1763, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain. The people of that province objected to the cession, and, calling together an Assembly, entreated the French King not to desert them. They were told that France could not support the charge of her once-favoured colony; and in 1766 the Spaniards took possession of New Orleans, but were received with so much opposition that Ulloa, the new Governor, after remaining a few months, found it advisable to quit the city in September of the same year. An independent Government was then formed, and it was resolved once more to seek the protection of France, or, failing that, to establish a Republic. Louis XV. still refused to reclaim his former possession, and the species of self-governing Commonwealth which was found existing there in 1768, but which in the following year was put down with a high hand by the Spaniards, served to stimulate in the Anglo-Americans a desire for similar political conditions. This was especially the case in the west. The people in the settlement of Illinois were discontented with their state. The towns in that province were very thinly populated, and were even declining in numbers; for it was the policy of Hillsborough to prevent the colonisation of the west, and to create a long line of Indian frontier at the back of the old colonies. One of the consequences of this policy was to detach from the jurisdiction of Virginia the whole of Kentucky, and all lands north-west of the Ohio. Virginia of course objected to so serious a loss of territory; but the agent of the English Government, one Stuart, was instructed to disregard all remonstrances, and to carry out the ideas of his principal. On the 14th of October, 1768, Stuart met the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Cherokees at Hard Labour, in the western part of South Carolina, and concluded a treaty, by which the Indians ratified their former grants of land, and established a western boundary to Virginia, such as excluded the territories to which she laid claim. At the same time, the Virginians held a congress at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations, which was attended by Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the northern district, by Thomas Walker, commissioner for Virginia, and by William Franklin, the only son of Benjamin, who represented New Jersey. Very nearly three thousand of the savages were present, and sumptuous presents were made them, to obtain their favour. The result, however, was an agreement by which the Tennessee was constituted the western boundary of Virginia. In making this arrangement, Johnson disregarded his instructions; and the general issue of both congresses was displeasing to the Virginians, who looked with all the more admiration on the virtual independence of the people of Louisiana.

The Assembly of New York was dissolved early in 1769, after having, at the close of the previous year, unanimously asserted its legislative rights, and appointed an intercolonial committee of correspondence. The new elections were in favour of the Government party, and in some respects the principles of the official candidates were more liberal than those of their opponents. For instance, they supported the introduction of the ballot, which the tenantry greatly desired. In other ways they conciliated particular interests, sometimes with more of policy than of wisdom; and they reaped the advantage of their clever management. Affairs in Massachusetts continued in a very unsatisfactory state. Governor Bernard still advised measures of repression; Chief Justice Hutchinson recommended

an abridgment of English liberties as regarded the colonists; and Hutchinson's brother-in-law, Oliver, hinted that the malcontents should be got out of the way. Affidavits against Samuel Adams were sworn to before Hutchinson, with a view to his being sent to England under the statute of Henry VIII.; and others were similarly threatened. The violence of party increased with these acts. The official newspapers and the patriotic newspapers reviled each other with every ingenuity of virulent accusation. A storm of recriminations clattered up and down the columns of the press, and the voices of moderation, of fairness, and of reason, had little chance of being heard in the midst of so angry a roar. In England, Lord North, unfortunately, took his stand on the most absolutist principles. He rejected, without reply or examination, petitions which set forth the grievances of the colonists, and prayed for their removal; and on the 26th of January, 1769, he introduced into the House of Commons the resolves and address which had been previously affirmed in the Lords.

These were strongly opposed by Pownall, the late Governor of Massachusetts, by Colonel Barré, by Burke, and by a few other members of liberal views. Barré, with rather doubtful wisdom, told Ministers that, if they were resolved to oppose the colonists, they had better do so with open violence, rather than with a pretended moderation. "Away with these partial, resentful trifles!" he exclaimed; "trifles calculated to irritate, not to quell or appease—inadequate to their purpose, unworthy of us. Why will you endeavour to deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not Massachusetts only that disputes your right, but every part of America. From one end of the continent to the other, they tell you that you have no right to tax them. My sentiments on this matter you know. Consider well what you are doing. Act openly and honestly. Tell them you *will* tax them, and that they *must* submit. Do not adopt this little, insidious, futile plan. They will despise you for it." He warned the Government that the Americans would not be easily humbled, and that, even if this could be effected, the result would be disastrous to the old country. Unless the attempt to tax the colonists were abandoned, England would run the risk of losing America. To the same effect testified Pownall. Speaking from his experience of the Americans, he affirmed that they would undoubtedly contend for their rights until either they recovered them, or were annihilated by superior force. Notwithstanding these representations, the House of Commons sanctioned the resolutions of the Lords, and the joint address of both Houses was then sent up to the King. It expressed the perfect satisfaction of the Legislature with the measures which his Majesty had pursued, and tendered the strongest assurances of effectual support to him in such further steps as might be found necessary to maintain a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts. It besought him to direct the Governor of that province to take the most effectual methods for procuring information of all treasonable offences committed within his jurisdiction since the 30th of December, 1767, and to transmit the names of the offenders to one of the Secretaries of State, in order that a special commission might be issued for bringing them to trial in England, in conformity with the provisions of the statute previously described. The determination thus arrived at was a fatal error. Du Châtelet, the French Ambassador at London, saw how full of evil omen for England was the path on which an incapable Administration had now entered. Some of the best members of the House of Commons earnestly protested against the tyranny of bringing the offenders to England for trial. It was fairly and justly pointed out that in England the accused would not be able to call witnesses in their defence, and, if condemned, would be condemned on a one-sided statement. Moreover, it was very doubtful whether the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. was applicable to America. Sir William Meredith, in the House of Commons, bluntly denied its applicability, and added that, if *he* were an American, he would not submit to it. Nothing, however, could prevail against the infatuation of the Ministry and their supporters.

France and Spain looked on the growing quarrel with different feelings. To Du Châtelet it appeared that free trade should be established with the Anglo-American colonies, as a means of supporting them and of crippling England; and proposals to this effect were made to Spain. But the latter Power saw that the removal of restrictions on commerce would injure her own monopolies, and she dreaded the creation of a Republican Government on her colonial frontiers. "The cession of Canada," wrote Du Châtelet to Choiseul from London, on the 17th of February, 1769, "will one day be amply compensated for, if it shall cause the rebellion and independence of the English colonies, which become every day more probable and more near." Spain had not such serious cause to desire revenge against England; and she felt uneasy at the new principles which were rising in the world of politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

Public Opinion in America—Progress of Republican Principles—French Influence—Fate of New Orleans when ceded to Spain—The British Government in 1769—Lord North and King George—Policy of repealing Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767—State of Parties—The Opposition Cliques—The Independent Liberals—The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden in the Cabinet—Growth of a Common Sentiment between the Colonies—Alternate support of each other—Delaware and Pennsylvania—New York Non-Importation Agreement—Re-assembling of the Massachusetts Legislature—More Disputes with Governor Bernard—The Troops at Boston—The Adjournment to Cambridge—Departure of Sir Francis Bernard—Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson—His Sons in the Tea Trade—Quarrels with the Revenue Officers and the Soldiers—Fall of the Ministry in England, 1770—New Government of Lord North—Continued Troubles in Boston—The Hutchinsons' Tea Store—Soldiers, Workmen, and Street Boys—Affray with the Military—The 5th of March—Firing on the People—A Night of Alarm—Hutchinson in Council—Town Meeting—Demand for Removal of the Troops—Captain Preston sent for Trial—Parliamentary Debates—Tea-duty the Symbol of Contention—Reopening of Trade with England—Royal Orders in Council for the Coercion of Boston—Military and Naval Occupation of Boston—The Provincial Fortress, Castle William, delivered up to Colonel Dalrymple—Constitution of the Provincial Council altered—Franklin sent to London for Massachusetts—The western territories, Kentucky and Tennessee—Oppression in North Carolina—The Regulators—Herman Husbands—Riots at Hillsborough—Governor Tryon's Vengeance, 1771—His expedition to Orange County—A local Reign of Terror.

It is not difficult to trace the process by which, in the popular sentiment of English America, during the protracted strife with the British Government, zeal for provincial rights and interests at length took the form of enthusiasm for a Republican system. The descendants in New England of those seventeenth-century Puritans who shared every religious and political conviction of the Commonwealth-men, were predisposed to accept the abstract notions of an ideal civil union, the doctrines of a social compact among freemen to constitute the State, which French metaphysical writers had begun to promulgate. A tendency to this association of principles had been manifested a hundred years before in the speculations of such men as Vane, Harington, and Sydney; and the mental habits of the colonists were favourable to active free-thinking beyond the ordinary scope of public discussions at home. They had remained almost wholly exempt from those influences of a political reaction, in a great measure due to the Episcopalian Church Establishment, which were so powerful about the commencement of George III.'s reign. In the controversy between Dean Tucker and Dr. Franklin, for example, and in other pamphlets or speeches of that time, America was reproached for cherishing "a factious Republican spirit;" while those who stood the brunt of this accusation confessed their misfortune "to be Whigs in a reign when Whiggism was out of fashion, besides Protestant Dissenters and lovers of liberty." But their old-fashioned maxims of civil and religious freedom had become largely modified by the precepts of the new French philosophy, conveyed in a rhetorical language then beginning to prevail. It is remarkable that the authors and expounders of that universal solvent for the removal of social obstructions and incongruities were, to a certain extent, patronised and assisted by the despotic monarchy of Versailles, more especially with a view to loosening and weakening the bonds of political strength in rival communities. Germany and England were to be rendered less formidable opponents of France by the insinuating effect of such teaching as that of Rousseau and other apostles of a bare individualism, one development of which lay in a scheme of unmixed democracy and the absolute Sovereignty of the People. The Ministers of Louis XV. and his unfortunate successor perceived an opportunity for the use of this weapon in the disturbed and excited condition of the public mind throughout the English-American colonies, which they studied far more diligently than the Ministers of King George ever did. In the correspondence of Du Châtelet with the Duc de Choiseul, towards the end of 1768, it was urged that France and Spain ought now to get their revenge for the recent loss of vast territories in America, by seeing the result of British mismanagement in the speedy assertion of American independence. As a practical example contributing to this object, it was proposed by the French Government that the King of Spain should forego his sovereignty over the French colony at New Orleans which had been ceded to Spain, and that a free State of Louisiana should be formed under their joint protection. The Spanish Government, however, preferred to enforce its legal title, by sending a squadron and a body of troops from Cuba, under Alexander O'Reilly, taking possession of New Orleans without resistance, and cruelly putting to death the patriotic French citizens who had led the brief revolt against their compulsory transfer to a foreign Empire. This event, which took place in 1769, was certainly not an example calculated to make the English colonists of the Atlantic coast

Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard Penn Esq.rs true and absolute Proprietaries of Pennsylvania by the hands of the honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet the Sum of ten Thousand Dollars being the full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by the Indians of the six Nations at the late Treaty of Fort Stanwix We say received this Twenty Eighth day of July — Anno Domini 1769 — for ourselves and the other Indians of the six Nations and their confederate and dependant Tribes for whom we act and by whom we are appointed and empowered —

Witness present
Nor.d MacLeod
Wm Eyre
Tuotim
Pat Daly
Jacob Klock Jastie

Anahgogare

Onoghranoron

Onughshiony

For the Cajuga Nation
by the desire of the whole

Anaquadocka

Serrethouna

Abraham for the Mohawks

Johannes Tekarihogea

Jonathan Thayendanegea

Joseph Thayendanegea

James Sufferoronne

Lodowicke Aughquanta

Joseph Tagahesaron

Tayuni

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TREATY WITH INDIAN TRIBES, 1769.

more disposed than they already were to give up their connection with Great Britain; but the artful politicians of France hoped, and not without good grounds, that the folly and harshness of the English Government would in the end bring about the result which they so ardently desired. It need scarcely be said that the advisers of Louis XV. had no real sympathy with freedom. They probably hoped that it would suffer in the approaching collision; but they were willing to use its principles as a means of sowing discord between different portions of the English Empire, and thus weakening the power of England.



STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

The advisers or subservient Ministers of George III. were still doing all they could, though with an opposite intention, to bring about in the colonies that total revulsion of feeling against the mother country which the French Ministry, with the most hostile views, desired to procure. In general, it is by mistakes and want of address or tact in the Government, more easily than by the talents and industry of the opposition party, that revolutions are produced; and this is yet more likely to happen in a distant province beyond seas, of which the ruling class can have but a very small knowledge. In the Parliamentary session of 1769, while the affairs of America engaged a slight degree of attention compared with the disputed election of Wilkes for Middlesex, there was not statesmanship enough to see the propriety and expediency of simply repealing Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767. Lord North, who piqued himself on understanding and regarding "a commercial policy," was quite willing to give up the duties which Townshend had imposed on articles of British manufacture,—glass, paint, cardboard, and paper; but he would not give up the duty on tea, though it yielded only £300 to the revenue, since the Americans declined the use of tea. The fact is that Lord North, in this petty piece of Ministerial obstinacy, was not acting upon his own judgment or feeling, but was doing what King George desired him to do. It was the fixed idea of his Majesty, throughout these discussions, which were swayed by his private interference in the closet, "that there must always be some one tax, to keep up the right to tax at all." On the other hand, it was the unanimous determination of two millions and a half of people in America, that this "one tax" should never be allowed, precisely because it was designed "to keep

up the right" of Imperial taxation in the colonies, which they denied as an act of usurpation, and dreaded as a possible instrument for the subversion of their local self-government. Hence it came to pass that this paltry tax on a trivial article of domestic comfort—a matter in itself quite unimportant to the exchequer and to the wants of the people—was chosen by both conflicting parties, the Court and the American colonies, for the symbol of their grand political contention; behind which came on the opposing principles of arbitrary rule and popular suffrage, of Royal prerogative and Republican freedom. The Earl of Hillsborough, as an official spokesman of the former party, was quite consistent in saying, not indeed in public debate, "We can grant nothing to the Americans, except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." It is just, however, to remark that, in the Parliamentary discussions of this time, the conduct of different sections of the Opposition, that is to say, of those headed respectively by Rockingham and by Grenville, was characterised by an utter lack of principle. If they taunted the Ministry for its hesitation to repeal Townshend's Acts, it was to gain a party triumph, not to prescribe the means of extricating the nation from its difficulties. Independent members of the House of Commons were then but few; and their exhortations, like those of Alderman Beckford, Alderman Trecothick, and ex-Governor Pownall, had no effect upon the votes of a venal phalanx of Ministerial partisans, or upon those of the great borough-holders' nominees, the deputies of a wealthy patron, the mere tools of an oligarchical faction. Such was the composition of that House; and, as its debates could have no issue but that which had been predetermined in the councils of the official rulers, they shall henceforth not occupy a large portion of our space. Within those Ministerial councils were yet remaining two or three men, whose sagacity and liberality of sentiment might have averted the fatal conclusion. But their constancy of purpose was not equal to their enlightenment; they were not always true either to themselves or to one another. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden, while in the Cabinet, which discussed this question just before the prorogation in May, earnestly recommended, with General Conway and others, that Townshend's Acts should be totally repealed; yet they were deterred by fear of the King's displeasure from an open and resolute maintenance of their opinion. They had weakly, perhaps selfishly, consented to the removal of a Liberal colleague, namely Lord Shelburne, whose character and ability would have lent most efficient support to the cause which they felt to be right. But it is the curse of an exacting, prying, meddling employer who will not trust the men appointed to serve him, that he loses every one whose service is worth having: the honest and high-minded retire in disgust, while those of less strict integrity dare not perform their best resolutions. King George III. was fated to experience this retribution for the common fault of fussy and suspicious masters.

It is far more interesting to contemplate the steadfast attitude which the colonial champions of English self-government presented to the view of an expectant world. They now formed, in heart and mind, a single community with several distinct centres of action; one body with many heads, which were the different provincial capitals, whether or not left in the regular exercise of their legislative powers. If New York or Massachusetts suffered a temporary political decapitation, by the Government dissolving its House of Representatives, or even by an Act of Parliament suspending the functions of its chartered constitution, the same life and spirit would move another limb of the American hydra, raise another head, open another mouth, and speak in like accents with another tongue, in some one of the sister provinces. The Union of States, the Federal Republic that was to be, grew up under this invigorating discipline of successive blows dealt at its most prominent parts, with angry purpose of chastisement, but with a blind disregard of their real nature. Whenever any one province, as we have seen, was for a moment put down, there was one just ready to rise up again, with a renewed demonstration against some form of official encroachment, or some unconstitutional impost. It is no wonder that the prerogative men in England lost all patience with these troublesome colonists, and said they ought to be hanged. In May, 1769, the turn of Virginia had arrived to come to the aid of Massachusetts in their common field of combat. Its Council and House of Burgesses met at Williamsburg, convened with great pomp and solemnity by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt, who rode through the little rustic town in a coach with six white horses. They took into consideration the Parliamentary resolutions of January, and the address to his Majesty, promoted by Ministers, which had sanctioned the suppression of the Massachusetts Assembly, and the employment of military force at Boston, and had recommended fetching the Boston leaders to be tried in England for treason under the old law of Henry VIII. As an indirect response to this action of the British Legislature, it was once more unanimously resolved by the Legislature

of Virginia that the Provincial Assembly had the sole right of imposing taxes there; and that it was lawful, as well as expedient, for the provinces to correspond and confer with each other, to defend in common their violated rights. It was further resolved that no subject of his Majesty in America could lawfully be carried beyond sea for trial, under the obsolete statute which had been cited; and that "dangers would ensue" if such an attempt were made. These resolutions were ordered to be communicated to every other Provincial Assembly; an address of similar purport was to be sent to the King. Lord Botetourt, however, did not wait for the presentation of them to himself as Governor, but at once dissolved the Assembly. The resolutions were hailed with great satisfaction throughout America; they were speedily adopted by the Assembly of Delaware, and were approved by a public meeting in Philadelphia. But, in the meantime, Virginia, using the non-importation scheme as a political weapon, was following the lead of Pennsylvania and New York. This matter was made in April the subject of correspondence between Washington and his friend George Mason,* and they prepared a scheme for the Assembly to consider. The Assembly had not time for such formal resolutions on the subject as those which the New York Assembly had passed a month before. Its members nevertheless met after the dissolution, and signed the agreement, proposed by Washington, to purchase no English wares, to which they added a special covenant against slave-trading. These papers were sent through the province, and all the southern provinces, to obtain many thousand signatures. By such means the ball was kept rolling over that continent, till the re-assembling of the Massachusetts Legislature, with its newly elected House of Representatives, could no longer be deferred. This event took place at the beginning of June.

The very first step was to remonstrate with the Governor against the presence of the naval and military forces at Boston, under orders independent of the Provincial Government. The main guard was actually posted opposite the State House, with two guns pointed at its doors, while the Assembly sat within. Some of the troops there stationed were consequently sent to Halifax, but the Governor and his deputy, Hutchinson, would not dispense with the two regiments still left. As the House of Representatives complained of having these troops at its doors, Bernard adjourned the sittings to Cambridge, which is almost a suburb of Boston. Sir Francis had already got letters of recall, and was preparing to depart for England, much disappointed that the Governorship of Virginia was given to another man. His immediate care was to pocket the grant of a year's salary before his departure. But the House of Representatives, ere voting the supplies for the civil service, adopted a petition to the King for Bernard's removal, for they had not yet got any official intimation of his actual recall. An amusing game of wilful cross-purposes was played between the crafty old Governor and the sturdy guardians of popular interests. Sir Francis gave them to understand that he would assent to no act they might pass till they paid him his year's salary in advance; of which they chose to take no notice. They took up the resolutions of the Virginia Legislature, concerning the questions of taxation, the joint action of provinces, and the sending of Americans to England for trial, which resolutions were now fully adopted by the Assembly of Massachusetts. They further resolved that "the establishment of a standing army in the colony, in a time of peace, without consent of its General Assembly, is an invasion of the natural and chartered rights of the people." In spite of this resolution, it was officially incumbent on Bernard to demand the appropriation of those sums which were required to provide for the troops, under the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act. The House of Representatives at Boston did not, like that of New York in 1766, meet this demand with a partial compliance, omitting certain articles, but flatly declared that they would never make provision for any such purposes. There was, indeed, a difference between Boston and New York, inasmuch as the latter was the ordinary headquarters of the King's military forces in America, whereas the troops at Boston were specially sent, against the protests of the Assembly, to enforce unconstitutional laws and decrees. The Governor, however, could do neither more nor less than prorogue the Assembly to the next year, warning them that the King and Parliament of Great Britain would judge of their acts, and deal with them accordingly. Sir Francis Bernard, on the last day of July, finally sailed from America; and his deputy, Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson, was made Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in his stead.

* Letter of George Washington, April 5th, 1769. "Our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom. Something should be done to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. No man should hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing; yet arms should be the last resource. We have already proved the inefficacy of addresses to the Throne and remonstrances to Parliament. How far their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried."

This person, of whom we have already seen much, was a native of the province, intimately versed in its affairs, author of a book on its earlier history, a learned lawyer, and a diligent man of business. His uncommon abilities were rendered mischievous to his country by a want of moral integrity; he was extremely avaricious and unscrupulous in the pursuit of gain, a cunning dissembler and double-dealer, and a man destitute of courage. He and his sons were thought to have made money by the illicit importation of goods prohibited, or liable to duties which the revenue officers could never get paid; and they were now importing tea and other lawful merchandise, contrary to the resolutions passed by their neighbours. A son of Sir Francis Bernard was at Boston, engaged in the same traffic. It may well be imagined that Hancock and other Boston merchants, who, after suffering much annoyance from the revenue laws, had renounced trade for the sake of putting a pressure on their British political antagonists, were hardly disposed to tolerate this behaviour. The offenders were called to account by a Faneuil Hall meeting; harsh things were said, and the revenue officers were insulted in the street. One of them, named Robinson, came to blows with James Otis, who got a knock on the head at a time when he was afflicted with approaching insanity. But when, in the month of October, two vessels arrived with tea and other goods consigned to persons in Boston, the people assembled, and insisted on sending away those cargoes. The consignees were obliged to submit, as Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson did not venture to call upon Dalrymple, the military commander, to disperse the people by force of arms. These proceedings were not the act of a mere mob, but of the more respectable class of townsfolk, and were approved by a town meeting which the heads of the municipality duly convened. The same meeting passed resolutions upon the recent proposals of the Ministry in England to repeal a portion only of Townshend's Acts, the taxes on paper, glass, and paint, leaving that on tea; which was rejected as an unsatisfactory measure. Some days later, a detested informer was seized by the populace, tarred and feathered, and carted through the town. A printer also, who had issued libels or caricatures deriding the leaders of the movement, was chased out of his house, and compelled to fly from Boston. The non-importation agreement, which some of its managers at New York would have extended till the complete repeal of all the Revenue Acts had been obtained, was now signed perforce by every one in business. The soldiers and their officers at Boston were greatly exasperated by feeling themselves the occasion of so much popular displeasure. Quarrels now and then occurred, and the magistrates inflicted the ordinary punishments for such offences; but this was resented as an affront to the military uniform. More than one officer was indicted for language provoking a breach of the peace.

The autumn and winter of 1769 passed thus in the capital of Massachusetts, while different conditions prevailed in other provinces. A tendency to conciliation was shown in New York, where Lieutenant-Governor Colden, now once more ruling in chief since the death of Moore, concurred in the proposal of the Assembly that all the provinces should elect delegates to a congress for the regulation of trade with the Indians. The New York Assembly was also permitted to issue bills of credit, and was persuaded by these concessions to relax its opposition to the billeting clauses. In Virginia, too, some effect was produced by the assurances of the Governor, a nobleman and a friend of the King, that all further taxation of America would be foregone. Lord Botetourt, indeed, had now given his own advice, and so had other Governors, for the abolition of the tea-duty. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey in Maryland, and in North and South Carolina, though each province had its special grievance or cause of anxiety (that of the last-named province being the renewal of the slave-trade), there was yet an apparent pause to watch the result of the more urgent conflict still impending at Boston.

The opening of the year 1770 was marked by a signal change in the political situation of the King's Government at home. The Ministry over which the Duke of Grafton had presided, with little real influence or credit, was assailed in both Houses of Parliament so vigorously and pertinaciously that it was forced to resign. But neither the Marquis of Rockingham nor the Earl of Chatham was permitted by George III.'s personal determination of the crisis to obtain the reversion of Ministerial power. The King chose rather to make Lord North the head of a new Government and of a new Tory party, devoted to the assertion of high prerogative doctrines, and to the increase of monarchical authority. Thurlow, a legal bully for the Crown, was chosen to supersede Camden on the Chancellor's woolsack, since Charles Yorke had died by his own hand, in a fit of remorseful shame, when about to grasp that very prize which he had striven to reach through unworthy tergiversation. Hillsborough continued to be the Secretary of State dealing with the Colonies. The American cause, however, was now taken up more frankly and

unreservedly by the Whig party. It was again supported by the eloquence of Chatham and of Burke, and came now to be associated with the claims of Ireland, and with the English popular demand for a measure of Parliamentary reform. It was a significant token of this movement that South Carolina sent a contribution of £10,000 to the London Society for maintaining the principles of the Bill of Rights. Colonel Barré, in one of his House of Commons speeches, exclaimed, with great point, "The people of England know, the people of Ireland know, and the people of America feel, that the iron hand of Ministerial despotism is lifted against them."

The people of America, whose case alone is our concern in this narrative, were not yet so generally exasperated but that their feelings might have been appeased by a wiser Government than that of Lord North and King George. New York, a mercantile community, was already disposed to give up the non-importation league, after waiving its objections to the Billeting Act. It was Boston, as we have remarked, that still resented with increasing bitterness the presence of a military garrison, and the enforcement of the Revenue Acts, more especially the duty on tea. The price of that article having doubled at Boston, the sons of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, breaking a pledge they had given to the associated townsmen at the surrender of their tea-chest keys, secretly made a few sales of tea. They were detected and exposed to popular indignation; a meeting was held, in which magistrates, members of the Assembly, and other respectable citizens, took part; and the Hutchinsons' house was beset by a multitude who threatened no violence, but who sternly demanded satisfaction. The Lieutenant-Governor spoke to them from his window, but the parley resulted in his surrender next morning, for fear of a riot, and the tea which had been sold was brought back. The Council, to which he appealed, would not sanction the employment of the troops to put down these proceedings by force; and Hutchinson, a man of peace with no sort of courage, hesitated to do so by his sole authority. Dalrymple and all the military chafed at this holding of them back, and seem to have wilfully provoked a more serious outbreak. But it was at New York, before it came to pass at Boston, that the soldiery and the people were brought into violent collision. The "Liberty Pole" in the Park was cut down by a party of soldiers, which occasioned a riotous conflict of two days; but, no deadly weapons being used, the populace got the upper hand. A new pole was erected by the "Sons of Liberty" at the junction of the Battery with the Broadway; and this was claimed as a popular triumph. It had its effect on the state of feeling at Boston, where much anger had been excited, about this time, by another affray, in which the soldiery were not concerned. An informer named Richardson, pelted with stones by a crowd of boys, fired his musket among them, and killed a child eleven years old. The poor little fellow's funeral was attended by five hundred schoolfellows, and by a procession of indignant townsmen. Some days later, there was a brawl at a ropewalk between the workmen there and one of the 29th Regiment. The latter called in the aid of some comrades, and they fought with cutlasses against clubs, but were beaten off by the workmen. These disturbances, and the frequent interchange of insulting words and threats, prepared for a worse conflict.

It happened in the evening of the 5th of March, that a barber's boy in King Street saw an officer passing by, and cried after him, "There goes a mean-spirited fellow who hath not paid for dressing his hair." The sentinel at the Custom-house, hearing this insult, left his post, and struck the boy on the head with his musket. A noise was made, a crowd gathered, and a party of soldiers issued from the barracks, challenging the townspeople to stand against them. Ensign Maule and other young officers invited their men to turn out. The boys in the street meantime annoyed the sentinel with opprobrious language and irritating gestures; and the man then loaded his musket, and threatened to fire. A servant of the Custom House ran to the main guard, and reported that they were killing the sentinel. Captain Preston, that day in command of the guard, formed a party of six, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, with whom he forced a way through the people. The sentry had not really been attacked, but it was time, no doubt, for some interference on his behalf. The mob had sticks, with which they beat down the raised muskets of the soldiers, and still defied them, as "lobster scoundrels," to come on if they dared. Two of the soldiers, Kilroy and Montgomery, who had been worsted in the fray at the ropewalk, were now eager for revenge. They fired when hit by the sticks and stones thrown at them; Samuel Gray, master of the ropewalk, and a mulatto named Attucks, were killed. Preston then ordered or allowed the other soldiers to fire; a third person was killed on the spot, and eight were wounded, two of them mortally. The dead bodies lay in pools of blood on the snow that covered the streets. It was a night of wild alarm; the beating of drums, tolling of bells, and other signals of public

warning, kept all the town awake. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, blaming the soldiers and their officer, got the regiment confined to its barracks and guard-room. Captain Preston surrendered to the sheriff, that he and the others might take their trial for murder. The Council of the province, with Hutchinson presiding over them, met early next morning; when the two commanding officers, Colonel Dalrymple and Colonel Carr, were present by invitation. At the same time, a solemn meeting of townspeople in Faneuil Hall was adjourned, for want of room, to the Old South Church. It was resolved that nothing but the parture, under the authority of the local magistrates. The soldiers who had fired, with their officer, Captain Preston, were brought to trial, when the professional counsel who defended them were John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two leading patriots of Boston. Preston obtained a verdict of acquittal; but the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

When the time came, in that month of March, for the session of the Massachusetts Assembly to recommence, it was convened by the Lieutenant-Governor at Cambridge, despite the remonstrances of its members. But its first action was to declare



PLAN OF THE HARBOUR OF BOSTON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY. (*From "Neal's History."*)

immediate removal of the troops could prevent further carnage. Deputations from the neighbouring towns upheld this demand, and three thousand assembled citizens unanimously agreed in enforcing it. A committee, of whom Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Molineux, were the chief members, bore their resolution to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and the military commanders, at the State House. In reply to their first call upon him, Hutchinson offered to send the 29th Regiment to Castle William, keeping the 14th in the town. But they came again in the afternoon, and insisted upon the total removal of the troops. The Council debated the matter, and agreed that it was better to comply: Hutchinson yielded to their opinion, and Dalrymple obeyed his order. Both regiments were sent to Castle William, a guard of the town militia keeping watch over their de-

that no military force should in time of peace be maintained at Boston above the civil Government, or without the consent of the provincial Legislature. In this constitutional maxim, the leaders of the British Parliament, not excepting Grenville, expressed their concurrence when the affair became a topic of discussion at Westminster. But the Ministry, under the King's personal direction, was bent on pursuing the same course towards America. Motions for the repeal of the tea-duty were supported in the Upper House by Chatham, Shelburne, and others; in the House of Commons, by General Conway, Colonel Barré, Dowdeswell (an ex-Minister), Edmund Burke, Thomas Pownall, Aldermen Beckford and Trecothick, Sir George Saville, the great Yorkshire county member, Dunning, the late Solicitor-General, and Wedderburn, another Crown lawyer. Gren-



THE OFFICER AND THE BARBER'S BOY.

ville himself was not averse to the motion. But Lord North replied, with airy complacency, that he would never yield to the "insolent and illegal" combinations of America, or give up the supremacy of Parliament. The duties upon British manufactures imported into America were "uncommercial," and should be taken off; but tea was, of all commodities, the most fit to be taxed, and it should be. The women of Boston were at that moment forming associations to pledge themselves not to drink tea. This article was to remain as the symbol of contention on both sides. The more general bond of agreement, not to import or consume any goods brought from England, could no longer be maintained. In May of this year, its abandonment was the subject of much discussion between the New York and the Philadelphia merchants. Those of New York, whose position made their resolve more important than all the rest, decided by a large majority, in unison with the tradesmen of that city, to confine the non-importation to tea. People of other towns and provinces derided and denounced the recreant behaviour of New York.* They made a cheap display of superior patriotic virtue, not being in the same position with that leading commercial port. The news of its readiness to re-open the trade was of course hailed in London, and in all the British seaports and manufacturing districts, with the liveliest satisfaction. It would have been an excellent opportunity for Lord North, Lord Hillsborough, and their Royal master, to begin a thorough policy of conciliation. But they were more than ever intent upon inflicting severe punishment on the sturdy rebels of Boston Bay.

While the Orders in Council, prepared on the 6th of July, were on their way across the Atlantic, Hutchinson once more conducted himself towards the Massachusetts Legislature in a manner to provoke continued strife. He again summoned them to Cambridge, instead of Boston, to their personal inconvenience and the disparagement of their capital city. He reminded them of the order, "from the King himself," with which they had not complied, requiring them to rescind a former resolution. They had treated that order as "an impudent mandate," of no constitutional authority, conveyed through Bernard from an individual Minister. It was on the 8th of September that the Lieutenant-Governor received from London the new orders for transferring the custody of the Boston fortress to officers under General Gage. This was plainly a violation of the constitutional rights of Massachusetts; for that province, under the express authority of its existing charters, had built and maintained Castle William, and the colonial militia should have supplied its proper garrison, as in former times. Hutchinson was in administrative trust for the province, as well as for the Crown, and was certainly not justified in giving up to the one that which belonged of right to the other, without any legislative sanction for his act. But, though an accomplished lawyer, and professedly scrupulous in these matters, he chose to put in execution, by his personal agency, the Royal Order in Council, rather than displease the King or the Minister. Having first empowered Dalrymple to place regular soldiers, instead of the militia, on duty at Castle William, he delivered up the keys to that officer, told the Provincial Council what he had done, with strict injunctions of secrecy, and hastily left the town. While the military forces of the Crown thus gained possession of the provincial fortress, it was provided by another Order in Council that the naval forces on the American coast should thenceforth be stationed at Boston, instead of Halifax, as their regular headquarters. The next step was to alter the provincial constitution, by depriving the Assembly of the nomination and confirmation of members of the Council, which it had exercised jointly with the Governor, and making the Councillors mere nominees of the Crown. Hutchinson recommended the complete nullification of the Massachusetts charter; but that was too bold a stroke for Lord North's Government at the time. The Assembly, in November, 1770, chose Benjamin Franklin as their agent in London, with Arthur Lee for his assistant, to lay their grievances before the King. There was still room for an amicable settlement of all disputes, if the chartered and accustomed self-government of the colonies might be frankly acknowledged and secured.

The southern provinces and the vast western territories of British America had in the meantime witnessed some important changes. Virginia and North Carolina sought new fields of inland settlement and cultivation beyond the range of the Alleghany mountains. The extensive, well-watered, and fertile country that now forms the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, between those mountains and the Mississippi, was first explored at this period by men of the English race. The tributaries of the Ohio river, from the Monongahela down to

* Bancroft, Vol. V., chap. 44, describes their indignation. "'Send us your old Liberty Pole, as you can have no further use for it,' said the Philadelphians. The students of Princeton burnt the New York merchants' letter by the hands of the hangman. Boston tore it into pieces, and threw it to the winds. South Carolina, whose patriots had just raised the statue to Chatham, read it with disdainful anger; but there was no help for it."

the Great Kenawha in Western Virginia, were occupied by men of that province under grants for military services in the Indian wars. George Washington, in an expedition to survey and mark out lands for this purpose, in the year 1770, descended the Ohio somewhat farther, and examined by personal inspection, as well as by the reports of hunters, foresters, and Indians, the capabilities of that region for the agriculturists' abode. From the Yadkin, in North Carolina, Daniel Boone and his brother, in May, 1769, scaled the Blue Ridge, and pushed on to the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers; while Knox Robertson, and others scarcely known to fame, rapidly opened for themselves a way into the rich western districts of Tennessee.

The disturbed condition of North Carolina at this time, under the misrule of Governor Tryon, was a motive for the westward emigration of its more adventurous youth, and of many hardy husbandmen on the border, who would not brook the arrogance of unjust official persons. In the collection of taxes, tolls, and fees, claimed by various titles independent of the legislative vote, many undue exactions were practised by sheriffs and other officers whom the Governor appointed. The Chief Justice, Martin Howard, who had been obnoxious as a distributor of stamps, and the surveyor of taxes, Edward Fanning, a son-in-law of Tryon, were especially reproached for gross unfairness. The people of Orange County, of Mecklenburg, Anson, and Rowan, therefore resorted to associations for their mutual defence, by legal and peaceful means if possible, against all attempts at extortion, and other abuses of power. The members of this league, who were styled Regulators, were pledged in general to do what they could for the redress of public or private wrongs. In the spring of 1768 there was a serious conflict at the town of Hillsborough, provoked by a wanton and unlawful attempt to seize the horse of one of the leading Regulators, as he rode through the town. The militia were called out by Fanning, but refused to obey the summons, or to act against the Regulators. A farmer of Sandy Creek, named Herman Husbands, was arrested in his own house, and brought to trial for an alleged part in the riot. He was acquitted upon his trial, four months afterwards; but several of the Regulators, of whom he was not one, were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The intolerable abuses in the local administration were nowise lessened. Many of the persecuted and impoverished countrymen were excited to a spirit of revenge. In September, 1770, finding that their appeals to the sessions court would get no hearing, some of them assaulted Fanning and another Government attorney, flogged them with whips, and did much damage to Fanning's house at Hillsborough. The provincial Assembly met in December. Herman Husbands had been elected for Orange County, but the Governor, who by a corrupt system of representation could direct the votes of the majority, got him expelled from the House, as Wilkes had been at Westminster, upon an unproved charge of misconduct. He was then arrested under the Governor's warrant, and confined in prison without bail, upon charges of which no evidence could be produced against him. The severest laws were passed for dealing with all persons guilty of a riot, which was defined as taking place wherever ten men remained together after being ordered to disperse. Every man summoned to answer such a charge was to appear in Court within sixty days, or be declared an outlaw, with the forfeiture of his life and property. These measures excited, during the winter months, a vehement storm of popular displeasure. The Regulators gathered in large numbers, and marched, in February, 1771, to effect the liberation of Husbands from his unlawful imprisonment. Governor Tryon hastily preferred against him a bill of indictment, which was thrown out by the grand jury, and the prisoner was released. The rustic band of Regulators thereupon marched back to their homes. But the Governor summoned another Court at Newbern on the 11th of March, and got another grand jury to admit sixty bills of indictment against the Regulators in Orange County. He resolved to go personally with an armed force to that distant part of the province, and to seize the persons of those charged with felonious acts of rioting. The provincial Council assented to his raising for this purpose a little army of a thousand men, with which, in May, 1771, the Governor marched through Rowan and Orange counties, and overtook the band of Regulators on the banks of the Great Allemance river. They mustered about five hundred, very poorly armed, under the leadership of James Hunter and Benjamin Merrill. The Governor demanded their unconditional surrender within one hour, and that the persons of the accused Regulators should be given up to his mercy. They chose rather to fight him, and on the 15th of May there was a two hours' skirmish, in which ten were killed on his side and twenty on theirs; but the Regulators were put to flight. Some prisoners were taken, one of whom was Merrill, and six were hanged at Hillsborough a few weeks later. Proclamation was made of a reward of £100, with a thousand acres

of land, for killing either Husbands or Hunter, Butler or Howell. After this feat of pacification, which was highly applauded by the King's present advisers, Tryon left the province of North Carolina with a debt of £40,000 never sanctioned by its Representative Assembly. He was appointed to the more important Government of New York.

CHAPTER IX.

The True Object of the Ministerial Policy—The Struggle in America similar to that in England under Charles I.—Claim of the Civil Servants in America to Exemption from Provincial Taxes—Refusal of the Governor to sanction the Massachusetts Tax Bill—The Assembly threatened with the King's Displeasure—Arrival of the Fleet at Boston—Personal Intrigues of Hutchinson—Samuel Adams, the Hampden of Massachusetts—Payment of Official Salaries by Order from the British Government—Lieutenant Duddington and the *Gaspé*—Capture and Destruction of that Vessel—Special Commission at Newport—Proposal to Deprive the Province of its Charter—Chief Justice Hopkins—Affairs in the South—The Slave Trade forced on America by England—American Prohibitory Laws disallowed by George III.—Treatment of Virginia in this Matter—Lord Dartmouth Secretary of State—Franklin Agent for Massachusetts in London—His Discovery of Hutchinson's and Oliver's Letters—Rejection of Complaint against Bernard—Commencement of a Revolutionary Movement in Massachusetts—Samuel Adams, and his Project of Complete Independence—Organisation of Popular Forces—Boston Town Meetings—Committee to redress the Wrongs of America—Governor Hutchinson's Political Pedantry—Massachusetts supported by Virginia—Corresponding Provincial Committees—Address to the King for the removal of Hutchinson—Franklin before the Privy Council—Imposition of a Threepenny Tea-duty, and Repeal of other Revenue Acts—Resistance of the Bostonians to the Tax on Tea—A Winter Evening's Work at the Wharf—Action of Other Colonies in Opposition to the English Policy.

THE main purpose of the King's Government, in all its different schemes of creating an American revenue by British Parliamentary legislation, was to furnish itself with an official administrative and judicial establishment in the colonies, which should be above the need of supplies voted by any provincial Legislatures. If we do not keep in view this practical issue of the long dispute between the colonists and the Crown, with the further possibilities of an Executive totally independent of the popular representatives, and of the speedy abolition of their charters of self-government, which had been threatened for nearly twenty years past, we shall be at a loss to understand their willingness to brave the hazards of a forcible Revolution, sooner than yield. The payment of a moderate sum in the way of Stamp duties or Customs' duties was in itself a comparatively trifling matter, which they were neither such niggards as to grudge, nor such political pedants as to refuse, but for the sake of preserving those civil rights, and that constitutional power of control over the administration of government amongst them, for which their forefathers had withstood King Charles I. The same principles of English freedom were again at stake, though few Englishmen in the old country were then able to perceive the true import of the struggle, as Pitt and Burke and Charles James Fox already did. The natural pride of a great Empire was pushed to too great a length; and it unfortunately happened that faults on the American side as well exasperated the English opposition, and in some degree provoked exceptional measures.

Yet the real motives of the Ministerial and official clique, who thus helped to embroil the two great communities of English citizens with each other, and who played with the sovereignty of this realm in a wager of political pretensions, were daily more apparent. Every fresh act proceeding from Whitehall, though frequently originating in the advice of colonial Governors and other placemen, seemed more obviously to bear this confessed intention; namely, that of superseding a responsible and domestic administration for the provinces, with one wholly directed, because solely patronised, by the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State. To enumerate all the instances of this propensity would be a task of tedious detail. It is but now and then, in the pauses of the dreary altercation between Governors and Assemblies, that a few examples may be noticed. The Commissioners of Customs resident in America under Townshend's Act of 1767 were not content with getting their salaries paid out of the small amount of revenue which the popular refusal of import trade still allowed them to collect. They sought for themselves an exemption from the provincial income-tax, the town and county taxes, which every New England householder was accustomed cheerfully to pay, under the laws of the Provincial Assembly. Disregarding all previous usage of Crown officials

in the colonies, their ministerial patron, Lord Hillsborough, took upon himself, in 1771, to order that these taxes should not be levied on the members of the Civil Service in America. The ordinary annual tax bill passed by the Massachusetts Legislature did not contain a clause prescribed by the Governor for legalising this exemption. He therefore, on the 4th of July, obeying the peremptory instructions of the Secretary of State, disallowed the annual Act for raising the provincial revenue—a most inconvenient and extraordinary course for the Chief of the Executive, and taken by Hutchinson much against his will, for his own salary was to be paid from the same fund. He scolded the House of Representatives in vain, and warned them of the King's displeasure. They steadily returned the manly and truthful answer, that they must ignore the grounds of his command. "We know," said they, "of *no* Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, nor of any revenue that his Majesty has a right to establish in North America." "And I know," retorted Hutchinson, "that your messages and resolves of last year were very displeasing to the King. I shall transmit this to be laid before him."

The Governor was presently emboldened still further by the arrival of twelve ships of war, under Admiral Montagu, in the harbour of Boston, which now became the head naval station. His yearly proclamation, however, to be read in the pulpits of Boston religious meeting-houses, was eschewed by most of the pastors and congregations, because it set forth that civil and religious liberties were secured amongst them. It was more than suspected that the author of this proclamation, in his letters privately sent to Mr. Whately and others of the Board of Trade in London, was plotting against those liberties; but his duplicity had not yet been fully exposed. He was endeavouring at this time, by personal influence, to win over Hancock and other individual champions of the popular cause, but chiefly to rouse their self-esteem and jealousy of each other, and more especially to set them against Samuel Adams, the greatest "incendiary" of the American cause. That able and resolute politician nevertheless gained his election for the city, in May, 1772, by a majority of nearly three to one, and was found in his place at the session of the Assembly, which was this year permitted to be held in the Old State House at Boston. With the aid of sound lawyers like Hawley and John Adams, he prepared to carry on the Parliamentary opposition to every unconstitutional act of government; he was like Hampden, with Pym and Selden beside him, in the English House of Commons long before. The subject now taken up by them was the innovation, lately begun, of paying the salaries of civil officers of the Crown by Royal warrants under the sign manual, out of a fund permanently established by an Act of the Parliament at Westminster. A committee was appointed to inquire whether this practice might not be a violation of the charter of Massachusetts. The report, presented to the House of Representatives on the 10th of July, showed that it certainly was so. That charter had settled that the province was to receive its Governor and judges from the Royal nomination, but that the Provincial Assembly should make grants for their support. The House then passed resolutions, by eighty five votes against nineteen, declaring the new system to be one that violated "a most solemn compact;" that it would effect an important change in the constitution, "and expose the province to a despotic administration of government." In pursuance of these resolutions, six months later, at the opening of their session in 1773, they granted the usual salaries for the judges of the Supreme Court, despite a message from the Lieutenant-Governor that those salaries were to be provided by the King's warrant. The view set forth in the answer of the House was that no judge ought to be so placed under the imputation of an undue bias from the payment of his salary in that manner. "We are more and more convinced," said they, "that it has been the design of Administration totally to subvert the constitution, and introduce an arbitrary government into this province; and we cannot wonder that the apprehensions of this people are thoroughly awakened."

In Rhode Island, where Stephen Hopkins, the late patriotic elected Governor, had gone back to the office of Chief Justice, a startling affair took place in the summer of 1772. Admiral Montagu had sent from Boston a small vessel of his fleet, named the *Gaspé*, under Lieutenant Duddington, to enforce the revenue laws on that coast. The mariners and fishermen, and the inhabitants of the shore and islands, were much annoyed by the *Gaspé*, which, under pretext of searching for contraband trade, seized and detained, or damaged, their property afloat. As the commander would show no legal warrant, and was not a sworn Customs' officer, it was ruled by Chief Justice Hopkins that he had no right, by force of arms, to continue these proceedings. Any man was guilty *primâ facie* of trespass, if not of piracy, who should do so. The Governor of Rhode Island appealed to the Admiral commanding-in-chief, who bluntly answered that the Lieutenant had done his duty; and that, if

any of the people of Newport interfered with him, or attempted to rescue any vessel from the *Gaspé*, they should be sent to Boston, and hanged as pirates. A few weeks after this correspondence, on the 9th of June, the *Gaspé* ran aground near Pautuxet while inadvertently chasing a Rhode Island packet through the shallows of that intricate coast navigation. It was a tempting opportunity for vengeance, and, on the following night, the men along shore put off in six boats, turned out the crew of the *Gaspé* after a scuffle in which the Lieutenant was wounded, and burned the vessel with triumphant glee. But they had undoubtedly committed a great offence. An Act of Parliament, passed two months before, and applying to the colonies as well as to Great Britain, made death the penalty for doing wilful damage to any of his Majesty's ships, dockyards, or naval stores. The men were certainly liable to a criminal prosecution, and had justly incurred some degree of punishment. But the Act of Parliament provided that they should be sent to Great Britain for trial; and this was the order which the Governor received from England, when the affair was known in this country. Meantime, a special commission of inquiry was held at Newport, consisting of the Admiral commanding-in-chief, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Boston, the Governor of Rhode Island, and the Chief Justices of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. Mr. Darius



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (*From the Portrait by Chevillet.*)



THE BURNING OF THE GASPÉ.

Sessions, Deputy-Governor, and Stephen Hopkins, Chief Justice of Rhode Island, contended that there had been no fault in the Government of that province; while the three neighbouring Chief Justices, willing to earn Crown favour, impeached its conduct, and recommended the forfeiture of its democratic charter. The next step was for the Governor, in February, 1773, to lay before the Assembly his Ministerial instructions to seize the offenders, and send them to England for trial on the capital charge. But Chief Justice Hopkins again interposed, declaring that such a course was contrary to the common law, and that the clause in the Act of Parliament on which reliance was placed had no validity outside the Kingdom of Great Britain. It could not, he said, apply to the colonies, and he, as guardian of the law, would not allow any person to be transported elsewhere for trial. It had already been decided by several of the colonial judges that no one could be sent to England for trial under the old statute of Henry VIII., and this view was supported by great English lawyers, such as Lord Camden. At any rate, there was no place in America where the arrest of a citizen, to be carried off for trial in that manner, would have been endured; and it was never actually attempted. But the Minister and Governors who talked of such a thing were taking the worst possible course for persuading the people to obedience, or maintaining the respect due to the Crown.

The southern provinces were in the meantime farther agitated by sundry additional grievances. We have seen the unhappy condition of North Carolina, which was now a mere anarchy. In Georgia, the free election of a Speaker for the House of Assembly was disputed by Governor Sir James Wright, under orders from the Secretary of State. In South Carolina, during two or three years, the regular Act for the appropriation of provincial expenditure was negatived by Lord Charles Montagu, because the Assembly chose to vote a contribution to a Liberal society in England, which they had probably no constitutional right to do. The Governor wanted them to build a mansion for his residence at Charleston, and he threatened, if they refused, to convene their next session at Port Royal. The life appointments of judges for the new districts, with their permanent endowments, were bestowed on incompetent strangers, instead of being given to the esteemed lawyers of the province.

There was another subject of more general interest, which, both in South Carolina and Virginia, as well as in the Middle Provinces, excited feelings that shed high honour upon American public history. We in the nineteenth century have been too much accustomed to reproach America with the hateful institution of slavery; we of Great Britain have been too apt to indulge in Pharisaic self-commendation, and to lay the guilt of that enormous social evil upon the United States—upon Virginia and South Carolina, as upon the whole South. Let it be understood and remembered that the people and the Government of Great Britain, down to the eve of the Revolution, never ceased to force the institution of negro slavery, and the terrible African slave-trade, upon those reluctant American communities which then were led, by virtuous and enlightened friends of human freedom, to implore and protest in vain against the greatest iniquity in the modern world. England, from the time of Elizabeth to a period within the life-time of this generation—England, and not America, or any other nation in an equal degree—was still the greedy and cruel oppressor of the negro race, the kidnapper, the trafficker, the breeder of their children for plantation toil. The province of South Carolina, for example, while yet a British colony, had a population of 45,000 white people and 80,000 blacks, the latter being sent there, against the will of the former, by proprietors living in England. The provincial Legislature, according to the wishes of its constituents, forbade the importation of negroes. The British owners of plantations, and of ships or other property concerned in the slave-trade, used their great Parliamentary interest to get the colonial law set aside. This happened again and again in different American provinces. It was one of the main causes of that disgust and despair of good government which brought on the Revolution. The prohibitory law of South Carolina had no sooner terminated, than the London, Bristol, and Liverpool slave-dealers poured in their abominable cargoes from the Gold Coast, landing six thousand negroes in the year 1770, and pocketing a million dollars. In Virginia, again, the land of George Washington and other champions of liberty, it was the British Government that maintained negro slavery, for the sordid profit of British jobbers and their lordly allies. Repeated acts of colonial legislation had been disallowed by the King or the Governor; the voices of men like Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Lee, and others, who were philanthropists before they were Republicans, had been loudly raised in the cause of humanity, but unheeded in Great Britain. George III., having debated in his Council the case of the wealthy and influential slave-holding interest, signed on the 10th of

December, 1770, an order to the Governor of Virginia, by which his Excellency was enjoined, on pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure, "to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any way impeded or obstructed."

It is remarkable that, while Englishmen thus compelled America to become or to remain, in the social and industrial effects of the fatal system, what we have all beheld with shame and sorrow in the Southern States before the late Civil War, England was formally declared by the highest legal authority incapable of containing a single slave. The celebrated judgment of Lord Mansfield (no friend to American liberties), in the case of a negro brought from Virginia, has often been quoted in a spirit of national self-complacency, which should be tempered by the remembrance that America owed her "domestic institution" to British rule. The Virginia Legislature therefore addressed the King, who was reputed a great patron of morality and religion, with a request for permission to check, and gradually to abolish, this detestable system. "The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa," they said, "hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions. We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this colony, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

To this address, which was in agreement with the often expressed wishes of other provinces,—North and South Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Puritan Massachusetts,—George III. deigned no reply. His narrow, bigoted, and rather morose frame of mind admitted but one idea regarding America,—that the colonists were undutiful, and must be checked and sharply reproved, to make them receive every Order in Council, Act of Parliament, or despatch from a Minister of State, with implicit submission. It was an article of that political creed which he had learned to cherish, as Charles I. held the doctrine of his divine right to rule England without consulting the votes of Parliament. Many persons were about him, besides Lord North and Lord Thurlow, who were disposed to let it be applied in the present case, and their number was constantly increasing. Lord Hillsborough, who resigned in September, 1772, was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth, an amiable patriot of no statesmanship, anxious for conciliation, but afraid to denounce injustice.

In London, about this time, the illustrious Deputy-Postmaster-General of America, and agent here for the Assembly of Massachusetts,—Benjamin Franklin,—had the fortune to make a discovery. It was not like that by which he drew down a flash of lightning from the sky, but it had an electrifying effect. *Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque tyrannis*—he snatched the lightning from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.* The secret correspondence of Governor and Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson with Thomas Whately, a gentleman then deceased, but formerly attached to the colonial department of the Ministry, and some letters from Andrew Oliver, Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, and Charles Paxton, formerly chief of the Board of Customs at Boston, came into Franklin's possession. These documents were handed to him by a person of note, Mr. John Temple, who had been one of the Customs' Commissioners at Boston, and had quarrelled with Hutchinson and the others. It is not known quite certainly how Temple had got them; he fought a duel with Whately's brother to repel the charge of having stolen them; but Whately had shown or lent them to several other persons. Franklin, at any rate, thought it his duty to send them all to America, officially consigned to Mr. Cushing, Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly. They were privately examined by a select committee, who found in them abundant proofs that Hutchinson and Oliver, the native-born citizens of Massachusetts, the veteran public servants of that province, had during many years conspired, not less than Sir Francis Bernard and other chosen tools of the Ministry, for the subversion of provincial rights. The all but complete abrogation of the charter, the most injurious constitutional alterations, destroying the elective character of the Council and the responsibility of the House of Representatives to the people, reducing the judges and law courts to mere subserviency, and suppressing munici-

* An adaptation of a line from the Latin poet, Caius Manilius, which the French Minister Turgot inscribed on a medal struck in honour of Franklin.

pal franchises in the towns, had been diligently urged by Chief Justice and Governor Hutchinson upon the British Government. He had further recommended the coercion of Boston by a naval and military force, the chastisement of her people by excluding them from the fisheries and some maritime trade, and the abolition of the Rhode Island Charter. It is scarcely worth while to examine the letters of Andrew Oliver and the others. What was thought of the writers, at Boston in 1773, is somewhat vehemently expressed by John Adams:—"Cool, thinking, deliberate villains; malicious and vindictive, as well as ambitious and avaricious."

So stood the account between Massachusetts and its Provincial Government; but the reckoning for this and much larger accounts was now drawing near. The petition of the Assembly to the King against the former Governor, Sir Francis Bernard, who departed in 1769, had been dismissed by the Privy Council as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous," and reproved as proceeding from "a spirit of clamour and discontent." It will be seen presently what became of a similar petition for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Deputy-Governor Oliver. But the commencement of a decided revolutionary movement in this province was plainly shown in the winter of 1772. Ten years had elapsed since the conclusion of the French war left the Government of King George in a position to develop its favourite policy of an Imperial concentration of power on the American continent. Those ten years had been spent in ceaseless petty squabbles with every provincial Legislature, in peevish complaints and recriminations, fruitless schemes of novel taxation by methods foreign to the English constitution, menaces and displays of military force against the steadfast defenders of civil freedom. The colonists for their part had never once wavered, in any of their thirteen provinces, never belied or relaxed their claim to hold the public purse, by the ancient custom of an English Commonwealth, in the hands of their own assembled representatives, for the needful support, and thereby for the salutary control, of the whole official administration. During those ten years, as will have appeared from our narrative, they had addressed the King, the Parliament, and the people of Great Britain in every tone of remonstrance, with arguments, warnings, and entreaties, and with every form of expostulation; after which they had tried the effect of refusing commercial intercourse. That they sometimes committed mistakes on their own part, and had often exaggerated their sense of independence, as English Ministers exaggerated the sentiment of Imperial dominion, offers but slight excuse for the tyranny and greed of the latter.

It now seemed to be the conviction of a daring and enthusiastic party in Massachusetts, led by Samuel Adams, that the time had come for achieving the conquest of a complete and secure independence for those long harassed and threatened communities of English freemen. "It is a people," said he to his friends, "who of all the people on earth most deserve to be free." At first he stood almost alone; he had reflected a twelvemonth, in silence, on "the arduous task it would be to awaken a sufficient number in the colonies to so grand an undertaking." This momentous and irretrievable step was vaguely hinted as "the Last Appeal," in the earnest conferences and frequent writings of the Massachusetts leaders, from the day when Boston city was overawed by the guns of a fleet permanently stationed in that port. It was a phrase readily understood and accepted by the popular mind in every little town and village, every hamlet, farm, and homestead of that brisk New England province: all men began to think and talk gravely enough of "the Last Appeal." To organise the means and the mode of action, while pointing out this bold course, was Samuel Adams's particular care. The plan he devised was that of corresponding committees in all the townships—each to answer for its own townsfolk, all to rally around the Boston Committee. When he first mentioned it to his city colleagues, they blamed his rashness, and excused themselves from serving on the Committee. Hancock, Cushing, Phillips, and two or three more, declined to stand with him. He turned from Boston merchants and lawyers to the fishermen and husbandmen of other places, where he was met with good promise of support. The names also of Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, and James Warren, of Plymouth, are on record as the earliest who joined with Adams in preparing for "the Last Appeal." The citizens of Boston, however were to be invited at a regular town meeting, legally convened by their "selectmen," to appoint a standing committee, but for what purpose might yet be a question. A memorial signed by a hundred householders requested that such a meeting should be called, nominally upon the occasion of the recent order converting the judges into stipendiaries of the Crown. At this meeting, held on the 28th of October, speeches were made about forming "an independent American Commonwealth," unless the King of Great Britain would restore their liberties whole and entire; but a deputation was merely sent to the Governor with resolutions against the payment of

official salaries by Royal warrant. The meeting adjourned to November 2nd, when they received the Governor's answer to an address for convening the General Assembly; upon which matter he refused to listen to them. A resolution was then passed, affirming their right to petition or address, "and to communicate their sentiments to other towns." This was followed up by Samuel Adams with a proposal for the appointment of a "Committee of Correspondence," to communicate with the other towns of Massachusetts concerning the violations of their rights. The committee was formed, and its most active members were Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and William Cooper, the clerk or secretary. It set to work first on a report recapitulating all the wrongs of America, "to justify whatever measures have been or may be taken to obtain redress." The report, which contained such matters as have become sufficiently familiar to readers of this History, was presented to another town meeting on the 20th of November, with a general declaration of abstract rights;—the right of defending life, liberty, and property; and the right of a people, for the sake of defending these, to change their political allegiance in case of intolerable oppression, and to preserve, rescue, or recover their security, if need were, "sword in hand." This was coming very near "the Last Appeal," and the circulation of such a manifesto through all the rural towns and villages was sure to breed a heightened strain of declamation in their numerous published replies, vieing with one another to utter the loudest professions of a free spirit. A great many of their responsive addresses to the Boston Committee are quoted by Mr. Bancroft: those from Plymouth and Marblehead, Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charleston, near Boston; from Ipswich, Gloucester, Pembroke, Salisbury, Chatham, Leicester, Marlborough, Petersham, and other places with true English names.* There were in all more than eighty local committees in Massachusetts, to act in correspondence with the Boston Committee. In this matter, as Mr. Bancroft remarks, speaking of his revolutionary hero, Samuel Adams, the overruling will of that "masterly statesman" contrived to organize a province. It remained for the other provinces to construct, each within its own limits, a similar machine of political concussion, and for Boston to await the best opportunity of giving the shock which was to be felt throughout English America. The opportunity was soon to be afforded by the unrelenting hostility of the British Government to the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly and the city of Boston.

Governor Hutchinson was reputed a very astute and crafty person. He was intimately acquainted with the temper of his fellow citizens; yet he could not keep quiet just at that moment, and let the explosive apparatus of that "great incendiary, Samuel Adams," waste its forces by imperceptible degrees. In January, 1773, at the opening of the session, with no particular occasion upon the ground of actual legislative business, he gratuitously invited the Assembly to a controversial discussion upon the supremacy of the British Parliament. He would scarcely have risked this paltry exhibition of doctrinal pedantry, if he had been aware that the opposition leaders were then in possession of his secret letters to London. The proposition he laid down was this:—"It is impossible there should be two independent Legislatures in one and the same State; therefore, no line can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies." Nothing could be more opportune for the purpose of Samuel Adams, to whom the House of Representatives entrusted the framing of their reply. "It is difficult," was their answer, "perhaps impossible, to draw a line of distinction between the universal authority of Parliament in the colonies, and no authority at all. If there be no such line, then either the colonies are vassals of the Parliament, or they are totally independent." They were, by their charters, made distinct States

* From New Salem: "Divine Providence and the necessity of things may call upon us and all the colonies to make our Last Appeal." From Marlborough: "Death is more eligible than slavery. A freeborn people are not required by the religion of Jesus Christ to submit to tyranny, but may make use of such power as God has given them to recover and support their laws and liberties." From Roxbury: "Our pious forefathers died with the pleasing hope that we their children should live free. Let none, as they will answer it another day, disturb the ashes of those heroes by selling their birthright." From Chatham: "We esteem our civil and religious principles to be the sweetest and essential part of our lives, without which the remainder is scarcely worth preserving." From Leicester, Spencer, and Paxton: "We prize our liberties so highly that we think it our duty to risk our lives and fortunes in defence thereof." From Pembroke: "If the measures so justly complained of be persisted in, they must, they will, in a short time issue in the total dissolution of the union between the mother country and the colonies." Some addresses referred to particular grievances; thus, from South Hadley: "Prohibiting slitting-mills is similar to the Philistines prohibiting smiths in Israel, and shows we are esteemed by our brethren as vassals." From Acton: "We must have a final period put to that most cruel, inhuman, and un-Christian practice, the slave-trade." Some fearlessly looked at the chance of their defeat by the fleets and armies of Great Britain. "And should we not be able to withstand, we are determined to retire, and seek repose among the inland aboriginal natives, with whom we doubt not but to find more humanity and brotherly love than we have lately received from our mother country." To this, Boston replied: "We join with the town of Petersham in preferring a life among the savages to the most splendid condition of slavery; but Heaven will bless the united efforts of a brave people."

from the mother country; as distinct, with their separate legislative bodies, as the kingdoms of England and Scotland before the Union. "And if they interfere not with each other," said the House, "what hinders but that, being united in one head and sovereign, they may live happily in that connection, and mutually support and protect each other?" That which alone had marred and broken the union, was the legislative usurpation of the son was lost. The argument was ingenious on both sides; yet neither seems to have understood very clearly the real position of the colonies towards the mother country.

Among the ardent politicians of the other provinces, some notice was taken of this controversy in the Massachusetts Assembly, which supported and confirmed the case of the colonies, in their claim to substantial and indefeasible legislative in-



SAMUEL ADAMS.

British Parliament. Hutchinson sought to traverse this argument, by alleging that the colony was a feudal dependency of the King of England; but he was answered that this feudal tenure, out of the realm of England, would not make it subject to an English Parliamentary jurisdiction. At last he told them that "the English nation was roused, and would not be withstood; and the Parliament would, by some means or other, maintain its supremacy." This was descending from the lofty platform of constitutional doctrine to the bare fighting-ground of compulsory menaces; and the authority of Hutchin-

dependence. The men of Virginia, who have always been characterised by a singular aptitude for such discussions, at once took up the subject of controversy. Their Assembly, in a committee of the whole House on the state of public affairs, debated and approved the Massachusetts proposition; after which measures were concerted to prepare for their maintenance by the joint action of the provinces. Dabney Carr, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry, with Thomas Jefferson and Bland, were the leading speakers and contrivers. They organised a system of corresponding committees, as the Boston

TO THE

DELAWARE PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Deſire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occaſion of this Third Addreſs to you

In our ſecond Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker, We are now informed by good Authority, ſhe is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head,* or *any Ornaments.*

The *Captain* is a *ſhort fat* Fellow, and a little *obſtinate* withal ---So much the worſe, for him.---For, ſo ſure as he *rides ruſty*, We ſhall heave him Keel out, ... ----His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling----and as it is ſaid, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that ſuch Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

We have a ſtill *worſe Account* of *his Owner* ;---for it is ſaid, the Ship Polly was bought by him on Purpoſe, to make a Penny of us ; and that *he* and Captain *Ayres* were well adviſed, of the Riſque they would run, in thus daring to inſult and abuſe us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be ſo mean as to ſuffer his *rotten* TEA to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

We know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition.* And we hope not one of your Body will behave ſo ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain.*

We muſt repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship,* of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head,* and *without Ornaments,*----and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow.*----------As ſuch, Take Care to avoid THEM.

Your Old Friends,

The COMMITTEE for TARRING and FEATHERING.

Philadelphia, December 7, 1773.

Monday Morning December 27, 1773.

THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every Inhabitant, who wiſhes to preſerve the Liberty of America, is deſired to meet at the State-House, This Morning, preciſely at TEN o'Clock, to adviſe what is beſt to be done on this alarming Criſis.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION ABOUT THE TEA-SHIP.

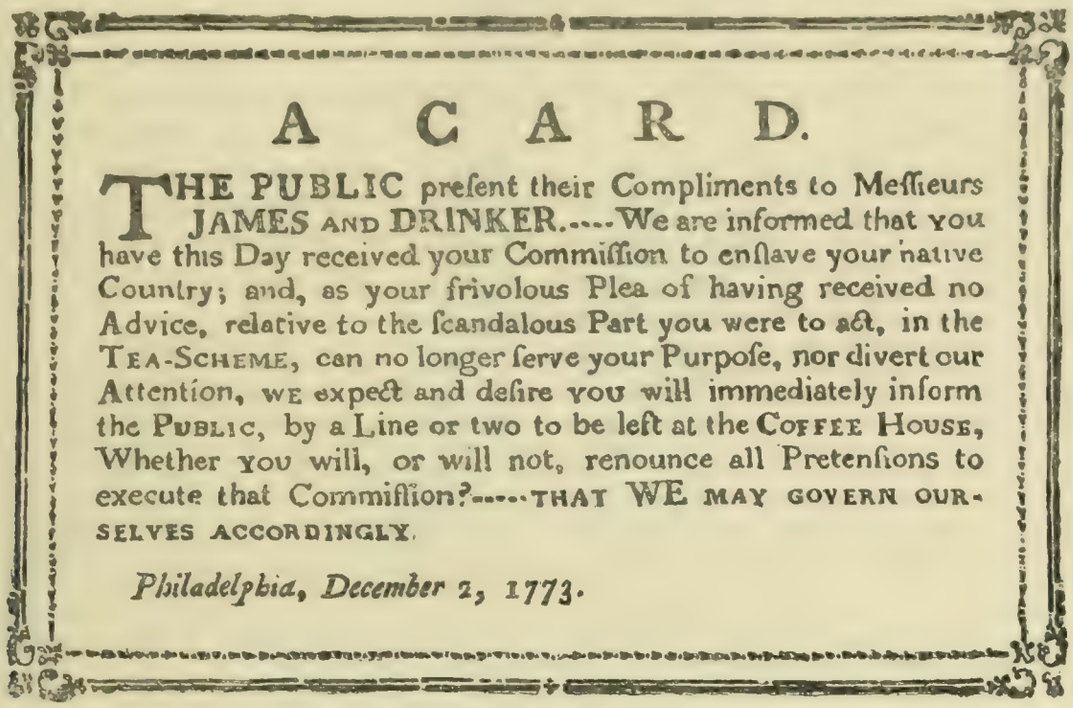
men had done, and sent messages to Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces, which soon followed the example: Rhode Island first among them. Though every province had not a Samuel Adams, that summer of 1773 beheld a general mustering and knitting together of popular forces in New England and the Middle States, as we may now call them, in readiness for "the Last Appeal." The classical scholars of that day compared their incipient confederation to that of the Greek Amphictyonic Council. They were impatient for a Continental Congress.

This movement of popular opinion was quickened in June by the publication of Hutchinson's correspondence. It showed, together with the recent proposal to take away the charter of Rhode Island, how some partisans of British dominion aimed at the eventual suppression of efficient institutions of self-government in the colonies, to which end the schemes of taxation were but the financial and administrative means of approach. The embarrassment and confusion of the old Governor at Boston, when his letters were read aloud to the House of Representatives, may well be imagined. He could offer no defence or apology to his indignant fellow-countrymen, and sought only to retire, begging his patrons in England to give him Franklin's office of Deputy Postmaster-General. The Assembly was not so vindictive as would have suited the temper of some New Englanders, who nourished a Spartan or Puritanic severity as the most precious of Christian graces. Hutchinson was a man of whose literary talents and accomplishments, devoted to the history of Massachusetts, they might well have been proud, but for the despotic tendency of his political behaviour. They could do no less, however, than petition the King to remove both him and Andrew Oliver. This petition, transmitted to England, and committed for presentation to Franklin, as the accredited agent of the Assembly, came before the Privy Council in January, 1774. At the full hearing of the case, on the 29th, Franklin was assisted by counsel, namely Dunning and John Lee; while Israel Mauduit, formerly concerned in the scheme of Grenville's Stamp Act, obtained for Hutchinson and Oliver the assistance of the sharp-tongued Alexander Wedderburn, then Solicitor-General, and afterwards Lord Loughborough, who assailed Franklin with violent terms of insult, accusing him of theft or fraud in procuring Hutchinson's letters, and of an intrigue to put himself in the Governor's place at Boston. The eminent practical philosopher, who was accompanied by Edmund Burke and Dr. Priestley, calmly stood by, and listened in silence to these reproaches. The Lords of the Council, exulting in Wedderburn's torrent of invective, resolved that the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly was "false, vexatious, and scandalous," like that of 1769 against Bernard, and that nothing could be said against the honour, integrity, or conduct of Hutchinson and Oliver. The King, on the 9th of February, was accordingly pleased to order that the petition be dismissed.

But it was destined—as, in social and political affairs, the greatest things are curiously linked with the smallest—that the final crisis of the American revolutionary movement should turn upon the threepenny tax on tea. Lord North, since he became Prime Minister, had avowed his willingness to repeal all the other articles of Charles Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767; but he had promised King George to maintain this "one tax to keep up our right." The trade in tea from China was in those times, as it continued to be within our own recollection, a monopoly of the East India Company. That great mercantile corporation, which just then acquired immense political importance, had lost heavily by the closing of the American market. If any tea were now drunk in America, it was smuggled in by the Dutch, who knew their way to New York. The Company's London warehouses remained full of it, and their commercial revenue declined. A drawback of three-fifths of the import duty in England was, by former Acts, allowed to the Company on such tea as they might re-export to the colonies. Lord North was induced to offer the Company a further measure of relief; he therefore released from all taxation, in England, the tea which was to be sent to America, but he would keep on the duty of threepence a pound charged in American ports by the Act of 1767. The colonists might get their tea very cheap, at a price far less than people in England must pay, if they chose to acquiesce in the least conceivable burthen of Parliamentary taxation. On the 10th of May, 1773, this extremely moderate scheme of fiscal re-adjustment became law. The East India Company, in August, took out a licence from the Treasury for the duty-free exportation of their tea to America, disregarding the advice of persons who knew that the colonists would not receive it. Four ships laden with tea were presently crossing the Atlantic, bound respectively to the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; one or two more followed. It would have been lucky for the British Empire, at least for its American dominion, had those four ships gone to the bottom of the sea.

They were still upon the voyage, when the colonists, who knew what was coming, prepared

for their expected arrival. On the 18th of October at Philadelphia, and in the first week of November at Boston, meetings were held which resolved that the tea should be sent back to England unsold, and the consignees or mercantile agents of the East India Company in those ports were called upon to resign their appointments. The Boston consignees, amongst whom were Governor Hutchinson's two sons, Thomas and Elisha, met a deputation at the warehouse of Richard Clarke, and refused to comply with the popular demand. On the 5th and the 18th of that month, legal town meetings were held to consider this subject. The same course was taken at New York. All persuasion failed to


A CARD.

THE PUBLIC preſent their Compliments to Meſſieurs JAMES AND DRINKER.—We are informed that you have this Day received your Commiſſion to enſlave your native Country; and, as your frivolous Plea of having received no Advice, relative to the ſcandalous Part you were to act, in the TEA-SCHEME, can no longer ſerve your Purpoſe, nor divert our Attention, WE expect and deſire YOU will immediately inform the PUBLIC, by a Line or two to be left at the COFFEE HOUSE, Whether YOU will, or will not, renounce all Pretenſions to execute that Commiſſion?—THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, December 2, 1773.

A "CARD" FROM "THE PUBLIC."

also sought the consignees, who had shut themselves up in the castle to avoid importunity and possible rough treatment.

The select-men of the municipality would have supported the popular committee in using their moral influence with the consignees that the tea might be sent back. A great meeting was held on the Monday, at the Old South Church, by adjournment from Faneuil Hall. It is reckoned that five thousand persons were gathered in and around the building. The chair was occupied by Jonathan Williams as "moderator;" the resolutions were moved by Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Molineux, Young, and Joseph Warren. It was

move the Boston consignees; the select-men and city authorities could do no more. The matter was left to the committees of correspondence, who were ready to use force where reason was not heard. Those of Boston and the adjacent townships—Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charleston—speedily arranged their plan; a band of young men, disguised as Indians, and called "the Mohawks," was hastily formed, and placed under a confidential leader. On Sunday, the 28th, they saw the Boston ship *Dartmouth*, owned by their Quaker townsman Francis Rotch, entering their harbour from England; they knew, from information they had got ten days before, that a hundred and fourteen chests of tea lay in this vessel. It was the Sabbath, and no cargo might be unladen that day; but the Committee sought Francis Rotch, and obtained his promise not to enter the arrival of his vessel before Tuesday. Meanwhile, they agreed that, come what would, the tea should not be landed or the duty paid; whoever attempted it would be a public enemy. A guard of twenty-five volunteers, under Edward Proctor, armed with muskets and bayonets, was set to watch the vessel at the wharf by day and night. The other seaport towns along that coast were notified of the matter; six horsemen were kept ready to gallop off, and give the alarm from Boston. But Rotch, the owner, and Captain Hall, the master of the *Dartmouth*, gave their word that she should go back without landing the tea, and within twenty days. This was the utmost time that could be allowed; for any ship remaining longer in the port, without a clearance by the Customs' officers, would be liable to seizure, when the tea would be landed at the castle, and Governor Hutchinson would get it. Hutchinson asked the Provincial Council to take charge of it, which they refused to do, alleging that

the tax levied on it was contrary to the laws of the province. As the days ran on, all the Massachusetts and other New England towns sent messages of encouragement to Boston. "We trust in God," said the men of Lexington, "we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates and lives to the common cause;" and so they all said or meant, looking sternly forward to the Last Appeal. For Admiral Montagu stationed two ships of war to guard the passage out of Boston harbour, which was commanded also by the guns of Castle William. Day after day, at the bidding of the Committee, Rotch and Hall went to the Custom-house, and asked for a clearance and pass, that they might remove the *Dartmouth* out of the harbour, with a regular permit from the Governor. But the Comptroller and Collector of Customs, acting in concert with Hutchinson, still refused a clearance unless the tea were first landed.

It was the last day, Thursday, the 16th of December: ship and cargo would fall into the hands of Government, and the tea would be landed and paid for in spite of the people, if it remained where it was twenty-four hours longer. The Old South Meeting-house, at ten o'clock in the morning, was crowded with anxious but resolute citizens, while thousands more from the country, as the day wore on in hours of earnest talk or waiting silence, thronged the surrounding space. Rotch was once more summoned, and was sent to the Customs' collector, as before, to demand an official clearance. It was again denied, and he was bidden to make a formal protest, and to ask the Governor for a permit or pass out of the port. The Governor had stolen away to his house in the country: Rotch was sent after him, while the people waited. It was six o'clock in the evening, and darkness had fallen on Boston, when the Quaker came back, and told them, in that dimly-lighted old chapel, that the Governor had refused to grant a permit for his vessel. Upon that announcement, which all had fully expected, Samuel Adams rose, and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

The utterance of those words was a concerted signal; the response was an Indian war-whoop yelled from the porch outside. The band of Mohawks, not above fifty, passed rapidly from the "Old South" down to Griffin's Wharf, where the *Dartmouth* lay with two other vessels, likewise containing some tea, which had lately arrived. Under the personal direction of Adams, Hancock, and other influential citizens, the wharf and its approaches were occupied by a trusty guard; the ships were then boarded and unladen, three hundred and forty tea-chests were got out and broken open, and the whole quantity of tea was thrown overboard into the water alongside. Nothing else was damaged or taken away. Three hours passed in this work, after which the multitude quietly dispersed, and went every man to his home. It has been called, with a characteristic touch of humour, "the Boston tea-party." The incident had been provoked by the persistent folly of the English Government; but in the triumph of a mob there is always something regrettable and of evil omen.

Express messages to other towns, one riding on to New York and Philadelphia, spread the stirring news of what Boston had done that night. The tea-ship for South Carolina had reached Charleston a fortnight before; the consignees there had been persuaded to disown its cargo, which was presently seized by the revenue officers; but no dealer or purchaser would touch it, and it was left to be spoiled in the cellars where it lay. The Pennsylvanians were still more alert; they met their tea-ship in the Delaware, a few miles below Philadelphia, talked over the consignee and the captain, and got the vessel taken directly back to London. The vessel destined for New York was driven northward by adverse winds, and put in at a New England port, where its cargo was not allowed to be landed. Such was the conclusion of a vexatious and ill-advised attempt.

CHAPTER X.

News of the "Boston Tea Party" received in England — Storm of Indignation — Interview of General Gage with the King — Exaggerated Popular Rumours — Tarring and Feathering — Measures of the Ministry — The Boston Port Bill — Refusal to hear the Agent for Massachusetts, or to receive Petitions against the Bill — The Massachusetts Government Regulation Bill — Abolition of the old Chartered Constitution — Local Government Measures — to remove the Trial of Soldiers and others charged with Murders in America — Colonel Barré's speech against it — Renewed Debates on the Massachusetts Government Bill — Advice of Ex-Governor Pownall and Johnstone — Rose Fuller's Motion, April 19th, to Repeal the Tea Duty — Burke's great Speech on the Policy of the past Ten Years — Expectant Attitude of Boston — Return of Gage, as the new Governor, and Departure of Hutchinson — Reception of the Boston Port Act — Temper of the Town — Encouragement from Rhode Island, from New York and Philadelphia, from Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and the Carolinas — The Conservatives of the Middle Provinces — The Virginians appoint a Day of Public Prayer — Germ of the American Union — Blockade of Boston Harbour, June 1st — Distress of the Working Class Population — News of the Massachusetts Government Bill — Indecision of General Gage — Delay in executing the Government Measures — Committee of Correspondence at Faneuil Hall — Solemn League and Covenant — Non-importation Agreement — Arrangements for a Continental Congress — Town Meetings, June 17th — Troops and Artillery on Boston Common — The Castle Batteries and the Fleet — Mistakes of Gage — Salem and Marblehead — Relief Committees for the distressed Boston Poor — George Washington in Virginia — Gifts of Money and Food — The House of Representatives at Salem — Appointment of the September General Congress.

THE news of "the Boston tea party" reached England on the 27th of January, 1774, and provoked a storm of anger not only in the minds of political adherents of the Ministry, but likewise among those connected with the mercantile and manufacturing interests. These had suffered heavy losses from the stoppage of trade with America, and they were now persuaded that it was entirely the fault of a lawless and seditious faction in "the colony of Massachusetts Bay." The commercial importance and Parliamentary influence of the East India Company swelled the outcry of indignation against the outrage of destroying its property by the hands of a town mob. Many even of the Whig party, led by Lord Rockingham—as, in repealing Grenville's Stamp Duty, they had formally asserted, by a Declaratory Act, the abstract right of Parliament to rule the colonies—were disposed to resent the conduct of Boston in its rejection of the least onerous example of an import duty. The Tories, the High Churchmen, and the courtiers,—the aristocracy, the office-holders, and the trading classes,—were for once unanimous in calling for measures of coercion and punishment. The sentiment of national pride was deeply wounded; but no person, upon this occasion, felt more severe displeasure than King George himself. His letters to Lord North prove the keen and bitter determination with which he pushed forward the action now taken by his Government with regard to the offending city and province; and indeed it is not surprising that so violent a defiance of authority should have provoked a desire to retaliate. His Majesty conferred in private with General Gage, who arrived from America on the 4th of February, upon the means by which the rebellious colonists should be reduced to submission.

The legislative measures for this purpose were introduced by Lord North into the House of Commons, sitting in Committee upon a paragraph of the King's Speech by which the matter was referred to their consideration. They were discussed by the two Houses in repeated debates upon successive stages of the several Bills proposed by the Ministry, during the months of March, April, and May. No effectual opposition could be hoped for in the prevailing excitement of temper against America, which was industriously fomented by newspaper writers and pamphleteers serving the Government party. The wildest exaggerations were current with reference to the outrages said to have been perpetrated at Boston; and great horror was not unnaturally felt at the barbarity of the practice, now first heard of in Europe, called "tarring and feathering," which sort of personal maltreatment had really been applied to a Customs' officer named Malcolm by some of the rabble on the Boston quays. It was asserted that the colonists had unanimously agreed to "tar and feather" everybody connected with the King's Government, from Governor Hutchinson downwards. Measures of coercion, therefore, were decidedly in accordance with the public disposition at that time. Those which Lord North's Ministry proposed and carried with great facility were—1st, the Boston Port Bill, to shut up the whole trade of that port, with an entire prohibition of landing and discharging, or loading and shipping, any goods, wares, or merchandise there, not excepting the coast-trade; 2nd, a Bill to alter the Government and constitution of Massachusetts; 3rd, a Bill to provide for the trial in England, not in the colony, of soldiers or any other persons charged with acts of bloodshed done in support of British authority; 4th, a Bill for the quartering of troops upon the towns of Massachusetts; 5th, a Bill establishing a new and strong Government in Quebec, or Lower Canada, with great concessions of privileges to the Roman Catholic population, and with an extension of the Canadian jurisdiction to the Ohio and the Mississippi, at the back of the New England provinces.

It was on the 14th of March that Lord North

brought in the Boston Port Bill, without at once explaining the nature of the other measures to follow it. Some friends of America, even Colonel Barré, were deceived by this reticence, and by the presentation of the scheme as though it were rather to save the Customs' officers and the property of English merchants from injury, that the trade was to be removed to Marblehead, near Salem, about seventeen miles from Boston. Under this impression, Colonel Barré at first sight applauded the Boston Port Bill for its unexpected moderation, though he soon afterwards declared that "it contained many things cruel, unwarrantable, and unjust." It was calculated, indeed, to inflict upon that city of 30,000 people a terrible amount of distress. Mr. Dowdeswell, a leader of the independent Liberal party, declared at the outset that he considered the Bill very wrong, unjust, and mischievous; for it was punishing the innocent with the guilty, condemning them all unheard, and ruining the whole town of Boston for the acts of a certain number. Alderman Sawbridge and Lord George Cavendish also expressed their disapproval; but the Prime Minister insisted that it was needful to punish Boston as the "ringleader" of all the turbulent and outrageous proceedings in America, and to show the world that "the Parliament of Great Britain would protect the property of British subjects." There was to be a clause in the Bill expressly providing that the liberty of shipping and landing goods at Boston should never be restored till compensation should have been paid to the East India Company for the loss of the tea, which was valued by some persons at £15,000. But it was not expressly contemplated by the Bill that the port should be entitled to this restoration upon the payment of such compensation; it would still be left to the mercy of the Crown. Upon this ground, when the Bill was brought in on the 23rd, objections were raised by Rose Fuller, Charles James Fox, and several other members; while Mr. Byng said he thought it would inflict more damage upon English commerce than upon the unruly colonists, and General Conway deplored the continuance of strife



OLD BUILDING AT BOSTON WHERE THE TEA-PLOT IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN HATCHED.

between the two countries. But Lord North was imperturbable, though professing his own inclination to lenity; he believed the mere presence of four or five frigates in the harbour would suffice for the execution of this measure, without the employment of a military force. The Ministerial party, the "Parliamentary History," which records these gentle speeches, does not say whether the honourable gentleman was sober.

The House of Commons refused to entertain the petitions of certain Americans residing in London against this and other measures of penal infliction:



EDMUND BURKE.
(*From a Miniature by Sir Joshua Reynolds.*)

represented by Jenkinson, Gascoigne, Montagu, and Stanley, talked in a confident and haughty strain of reducing Boston to speedy submission. One member, whose name is not worth preserving from obscurity, quoted the proverb of vengeance, *Delenda est Carthago*, and hoped that nest of hornets would be "destroyed" if it did not submit. He said again, some days later, that he would "knock their town about their ears," and then would burn their woods, "as was done of old in the time of the Ancient Britons," to deprive them of shelter. But and the application of Mr. William Bollan, agent for the Massachusetts Assembly, that he might be heard on behalf of that province, and of the city of Boston, was equally refused. This course aroused the indignation of Dowdeswell and of Edmund Burke at the passing of the Boston Port Bill on the 25th of March. Nothing that had ever happened in his time, Burke said, had given him more heartfelt sorrow than the policy they were then adopting, which was most dangerous and even ruinous to the Empire. They could never have

ships and troops enough to enforce the wholesale proscription of an entire people. It would be far better to give up their teasing, irritating, profitless attempts at Parliamentary taxation of America. He abhorred every taxing proposal that was made, not for the sake of revenue, but for a political quarrel. There were but two ways for Great Britain to take with the colonies: either to govern them entirely, and make them obey her laws; or else to let them govern themselves in all their internal affairs. But he spoke to those who heeded not. The Boston Port Bill went through the Lower House without a division, as it likewise did through the House of Lords.

Three days afterwards, on the 28th, Lord North produced his second measure, concocted by Thurlow and Wedderburn, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, probably with the assistance of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. It was called "A Bill for Regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay." The constitution which that province had enjoyed since the reign of William III. was to be radically subverted. An elective Assembly would indeed remain, but merely to receive and pass the edicts of a Royal Governor with a nominee Council. The whole executive and judicial establishment, including the appointment of sheriffs and the selection of jurymen by those officers, would be dependent on the Crown or the Governor, the judges keeping their seats on the Bench during the King's pleasure. The town meetings, hitherto free and instrumental for many public affairs, were never to be held without the Governor's special permission, and only for the choice of municipal officers, or for particular business expressly sanctioned by him. The Bill, as originally framed, was in some respects less stringent; but Lord George Germaine's suggestions for greater changes in the old constitution were adopted by Lord North, when it was again presented to the House on the 15th of April. Mr. Dowdeswell condemned it the more earnestly, as being now rendered a worse measure than before. The Americans, he said, had flourished eighty years under their old chartered Government, which was well adapted to the spirit of a free people; and it ought not to be taken away from them. He alluded to the common metaphors, which spoke of the colonies as "disobedient children," and of England as the "mother country," or "parent state." In domestic life, he had often seen the disobedience of children occasioned by the petulant obstinacy of their parents, the latter struggling to obtain a ridiculous superiority of will, in a very bad spirit. "I hate that foolish contention," said he, "of 'You shall' and 'I won't' between parent and child." Pownall, the ex-Governor of Massachusetts, was scarcely heard by the contemptuous House, while he gave information, which few men in England possessed, regarding the municipal institutions of that province, the "selectmen" of its towns, the election of jurors, and the needful business for town meetings, which could not, without extreme inconvenience, be deferred for the Governor's previous sanction. The Bill was read a first time, and was followed on the same day by a third Bill, "for the more impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts." This was a plausible title, but the sole intention and effect was to provide that, in the case of persons charged with murder or other crime for acts done by them in suppressing riots or tumults, or enforcing the execution of the laws in that province, their trial should be removed to some other colony (Nova Scotia was intended), or to Great Britain. In bringing forward this measure, Lord North stated that the military forces at Boston would now be strengthened by sending four fresh regiments, and that Hutchinson was to be superseded by General Gage, who would immediately go out again with the full powers of Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief. His lordship added that prosecutions had been ordered against the individuals at Boston who were ringleaders in the late violent and outrageous acts committed in that town and seaport.

This third Bill for the correction of the disaffected colonists excited more vehement opposition in Parliament than either of the two preceding. Colonel Barré was the foremost to complain that the Boston Port Bill had been followed by other measures of an unprecedented character, for which there was no sort of justification. It was now proposed to stigmatise a whole people as men incapable of doing ordinary justice in a criminal trial. This imputation was quite unwarranted by proof of any delay, denial, or perversion of justice in America. Not a single instance could be shown of a soldier or officer of Government having been unfairly prosecuted or unfairly tried. On the contrary, there was the case of Captain Preston and his soldiers, who shed the blood of the people at Boston: they were tried for murder by an American jury, by a New England jury, by a Boston jury; and they were acquitted. Captain Preston had himself declared that the leading inhabitants of that town were his advocates and defenders. Was this Bill a fit return for their behaving with such justice and moderation? Was it befitting the character and place of a Prime Minister to bring

this forward with such declamation about the "insults" which Great Britain had endured in the colonies? Had not the Government, for many years past, been treating them with a series of irritating and offensive measures? Had not its troops and its ships made a vain and insulting parade of their forces in the streets and harbours? It had seemed to be the study of Ministers, if they had any policy or principle, to irritate and inflame the minds of the American people. They had stimulated discontent into disaffection, which they were now goading on to rebellion. The present measure, as part of that system, was big with oppression and misery to that country, and with danger to this realm. He looked to its immediate consequences as a soldier, knowing what soldiers were. If they were to be sent among a people whom they were told to look upon as rebels, and to feel themselves not liable to the civil jurisdiction of the country, their passions would break out in behaviour most pernicious to the peace of society. There was no evidence as yet of treason or rebellion in America; but this was the way to provoke it. Instead of sending an olive-branch to their colonial fellow-subjects, it was sending them a naked sword.

This impressive protest from Colonel Barré was supported by Captain Phipps, Mr. Thomas Townshend, and General Conway; but Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, the Marquis of Carmarthen, and others on the Ministerial side, made light of the warnings, and the Bill was presently read a first time. Its second reading was on the 25th; that for altering the Constitution of Massachusetts was read a second time on the 22nd; and the third readings took place, respectively, on the 2nd and 6th of May. The majority for Ministers, in the most important division, was 239 against 64. The speeches of Sir George Saville, General Conway, and others already named, against these measures, were not reported in the public papers, or they might have had a beneficial effect. Governor Johnstone and Governor Pownall, both from America, seem to have cautioned the House not to proceed so hastily, in their utter ignorance of the actual institutions of the American provinces. The existing Massachusetts charter was never laid before them, and the provincial agent was never allowed to appear at their bar, or to be examined by a Committee of Inquiry. Alderman Sawbridge plainly accused the Government of an intention to enslave America. Mr. Pownall told them of the preparations for united resistance, by the committees of correspondence, which were now spreading over all the provinces. Those committees, he said, would soon meet in a general Congress, and what might be the result of that Congress he did not care to predict. But all these considerations were disregarded. The Massachusetts Government Bill and the Administration of Justice Bill went up to the House of Lords, where they encountered some opposition, and a formal protest signed by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, and a dozen other peers; but they became law before the end of May.

In the meantime, on the 19th of April, one grand effort was made in Parliament to convert those in power to a more just and liberal policy, or else to convict them of an obstinate persistence in wrongful courses. Mr. Rose Fuller moved for the total repeal of the Tea Duty Act, to which he and the other opponents of Lord North's measures of coercion and chastisement had already pointed, as the indispensable means of conciliation. In seconding this motion, Mr. Pennant condemned the tea-duty imposed by a British Legislature in American ports, as violating that constitutional principle, always held sacred, which secured to Englishmen the power of levying their own taxes. It was an Act as unconstitutional and arbitrary, he observed, as that of levying the ship-money in King Charles's time. Captain Phipps and Mr. Stephen Fox derided the absurdity of keeping up such a paltry impost, which neither yielded any revenue, nor served any object of mercantile policy. These speakers were answered by Mr. Cornwall, one of the Ministry; and he was followed by Edmund Burke, in a discourse which must be esteemed one of the noblest specimens of British Parliamentary eloquence. He began with a defence of the Rockingham Ministry against the blame of having, by their repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, encouraged the Americans to further agitation. It was not true, he declared, that the Americans then proceeded to insist upon the abolition of every former Act purporting to furnish a revenue from their country. Their opposition was aroused by the Act of 1767, which imposed fresh duties upon several articles in their ports, of which tea was but the last. The duties upon five-sixths of those articles had been repealed, Lord North being at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the tea-duty was still kept on,—and for what purpose? It would appear to be, to save the declaration in the preamble of the Act of 1767—"Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charges of government there," &c. Could this be supplied by the poor solitary tea-duty? It could not save the credit of that absurd, false, and vain recital. Never did a people suffer so much for the

empty words of a preamble. This famous tea-duty would be known as the preambulary tax. It was indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax perhaps of rebellion and civil war—a tax for anything except benefit to the Government or to the nation. Burke then took up Lord Hillsborough's unfortunate and insincere circular of May, 1769, to the colonial Governors, in which that Minister, writing on behalf of the King, denounced it as a "factious and seditious" artifice to say that the Government meant to impose any more taxes on the colonies. That Royal promise was exhibited by Lord Botetourt to the Virginia Legislature, and the noble lord said he would consent to be deemed infamous should he not do all he could for its secure observance. Let no one thenceforth, in the name of the Ministry, uphold the taxation of America; or he would, with that letter in his hand, denounce such a Ministerial partisan as a factious and seditious disturber of the mutual affection and confidence between his Majesty and that distant province of the Empire. They must now either abandon the scheme of taxing altogether, or they must send the Ministers "tarred and feathered" to America, for having dared to hold out the Royal faith that taxing for revenue should cease. The mischief and the dishonour of the present situation arose from their not keeping that Royal faith with the colonists. There was nothing frank, nothing simple, nothing ingenuous, open, decisive, or steady, no fair dealing in any part of what had been done, with regard either to the continuance or repeal of those taxes.

"Sir," continued Burke, "it is not a pleasant consideration; but nothing in the world can read us so awful and so instructive a lesson, as the conduct of the Ministry in this business, upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. Never have these servants of the State looked at the whole of its complicated interests in one connected view. They have taken things by bits and scraps, some at one time, on one pretence, and some at another, just as they pressed, without any sort of regard to their relations or dependencies. They never had any kind of system, right or wrong, but only invented occasionally some miserable tale for the day, in order meanly to sneak out of a difficulty into which they had desperately plunged. They were put to all these shifts and devices, full of meanness and full of mischief, in order to pilfer piecemeal the repeal of an Act, which they had not the generous courage, when they found and felt their error, openly and fairly to disclaim."

He then narrated, in a comprehensive, yet precise description, the whole course of fiscal policy affecting the American colonies, from 1763, after the conclusion of the French war, to the time then passing. The characters of George Grenville and Charles Townshend were sketched with consummate skill, and with a generous recognition of their high abilities, while deploring their grave political errors. The motives of Lord Rockingham and his colleagues in the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in the accompanying Declaratory Act, were once more vindicated by Burke, as their faithful personal adherent.* The heterogeneous composition of the Grafton and Chatham Ministry, and the circumstances which enabled "that extraordinary genius, Charles Townshend," to do whatever he pleased during Pitt's retirement from affairs, were truthfully but not harshly displayed. "How we have fared since then, what a woful variety of schemes have been adopted, what enforcing and what repealing, what bullying and what submitting, what doing and undoing, what straining and what relaxing, what Assemblies dissolved for not obeying, and called again without obedience, what troops sent out to meet resistance, and on meeting that resistance recalled; what shifting and changing and jumbling of all kinds of men at home, which left no possibility of order, consistency, vigour, or even so much as a decent unity of colour in any one public measure—to relate all this would be a tedious, an irksome task."

He dwelt, however, upon the alarming embarrassment of the Ministry in the year before, with the threatened bankruptcy of the East India Company, which had ten million pounds of tea locked up in its warehouses, because it was deprived of the American market by the vexatious threepenny tax. It was by keeping open and encouraging the American trade, that our vast East Indian conquests were to be sustained; we should else be crushed by their enormous burthen. The Western provinces of the Empire, by their commercial intercourse, might thus aid in preserving its Eastern dominion; but the folly of this tea-tax would lose the benefit at once of the West and of the East. And then, by the Government measure of last year, when it sought to relieve the East India trade, this was done by keeping on the tea-duty in America, while that payable in England was remitted. The clear interest was neglected, the certain revenue was thrown away;

* A passage of this speech has often been quoted, describing the manner in which General Conway, who had moved the repeal of the Stamp Act, was met at the doors of the House by crowds of people thronging to express their joy and gratitude: "and his face was as the face of an angel." It is very beautiful in style and feeling.

but that profitless threepenny duty was continued, as though on purpose to insult our colonies.

"No man ever doubted," he went on to say, "that the commodity of tea would bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies now are those which were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. They were the feelings of Mr. Hampden, when called upon for a payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half that money, upon the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Well, but whatever it is, gentlemen say they will force the colonies to take these teas. You will force them? In seven years' struggle, have you been able yet to force them? But you say that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you; and of late it has ever been at war with your interest, your equity, and all good policy. Show the thing you contend for to be reason, to be common sense, to be useful means to any useful end; then I will allow it what dignity you please; but what is the dignity of persisting in an absurdity, I cannot discern. You say, the question does not stand where it did formerly. Oh no, certainly not. While you stay upon this ill-chosen ground, the difficulties thicken around you. Your disgrace, and the necessity of yielding, grow upon you day by day. But recover your old ground and your lost tranquillity; consult your past experience; consult the spirit of moderation, of practicability, of mutual convenience. Cease from this unhappy contest; seek peace and ensure it; leave America, if there be taxable matter in her, to tax herself. Leave the colonists as they anciently stood; they and we, their ancestors and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all that has been done, on both sides, in contradiction to that good old mode, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind them by laws of trade; you have always done it, and let that be your reason for doing it. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let that be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms."

This magnificent effort of debating power, some portions of which are here presented in a very abridged and condensed form, did not carry a large number of votes. After Burke, the House was addressed by Wedderburn, Charles James Fox, General Burgoyne, Lord Clare, and several other members; the debate concluding with Lord North. The motion to abolish the tea-duty was negatived by a majority of 182 against 49; so few were the members disposed to a policy of conciliation in the British House of Commons.

It is time again to see how Boston and the rest of America fared under impending doom. The passing of the Port Act was known on the 10th of May; it was to come into operation on the 1st of June. Governor and General Gage, with the civil and military authorities both united in his person, came with the Act of penal blockade. He landed on the 17th, amidst salutes of artillery from the fleet, the castle, and the batteries; he was received with tokens of respect, escorted by the militia cadets to the State House, and presented with an address of welcome from the Provincial Council, after which they entertained him with a public dinner in Faneuil Hall. But the Committees of Correspondence, led by Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and Thomas Gardener, of Cambridge, were discussing in those days how Boston should endure the cruel sentence of industrial stoppage, impoverishment, and probable hunger, imposed by the policy of the British Parliament. A town meeting was at once convened, and the Act for closing the port was read to assembled thousands of tradesmen, artisans, sailors, and labourers, whom it would deprive of their means of daily livelihood. They resolved to denounce it as repugnant to law, religion, humanity, and common sense; but, addressing the sister colonies, they nobly promised "to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude," while confessing that Boston, singly, might find this trial too severe, and entreating not to be left to struggle alone. The Massachusetts Assembly, in the ordinary course, made its annual choice of a Provincial Council, and Governor Gage rejected thirteen of the men chosen. He refused to allow the observance of a public fast, upon this occasion of a great public affliction, and suddenly prorogued the Assembly on the 28th, to meet again in ten days at Salem. Hutchinson, the ex-Governor, departed from America three days after this, not without some friendly addresses from those who were blind to his political misconduct, but who appreciated his merits as a judge in ordinary cases, his learning, and his civil behaviour. On his arrival in England, he was invited to long conversations with King George, and obtained the favour of a pension. His sons remained at Boston, one of them to be nominated to the new Provincial Council.

It was now to be seen whether the other colonial towns and provinces would give their fraternal aid to "the martyr city," and defend the ravished

liberties of Massachusetts in this day of Imperial vengeance. New York was all but the first, Rhode Island being nearer at hand, to arise and speak the promise of support. Its popular committee, the members of which sometimes called themselves "Sons of Liberty," from Barré's speech, was now superseded, at a town meeting on the 16th of May, by a larger and more influential committee. This comprised some of the principal merchants and lawyers, a few of whom, Isaac Low and John Jay for example, were men of a Conservative disposition. There was a division of councils among the great body of New York citizens and neighbouring agriculturists or landholders, though all pretty well agreed to resist the acts of the British Government. One party was for again resorting, as the Boston Committee proposed, to a renewed commercial interdict throughout the whole of America; the other party, including most of the wealthy men of business, would rely upon a Congress of delegates, and their joint remonstrances, to change the mind of England—or to do what else might be found needful. The same question about the best means of practically supporting Massachusetts, was in agitation at Philadelphia, where a meeting was held on the 20th of May; and there John Dickinson, the able writer of those "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer" which had done good service to America some years before, was opposed to a fresh non-importation league. It was therefore recommended, by the prevailing opinion of the New York and Philadelphia committees, that a General Congress should be held, in the first instance to address the King with a formal Petition of Rights; and that to the Congress should be referred every question of the expediency of stopping their trade with England, or of applying other methods to obtain redress. Connecticut at once called for a Congress, requesting Massachusetts to appoint the time and place. The next province to be noticed is Maryland. The people of Baltimore and Annapolis had no faith in getting relief by petition or remonstrance. They wanted the Congress to do "something more sensible," and their committee of correspondence was to begin by summoning a provincial convention. But they advised the immediate exclusion of British trade, and of trade with the British West Indies. Their delegates to the Congress were actually chosen by the provincial convention some days before those of any other province, except Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The inhabitants of New Jersey also declared their willingness to be "fellow-sufferers with Boston in the cause of liberty." Those of South Carolina, in the resolutions and address which they now adopted, were of a mind that "all Americans should stand by one another, even unto death; the whole Continent must be animated by one soul." They regarded Boston as only "the first victim on the altar of tyranny." The members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, at Williamsburg, on the 24th of May, resolved upon inviting their fellow-citizens to keep the 1st of June, the day of shutting up the port of Boston, "as a day of fasting and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the dreadful calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of a civil war." These dignified Virginians, George Washington and other gentlemen of that province, were not less religious, in their way, than the Puritans of New England. They prayed that God would "give to the American people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." But the invitation to join in this earnest prayer was arranged between the individual members, and was distributed by them through their respective constituencies, without a formal vote of the House. The Governor, Lord Dunmore, nevertheless thought fit to dissolve the House as soon as he heard of it; they instantly assembled at the Raleigh tavern, with their late Speaker, Peyton Randolph, in the chair, and passed their resolutions concerted beforehand. Washington and Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee, took part in these proceedings. It was agreed that the Parliamentary acts of severity against Massachusetts were an invasion of the rights of all the American provinces, and should be resisted by all. A committee of correspondence was appointed for this special purpose; and on the 30th, at a second meeting of such members as were still in town, it was arranged that deputies should be elected, by all the counties, to a convention of the province on the 1st of August, since the legal Representative Assembly had been dissolved. They suggested, moreover, that there should henceforth be an annual American Congress of the Provinces. In this manner, the isolated case of Massachusetts, even before the full extent of the Government measures against that province was known, became a point of national interest throughout the Thirteen Colonies, which now cherished a proper national sentiment, and felt themselves ready to form one United Commonwealth.

The city of Boston was naturally much consoled for its painful situation on the 1st of June by these generous expressions of sympathy and pledges of national support. Yet its distress was not the

The TIMES are Dreadful, Dismal Doleful Dolorous, and DOLLAR-LESS.



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PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIFE again.

I AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is scar'd to be obligatory upon us after the *First of November* ensuing, (the *fatal To morrow*) the Publisher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to STOP a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the insupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the last Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual of my Subscribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon

WILLIAM BRADFORD

FAC-SIMILE OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL" ON THE STAMP ACT. (*From Smith's "American Historical and Literary Curiosities."*)

less real, and was but mitigated by an order from Government, allowing small vessels to bring victuals and fuel into the harbour, from various places along the coast, with a proviso for searching them at Marblehead, to prevent the introduction of other goods. Thirty thousand townsfolk, the busiest English industrial and mercantile community beyond the seas, were reduced to compulsory idleness; a multitude of sailors, shipwrights, coopers, packers, store-keepers, and porters, lounged sadly in the streets, on the quays and wharves, in the vacant building-yards and workshops, or sullenly looked forth upon the interdicted water on which they were forbidden to launch the smallest boat.* This was the state of things decreed by Parliament, and by George III., for the correction of political errors in the minds of Americans.

On the very next day after the shutting up of the port of Boston, came from London the news of the two other Acts of Parliament, by which all the chartered franchises and the old political constitution of Massachusetts were utterly destroyed; while the provincial judges and magistrates were deprived of their ordinary jurisdiction, so far as it should be needed to check any deeds of violence which the soldiery, or other Government servants and partisans, might afterwards perpetrate in the helpless city. The Acts were known to be in progress at Westminster, but they only obtained the Royal assent on the 20th of May. These were terrible blows at American civil liberty; and how to ward them off was a care even more urgent than to relieve the present distress of the Boston people. It was known, too, that General Gage had particular instructions to seize the persons of the leading Boston patriots, and send them to England for trial upon the charge of treason; but this was the least anxiety for men like Adams, Warren, Hancock, and others, who were ready to sacrifice themselves, yet who knew that Gage had no wish to harm them. The military Governor, indeed, was a dull, good-natured sort of man, apt to swagger about what he would do, and to promise his Ministerial patrons a vast display of energetic authority, but inclined to live and let live, on good-neighbourly terms, with the people whom he offered to rule. Still, he would doubtless have obeyed peremptory orders for the arrest of the alleged Boston traitors, if no discretion had been left him in the matter; but Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, was himself much indisposed to acts of personal severity; nor were such acts congenial to Lord North. The Massachusetts political leaders were thus left free to take counsel with their associates, and to avail themselves of existing means of opposition, during those Midsummer weeks of uncertainty, while the new machinery of provincial government, in the clumsy and feeble hands of Gage, could not speedily be got into working order. It was not till the 6th of August, as we shall observe, that authentic official copies of the Acts which became law on the 20th of May were put into his hands, with that which enabled him to quarter his troops in the towns of Massachusetts. The intervening period was at the disposal of the popular party for labours of agitation and organisation, preparatory to a General Congress. They lost no time in making use of their advantages; nor was this activity at Boston diminished by the removal of the seat of government and Provincial Assembly to Salem.

Faneuil Hall, with the Boston Committee of Correspondence, augmented by those of the neighbouring townships or villages, Dorchester, Brookline, Roxbury, Charleston, and Cambridge, was the headquarters of important business in that summer of 1774. The first act of those who here directed all the social opinion of Massachusetts, and in some degree of New England, was to issue a form of "Solemn League and Covenant," whereby its subscribers were bound not to purchase or consume any British commodity after the end of August. This was circulated everywhere, as "the last and only means of preserving the land from slavery, without drenching it in blood." It was upon this proposal, as we have seen, that the prevailing party in New York and Philadelphia differed from that of Massachusetts. The next point was to get the provincial Legislature, as upon former occasions, to initiate the combined arrangements of the different provinces for a General

* Bancroft, Vol. VI., chap. 4. "The law was executed with a rigour that went beyond the intentions of its authors. Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox, or a sheep, or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water-carriage from pier to pier, though but of lumber or bricks or lime, was strictly forbidden. The boats between Boston and Charleston could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River; the fishermen of Marblehead, when, from their hard pursuit, they bestowed quintals of dried fish on the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offerings in waggons by a circuit of thirty miles." We do not impugn the substantial accuracy of this description; but it does not readily agree, in the particulars of the sentence last quoted, with the effect of the Treasury instructions, dated March 31st, to which Mr. Bancroft has nowhere alluded, and by which coasting vessels, with fuel or victuals for the town, were exempted from the blockade. The remainder of his description may be admitted. "The warehouses of the thrifty merchants were at once made valueless; the costly wharves, which extended far into the channel, and were so lately covered with the produce of the tropics and with English fabrics, were become solitary places; the harbour, which had resounded incessantly with the cheering voices of prosperous commerce, was now disturbed by no sounds but from British vessels of war."

Congress; and it would then be requisite to have a provincial convention expressly for the election of delegates to the proposed Congress. This was the outline of the political scheme; but several other matters urgently demanded attention.

The Boston Port Act enjoined that the town should pay full compensation to the East India Company for the tea which had been destroyed. "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea," wrote one of the staunch Southern friends of Boston, Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina. It would never do to compromise that matter, for additional shipments of tea had since been made. A vessel named the *Fortune*, about the end of February, came to Boston with some, which the people threw overboard; another cargo, on the 19th of March, was similarly treated at New York. Only by the loss of such consignments were the owners to be compelled to desist from relying upon the enforcement of the Customs' duty. The citizens of Boston, moreover, were too well aware that they would not, by complying with this clause of the penal enactment, obtain the Royal forgiveness and the opening of their port, unless they would also consent to the abolition of the Massachusetts Constitutional Charter. For these reasons, it was obviously not their policy to offer payment for the tea; let the British Government pay for it. Such was the decision of a town meeting on the 17th of June, notwithstanding the encampment of two regiments, the 4th and the 43rd, on Boston Common, and the reinforcements of artillery and infantry at Castle William. On the 4th of July, a day which was destined otherwise to become celebrated, the forces on the Common, almost beleaguering the land side of Boston, were increased by the 5th and 38th Regiments, with a train of cannon, while Admiral Graves had a powerful squadron of war-ships in the silent harbour. The undaunted town, promptly suppressing an effort made by some timid or selfish tradesmen to advocate unworthy submission, went on signing its pledge against the luxuries imported from England. This method of passive resistance, General Gage denounced, by proclamation, as an act of traitorous hostility to the King and Parliament, and commanded the instant arrest of all persons who should dare to publish, to sign, or to invite others to sign, the non-importation agreement.

All eyes were turned on Boston; and from every other town, district, and province of that which was soon to be called "the American Union," hands were stretched with gifts of food, clothing, and money, to comfort her distressed population. Salem and Marblehead, the neighbouring seaports, instead of seeking to profit by her mercantile extinction for the time, offered the free use of their maritime accommodation, without cost or charge, to her strangled and stifled trade. To feed the unemployed and destitute working-class families of Boston, subscriptions were opened all over America; the list of which for Virginia was headed by George Washington with a donation of £50. The stores of corn and flour, sheep and cattle, from the inland farms, and the produce of coast fisheries, or of the hunter's quest in the backwoods, or of the rice-fields in South Carolina, were brought by the land road into the suffering city. It was a spectacle of no slight moral interest; a sign of the birth, in painful throes, of a young English nation, about to live its own life apart from the mother country, and endowed with equal capacities of social welfare.

The General Congress of American Provinces, to which all looked forward through the summer of 1774, was to begin the task of protecting and fostering that birth of a nation. Its appointment to meet at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September, was resolved upon by the Massachusetts House of Representatives at Salem, sitting with locked doors, while the Governor's message of dissolution was kept outside, on the 17th of June. Meantime, before we come to view this important assembly of delegates from so many different British colonies on the Western Continent, a statistical account of their population and resources will not be inopportune.

CHAPTER XI.

An ominous Lull in American History—State of the Colonies shortly before the Outbreak of the War of Independence—Burke on American Population—Condition of Virginia, and Divisions in Virginian Society—Patrick Henry—Condition of Massachusetts—Opposition to the taking of a Census—New England Austerity of Manners—Decay of the Indian Race—Resistance of the Americans to English Taxation Colonisation of Wyoming—Religion in New England—Progress of Maryland—Frederick, Lord Baltimore—The Carolinas—The Middle States—Georgia—General Development and Tendencies of America—The Coming Change.

A GREAT and ominous lull in American history preceded the disruption of the Thirteen Provinces from the British Dominions. There can be little doubt that the approach of some mighty crisis was felt by anticipation, and that the colonies were, as if spontaneously, preparing for it. The triple war had of course not been without its influences; that against the mis-named Indians, the French, and the Spaniards, had awakened a martial spirit, which not even the sense of exhaustion could quell; and yet the growth of pure domestic manners and social morals more than kept pace with the troubling influences of the times. The American Provinces, in a word, had been successful in their efforts to create a political existence for themselves, and the epoch was now at hand wherein they were to be compelled to establish this upon an independent and permanent basis. If we look at the materials then at their disposal, they will be found to present a picture which might not be unfavourably compared with that exhibited by many among the societies of the older world. They had begun, even as colonists, by laying deep and well-fitted foundations for their public life; they had created for themselves a military reputation by a tenacious resistance to the encroachments of the French; they had gone through a conflict for existence itself with the native races, to whom their predecessors had given only too much reason for fear and hatred. The wealth of the land had not increased; its population had been, proportionately speaking, somewhat diminished; both immigration and speculation had been checked; yet, in spite of all, the leading colonies were more opulent and flourishing at the Peace of Paris than when the high contracting parties signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The great tobacco-growing province of Virginia, in the year 1758, exported no less than seventy thousand hogsheads of its special produce, or the largest quantity ever carried across the seas in a single year; the average being 55,000 hogsheads. Five years later, its population was computed by some at 170,000, and by others at 200,000. In the absence of any census, however, these figures represent guesswork rather than statistics. If the opinions of the day be regarded, they are represented, on one side at any rate, by the celebrated language of Edmund Burke. "The first thing we have to consider is the number of people in the colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on this point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and colour; besides at least half-a-million others, forming no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. There is no occasion to exaggerate. Whether I put the total too high or too low, it is of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world that, state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. Whilst we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. Whilst we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations."

This passage, uttered in 1765, can never be omitted from any History of America. It is the preface to the War of Independence. More than half, however, of those who then peopled the Virginian soil were slaves; and the province appears to have been backward in its cultivation of the arts and sciences, though it is impossible to accept, on this point, all the assertions of contemporary writers, whose statements were often not less inaccurate than their prophecies were fallacious. Thus, one writer predicted that centuries must elapse before any outgrowth of educational institutions surrounded the parent college of William and Mary, in Virginia. The only importance of the opinion consists in the contrast it suggests between that solitary seminary and the multitude of academies which, in the course of one hundred years, were gathered about it. Even then, however, there was much exaggeration in the accounts given in England of the American colonies, which were far from being at the low intellectual standard described by writers like Burnaby, who represented, for example, that the Virginian dissenting denominations, in the aggregate, constituted only an insignificant minority, whereas they were exceed-

ingly numerous. The chroniclers of that time, it must be remembered, were all more or less inspired by prejudice on account of the questions then rapidly arising, and growing into formidable proportions between the mother country and her dependencies. From one of them, however, we obtain a spirited picture which, compared with several others drawn by contemporary pens, will appear, upon the whole, just and accurate. Virginia occupied a peculiar, even an unique, position in the world. It stood alone; it had few relations with the great communities of the Eastern hemisphere; with the sister colonies its intercourse was irregular and rare; its very industry and commerce were, so to speak, of an isolated character; foreigners, as well as new settlers, were few and far between; and thus was created a state of society *sui generis*, though falling naturally into the inevitable series of elevations, levels, and abysses, characteristic of the organisations of mankind, subject or dominating, Imperial or Republican, everywhere. Particular families had amassed wealth, and preserved it for their posterity by a law of entail; and these riches were often enjoyed by men capable of making an intellectual and beneficent use of them. The Far West had no attractions, in those days, except for the hunter and the trapper; so that the principal inhabitants remained stationary, from generation to generation, and became an aristocracy of the soil, hardly less proud or less exclusive than any in Europe. Between them and the rest of the continent, moreover, a living barrier had been placed by the Irish settlers in the broad and fertile valley between North Mountain and Blue Ridge—settlers who seem to have been objects of some repugnance to the slave-holding lowlanders. The German immigration had not long commenced, and never, indeed, had much tendency southwards. Its future field was to be rather in the western territories, though a certain proportion found its way to Virginia and the Carolinas. The Dutch held to their old ground in New York and New Jersey, where the original names are to this day perpetuated; while the French still affected the south-west, and were numerous in Louisiana, and along the western margin of the Mississippi. There was a considerable scattering of them, however, among the sugar-plantations of Florida. Thus a community had been formed of different strata, wavy, as those of geology are, and occasionally blending. In the patrician State—for the colonies styled themselves States even then—of Virginia, the nobility of riches, where no titles existed, necessarily stood highest, and this was composed of the great landholders whose estates spread below tide-water on the banks of the main rivers, and who lived with a luxury frequently ruinous to themselves, and often exasperating to their less opulent neighbours. It is to be mentioned, at the same time, that they did not style themselves, as, at a later date, their countrymen did in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, "the first people in the place:" their social superiority being incontestable, no necessity existed for asserting it. And, while proud and self-conscious to an extreme degree, they were a generous race, and the poor travellers of that age who recorded their reminiscences speak pleasantly of the hospitalities of the planter's table, laden from morning till night with hot wheaten bread, hominy, ham, eggs uncountable, wines, liqueurs, tongues, poultry, spiced meats, custards, creams, fruits, and a hundred various dainties in which the traditions of the Old World and the inventions of the New were combined. Next followed their immediate relatives, the semi-aristocrats of the colony, descendants of younger sons and daughters, who inherited all their haughtiness without their riches, were addicted to marrying early, were often more in debt than in luck, and added not much to the family honours.* But one class of these began, or, perhaps, it should be said, took part in, a work that has since proved of inestimable value to the continent of North America. These were termed, as they continued to be termed until lately, *solitaires;* that is, individuals or families who turned their backs upon the ripening civilisation that rose along the coast, plunged into the forest or the prairie, built huts, cleared and planted, drained swamps, put up fences, traced the outlines of miniature graveyards, felled wood, and dared all the dangers of a wild life for the sake of its independence. They were not many in number; yet the paths they crushed and hewed through the brushwood have been converted into highways, along which steam-caravans of true American magnitude thunder daily. In their rear, and not in very favourable comparison with them, the biographer of Patrick Henry places the "pretenders;" men who, as he says, from vanity, or the influence of increasing wealth, or from that spirit of enterprise inseparable from talent, however immoral, sought to detach themselves from the plebeian ranks, to which they properly belonged, and imitated at a distance the manners and pretensions of the orders above them. Lastly—since, in the social scale, the negro ranked nowhere—was the overseer, justly depicted, no doubt, in a majority of instances, as at once a slave to those superior,

* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.



BOSTONIANS READING THE STAMP ACT.

and a tyrant to those inferior, to him; because the very nature of his employment was in itself degrading, and involved the exercise of an abominable cruelty. That it takes two white men to make one black man work, was once an American proverb, implying more sarcasm than truth; yet it undoubtedly contained a measure of truth. The negro is naturally lazy, and in his state of bondage he has none of the ordinary inducements to be industrious. It is to him sufficient if he can obtain the barest necessaries of life, lie in the hot sunshine, play on some rude musical instrument, join in fantastic dances and merely animal mirth, and pass his time from childhood to old age in a succession of unintellectual satisfactions. The responsibilities of freedom, by calling out his powers, are alone capable of lifting him in the scale of being. In his servitude he will often refuse to work, except on the severest compulsion.

Meanwhile, what had been the progress of civilisation, industry, and trade in the more austere, if not less money-loving, community of Massachusetts? In 1763, it is computed to have numbered 241,000 persons, of whom 5,200 were slaves, as against Connecticut, with 145,000 and 4,500 slaves, and Rhode Island, with 40,000 and 4,600 slaves. The population of New Hampshire, at this period, says Grahame, had not been distinctly ascertained; but in 1762 it was estimated at 52,700, though all these tables are vague, and the general calculation



VILLAGE OF YONKERS, NEW YORK.

that the people of New England, in the mass, numbered about half a million, is probably an approach to the truth. There exists a reason for the uncertainty of our information upon these points. The New Englanders delighted in the extraordinary development of their population, yet were jealous of giving publicity to their statistics. An obvious cause of this feeling was, that as the Jews of the Middle Ages concealed their money-bags to save themselves from extortion, so the acute and thrifty colonists of the North-eastern States blinked the fact of their rapidly-increasing numbers in order not to bring down upon themselves additional taxes. In 1763, when the Government at home were already dreaming of an Imperial revenue to be derived from the resources of the New World, a complete Census was directed, in Massachusetts especially. It was resented as an encroachment upon the social liberty of the province, and many specious arguments were employed to justify a determined resistance to it in every township and parish. The Puritans came to the aid of the patriots. Preachers stood up in the pulpit to set forth the religious grounds upon which the idea of a Census should be repelled; quoted texts relating to King David's punishment for his unhallowed attempt to number the people of Israel; and expatiated largely upon the passages—"And God was displeased with this thing, therefore he smote Israel;" "Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered?"—upon that relating to the penalty, "Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel,"—and upon the consummation, "So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel; and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men." These citations from the Second Book of Chronicles were read far and wide in the pulpits of New England; the Census was delayed from year to year, and, when ultimately undertaken, in consequence of a peremptory mandate from Whitehall, was so negligently carried out that it never possessed any historical value.

We have here a very singular reflection of the religious opinions of that epoch, in a part of the world where Puritan feeling attained its utmost exaltation. The New Englanders of the year 1764 were not, however, a majority of professed Puritans, though, in popular usage and sentiment, and even in their provincial jurisprudence, they clung to much of that which had been ordained by their forefathers of the *Mayflower*. The ground-swell of the storm against Cavalier licence still rose almost as high, among these stern censors of manners, as when the sumptuary laws, and the ordinances against flowing curls, patches, powder, and lace, were enacted. The Government of Connecticut revived a decree which for some time had been considered obsolete, condemning idleness, the unseasonable assemblage of young people, tavern-haunting, and tale-bearing; while that of Massachusetts, quite in opposition to the axiom of Shakespeare's Henry VIII., who says to Anne Bullen, "I were unmannerly to take you out, and not to kiss you," put in execution a statute, dated so far back as 1646, denouncing the punishment of flogging against any man "bestowing the salute of a kiss on a woman in the streets," whether with her consent or without it. It is said that this law was actually put in force, in a singular way, more than a century after its enactment. The captain of a British man-of-war, cruising off the coast of Massachusetts for the protection of its trade during the great maritime conflict with France, returned from an excursion, on a Sunday, to Boston, where his wife was staying. The story is related by Burnaby, and may be repeated on his authority. "Learning his arrival, this lady rushed down to the harbour to meet him; and, in a transport of joy, they could not refrain from tenderly embracing each other in the open streets. For this breach of the laws, and desecration of the Sabbath, the captain was summoned to appear before the magistrates, who, after a grave rebuke, sentenced him to be publicly flogged. The punishment is said to have inferred no ignominy whatever; and, after having undergone it, he was admitted freely into the best company of the place, and even into the society of the magistrates, who so little guessed the resentment which he nourished in his bosom as to accept an invitation to an entertainment on board his vessel, on the day when she was to leave the station, and sail for England. After regaling them with a handsome feast, he caused his sailors to flog them all on the deck of the vessel in sight of the town; and then, telling them that he and they had cleared all accounts, he dismissed them, and set sail." The truth of the narrative was believed in at the time, though the details varied in different accounts, and in the reminiscences, for years after, of the people of the Massachusetts metropolis.*

* It is only fair to add, however, that in many quarters this story is considered at the best apocryphal, and the authority of Burnaby, who merely visited the country, and was perhaps hoaxed, very questionable.

This extreme strictness, together with the weight of taxes imposed by extraordinary military efforts, explained the desertion of so many Massachusetts and Connecticut colonists for the less inflexibly ruled and less heavily-burdened territories of Nova Scotia, New York, and Canada. The asceticism of Boston, indeed, in the earlier period of its history, is declared to have seriously retarded its growth; but there were not a few who defied the more rigorous of its social regulations, and took their pleasures freely in the neighbouring wood lands. It is needless, perhaps, to remind ourselves that this asperity of manners, which was a reaction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led, as if logically, to another, which nevertheless has never broken out in any scandalous public excesses. The American mind, and particularly that of the New England States, was, in the transition time now being reviewed, intensely occupied with politics, and with the future destinies of the whole British dominion in the New World. Two grand causes of anxiety, no doubt, had been removed. The French were conquered, and no longer rivals; the Indians were subdued, and, though in a certain sense still enemies, did not darken the frontiers of the white settlements with a perpetual terror. Nevertheless, the red man persisted in cherishing his hereditary, or rather, perhaps, natural hatred of the interlopers upon his hunting-grounds, and his villages continued to be the encampments of resentment, discontent, and meditated vengeance. But there was no longer, as there had been for years, in New Hampshire, among other territories, the necessity of an incessant watch and garrisoning along the borders; for the savage had lost his powerful ally, and could expect no further supplies of arms and ammunition, or bribes of ardent liquors and money, from Europe. He had given up the prisoners hitherto languishing under a cruel captivity in his wigwams; only a few were not permitted to return to the civilised districts; and of these, in all likelihood, not many survived the Peace of Paris. But the evidences of what had been, remained—the villages clustered round their little churches, with the second storeys of the houses overhanging the first, so that the Indians might be fired upon with advantage while they were hewing with their tomahawks at the doors; the hamlets and farms which had acquired strange names from having been the scenes of fearful tragic events; the single plank-bridge over Bloody Brook; and other signs of memories never to be blotted out from among the descendants of those who pitched their tents round the spot famous for all time in American annals as Burial Hill. The fears of the Borderers, however, had now subsided, and they once more commenced establishing new footholds in the wilderness among the violet perfumed forests, the blueberry plains, the lakes so long swarming with hostile canoes, and the hills that had been used as the fortresses of native nations.

Relieved from this traditionary dread, New Hampshire saw its boundaries expanding, and its people multiplying; emigrants pouring in upon its frontiers from the other States of New England; and the territory called the Green Mountain, or, in French, Vermont, so thickening with population that the jealousies of New York were aroused. Both New York and New Hampshire claimed it, and the authority of the former might have been accepted, without any great pressure being exercised, had it not been for that great moving cause of American revolution,—resistance to taxation. This was sought to be imposed in the shape of fines and quit-rents so heavy that the lately-arrived settlers, headed by two enthusiastic and daring leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, natives of Connecticut, spurned the financial mandates, and defied, with arms in their hands, the collectors of the Middle State. They were denounced as outlaws; the sentence was promulgated in vain. They were threatened with tremendous pains and penalties; their opposition only became the more flagrant. When Ethan Allen was urged by the King's attorney at New York to abandon his resistance to the Royal claims, because he had not the power to make it good, he answered, "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." It appears singular at this time that, upon a continent so vast as to allow of an almost boundless occupation of territory, the title-deeds to land were so violently contested; but, in the absence of great roads, not to speak of railways, the Atlantic States, as being nearest to Europe, and of course best situated for purposes of commerce, were at an early date comparatively crowded. The territory of Wyoming, celebrated by the poet Campbell in his Indian poem, was originally purchased by a company of Connecticut planters from the great Confederation of the Six Nations; but, owing to the wars with France and with the Red Indians, its settlement was for many years postponed. In 1763, however, its colonisation took place, and Campbell has vividly depicted the grief of the red race when this favourite resort of their forefathers was lost to them, although they themselves had sold it. It was hither that a new emigration was drawn from Europe—an emigration of men who, having acquired a larger knowledge of the New World, longed for

its freedom, the abundance of its soil, and its innumerable novelties of existence. Many were military officers, who laid down the sword to cultivate rice, corn, and sweet-potatoes in the Valley of the Susquehannah; and their transformation from soldiers into husbandmen and patriarchs is rather more poetically than historically described in the English epic. They became entangled in a bitter, albeit prosaic, litigation (between the Government of Connecticut on the one hand, and the proprietaries of Pennsylvania on the other) on the everlasting question of land-rights; and these two parties to a single claim contested their point, foot by foot, with no less pertinacity than the Royal Governors of New York and New Hampshire had exhibited in their pretensions to the glades of Vermont. All were animated by a keen desire to augment their revenues by multiplying fees upon the sale and transfer of lands which they had often obtained at next to nominal prices from its aboriginal and probably autochthonal possessors. Charters in those days were invariably vague, and it was found much easier to sell a sovereignty than prove a title to it.

It was necessary to offer this somewhat mechanical sketch of affairs as they then existed with respect to the lordship of the American territory, because they formed the spring of events to come, terrible in their magnitude, enthralling in their interest, and leading to results that surpassed the most far-reaching vision even of that adventurous generation. But we may now turn to another and a more attractive section of the picture. The whale-fisheries of the St. Lawrence, undetected by the French, had been discovered by the daring of the English; the pursuit of this strange and dangerous industry became a characteristic of New England colonial enterprise; and in the year 1763 no fewer than eighty New England ships—increased, since 1761, from a total of ten—were engaged in the most exciting and, when successful, the most remunerative of all fisheries. It is essential to the previous and future history of the United States that, at this point, a sketch should be presented of their religious colour and attitude in the period previous to that in which the great revolutionary disturbance began. In New England, about the date of 1764, there were nearly six hundred Congregational churches, in addition to ecclesiastical associations formed after the model of the Church of England as it then existed, which had of late considerably extended their influence through all the colonies, or States. The first-born piety of the young States had certainly dwindled; yet it survived in a deep degree, and would probably have been still stronger, had it known how to harmonise itself with modern ideas. Opinion and sentiment, no doubt, constitute the main elements of history; yet, in drawing a picture of Europeanised America in the latter half of the eighteenth century, there are many considerations to be kept in view. A most striking contrast was exhibited between the religious history of the English colonies, and that of the Spanish possessions. In the case of the latter, a political and ecclesiastical despotism settled down at once upon the land, rendering the people unfit to govern themselves, and incapable of a steady obedience to any one else. The immense power of Spain, and the concentrated interest of the nation in its colonies, felt alike by the King and the populace, gave a marvellous impetus to the peopling of their new possessions in the New World. Cities arose, rich, magnificent, for a time teeming with inhabitants, and prosperous with trade. Splendour and riches surrounded the proprietors of lands that bloomed with all the productions of an exuberant soil and a generous climate. Convents, churches, and palaces were built, which rivalled, if they did not eclipse, those of Spain herself. And it seemed, once, as if the Spanish dominion would before long extend from Cape Horn to the North Pole, and confer upon Madrid an overwhelming supremacy, not only over America, but over the world. Yet this showy magnificence was not destined to last, containing, as it did, the causes of an early and rapid decline. In comparison with it, the progress of the British colonies stands splendidly conspicuous. Their early struggles and local conflicts were not submitted to or undertaken for expansion of power, or the multiplication of riches. The English settlers landed on a dismal shore, to brave the inclemencies of an inhospitable climate, which was for them not more cruel than the enemies they had to encounter upon every field and in every forest. They had to wring from a niggard soil a scanty subsistence, and to win a narrow footing for the most humble of homes, not only without the aid, but almost in direct opposition to the wishes, of their native country. But they brought with them the habit of self-government, and the political traditions of the English race.

Happily for America in some respects, the sovereign mind of England took little interest in the fortunes of the colonies, and therefore did not, at the outset, interfere with the settlements formed by our countrymen. The reigning sentiments in England, however, naturally put their stamp and impress on the institutions which were in course of being formed. The character of Englishmen de-

termined the nature of the law and government established, "and their self relying and undaunted spirit," says a French writer of the time, "was strongly manifest in every colony which they planted in the New World." Two of the English colonies, at this period, figure pre-eminently, comprising within themselves, in fact, the history of the colonisation of the United States. The first is that of Virginia, then a vast and undefined territory, curtailed, at various periods, of its proportions, coming at last to be regarded as a small and definite dominion, and then alienating its outlying territories until they became provinces, or States, in themselves. Virginia, however, was not the representative of European colonisation in America. The leaven of the New England immigration leavened the whole of that world, and assimilated the heterogeneous elements of which it had been composed. It has been said, with a measure of truth which can with difficulty be weighed, that "had the fanaticism of the New England Puritans never existed, it may safely be asserted that the United States would not have been called into being." But, while Virginia was established by a set of daring, enthusiastic, and even chivalrous adventurers, affected by the leading inspiration of Raleigh, Maryland, the second colony in the march of the new Dominion, was a Catholic province, and the centre of religious toleration. Lord Baltimore, far from guarding his territory against any but those of his own persuasion—as he had, in fact, renounced for himself and his successors all arbitrary power, by establishing and acknowledging the legislative franchises of the people—took from them, to some extent, the hateful privileges of intolerance. Massachusetts, likewise, was in a great degree the offspring of religious enthusiasm, or freedom, and gave birth to a number of free communities. In singular contrast with both of these were the ecclesiastical constitutions of the two Carolinas, of which, in their integrity, scarcely a vestige now remains. Such a state of things, however, existed when the six hundred Congregational Churches of New England were preparing, at the period now spoken of, to champion their rights of worship. Yet it does not appear that these had been openly, formally, or officiously assailed. There were those amongst the statesmen of the mother country who, in spite of all bickerings, relented in their rigour when they saw the dauntless old spirit asserting itself, on the other side of the Atlantic, with equal pride and courage as in the days that preceded the Commonwealth. They could not, in conscience, refuse liberty of thought and worship to the Congregational Churches of New England; they could not, in harmony with the feelings really nourished in their hearts, repudiate the young and wild communion of the forests, in the benefits of which the red men, in fact, were partakers, although the invasion and even extirpation of their independence had commenced a hundred years before.

We are now very nearly approaching, be it remembered, the great American War of Independence, when a gradual and steady advance of population and civilisation, in the oldest colonies—those of New England and Virginia—was taking place, and when a novel and singular state of society was being created. The number of people multiplied, often, in a ratio disproportionate to the extent of the occupied and settled land. This may be partially owing to the communal habits, if they may be so termed, which still lingered in the mother country, and travelled with its children whithersoever they drifted; for in that time the traditional village life had not been altogether superseded in England, and took root generously in the favourable soil of the Continent of Columbus. Probably, however, these characteristics may have been caused more by the prevalent dread of the Indians, who hovered in the young colonies, and effectually checked the tendency to emigration by cutting off stragglers from the main body; also, again, by the unsettled ownership of land, as disputed between divers European powers. It is curious to observe how, with regions of boundless fertility and extent within their reach, the early Puritans—leaving a lesson which their descendants of a hundred years later disregarded—toiled and multiplied, for some generations, within the narrow boundaries, and on the ungrateful soil, of the older New England States. There was nothing, among them, of that propensity, attributed to the disciples of Wakefield, of abandoning old ground for new. But the curses and the blessings of prosperity, and of a precocious age, were already upon them. Nature, in their deserts, had lost her youthful aspect. The wild animals were beginning to depart, and the class of huntsmen and trappers to disappear. Timber, even in those woody settlements, had become expensive, and coal-mines were talked of. "Even the abundant waters of the wilderness," cried, rather than said, a scion of that fresh civilisation, "are diminishing: the streams flow more scantily and more sluggishly, from the destruction of the covers which once sheltered and preserved the springs." Yet, to an observer familiarised with the aristocratic institutions and monumental wealth of Europe, the New England States, so far back as 1764, looked less like old

societies than like young ones which had "lived fast," and exhibited every external sign of decay, without, however, the relics of an old family or an old estate.

These observations, it should be interposed, have a somewhat retrospective application, though they are essential to a full appreciation of the picture, as we would draw it, before the panorama widened towards the issues of the grand colonial and Imperial war; — widened and darkened, indeed, because there was a black chapter to be opened yet before the fact of American Independence blew bright and free, like a flag, in the face and in the sight of the world. It is a social and a political picture, indeed, rather than a historical one, which has now to be painted. The professors of Puritan principles in New England had always been the staunchest champions of provincial liberty; and, possibly, their favourite policy of blending religious with political ordinances was rather prudentially advocated than sincerely espoused by the strong and rising party which regarded every object as of secondary importance in comparison with the exaltation of popular power, and the promotion of American Independence. This was the phrase current generally in 1764. A restless and expanding public spirit had been created. No fewer than five printing presses—and it was a marvel for that time—were in constant employment at Boston. Within the limits of the original Plymouth territory, however, there still remained upwards of nine hundred Indians. In the island of Nantucket, about three hundred and fifty of this race were yet to be found. In Duke's County, belonging to the same province, there remained three hundred; while at Natick only thirty-seven of the aboriginals survived. Still, nearly a thousand continued to occupy, or infest, Connecticut. Nothing is more striking, in the annals of the struggle between the Old and New World, than the juxtaposition of the official declaration that "nearly one thousand Indians continue to occupy lands within the territory of Connecticut," with the statement that, within the same period, "more than a hundred bears were killed in one district of the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts."

In this epoch, the inexhaustible colony of Maryland, as a prolific parent of wealth, opulence, power, and fame to come, stood conspicuously in the front. The proprietary authority still subsisted in the family of Lord Baltimore; and though it was not, as contemporary histories admit, exercised with that sordid and illiberal policy which challenged so much hostility against a kindred institution in Pennsylvania, it seems to have been, in a sense, isolated and suspected. An early law of Maryland prohibited the importation of felons from the parent State. But the law, no doubt, had fallen into desuetude; for, in the chronicles of English judicial transactions, Maryland is more frequently particularised than any of the other colonies as the one to which felons were conveyed. In 1768 the proprietor himself was in danger of being included in the annual cargo of convicts from England, and compelled to reside as an exiled felon in the very country wherein he possessed the privileges of a feudal sovereign. Omitting some details unnecessary to be dwelt upon, this part of our North American story is worth remembering. Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore, descended from the original proprietor of Maryland, had some pretensions to scholarship; was a wit, as that term ran through the coffee-house society of those times; blasphemed in a tone which, whatever the satirists may pretend, was never fashionable in England; escaped hanging through a technicality; and was a ruffian in the deepest sense of that term. "It is impossible to doubt," writes Grahame, "that the character and conduct of this nobleman, whom the people of Maryland were compelled to recognise as their proprietary sovereign, produced on their minds an impression very remote from respect for the institutions and supremacy of the parent State." The title, however, which, if Lord Baltimore did not disgrace it, he certainly did not exalt, became extinct at his death, at Naples, in 1771. He bequeathed his rights over the province of Maryland to his natural son, Henry Harford, who was then a child at school, and whom the subsequent rupture between Great Britain and America prevented from ever deriving any advantage from the bequest.

North Carolina, in 1763, is said to have contained nearly a hundred thousand white inhabitants. They were not, however, at this period so prosperous as to render them as contented as they formerly were, and this, no doubt, in consequence of the injustice and rapacity under which they had long suffered. Nevertheless, their share in the calamities resulting from the Indian wars was, comparatively speaking, a small one. With much that was fortunate and respectable, North Carolina contained a more numerous body of indigent and dissatisfied freemen than existed in any of the other British settlements, or perhaps in all. Education was universally neglected; the laws commanded little or no respect; the executive officers were almost destitute of authority; and neither in courts of criminal law, nor in courts of equity, could justice be obtained.

1

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

Twenty Dollars.

No. 6988 TWENTY DOLLARS.

THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.

J. M. Nesbitt

Tho Bartley

2

MARYLAND ANNAPOLIS 1788 ONE SHILLING

4

THE BARRY PENCE

3

GEORGIVS III REX FIA. 1773 VIRGI

5

GOD PRESERVE CAROLINA AND THE LORDS PROPRIETORS 1694

6

No. 10 1321

£5 Currency

Five Pounds

Current Money of VIRGINIA according to Act of Assembly Passed the 4th Day of March Anno Dom. 1773, and by appointment of said ASSEMBLY, Signed by us and endorsed by the Treasurer

Five Pounds

B Dandridge

John Blair

AMERICAN COINS AND PAPER MONEY.

1, American 20 Dollar Bill (1775); 2, Maryland Shilling, 1788 (from the British Museum); 3, George the Third American Halfpenny (from Brit. Mus.); 4, Barry Standish (Baltimore) Threepenny-piece (from Brit. Mus.); 5, Carolina Halfpenny, 1694 (from Brit. Mus.); 6, Virginia £5 Bill (1773).

In South Carolina, a different perspective was opened. That province, which had continued to advance in growth, notwithstanding the burdens of the war, reaped an ample and immediate share of the advantages resulting from the Peace of Paris. Consequently, upon an act of its Assembly, which appropriated a large fund for the payment of bounties to industrious labourers from Great Britain and Ireland, and to all foreign Protestants resorting to the province within three years, and forming settlements in the interior, vast numbers of emigrants, from Germany, England, Scotland, and especially Ireland, eagerly embraced the prospect, and became citizens of the New World, in South Carolina. In 1765, the province contained 150,000 inhabitants, of whom, according to a corrected calculation, 85,000 were slaves. Most of the free inhabitants were in easy circumstances, and not a few possessed great accumulations of wealth. The three most creditable historians, or chroniclers, as they may be better styled—Holmes, Williamson, and Hewitt—concur in this, that there were in South Carolina, in the year 1764, more persons possessed of between five and ten thousand pounds sterling than anywhere else among the same number of people. In point of rank, all men regarded their neighbours as their equals, and a spirit of benevolence pervaded society. The planters, as in some tropical Arcadia, were distinguished by their hospitable dispositions, their sociable manners, and the ample cheer of their tables. Almost every family (as Grahame records) kept a one-horse chaise; and some maintained the most splendid equipages that even England could furnish. All the new literary publications in London were regularly transmitted to this province. Hunting and horse-racing were the favourite amusements of the men; and assemblies, concerts, balls, and dramatic representations, ran in a perpetual succession.

In the meanwhile, what was the public economy, or, in other words, the public existence, of the period we have been considering? We have a very fair illustration of it in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. From 1756, when the State of New York contained about 100,000 white inhabitants, until 1771, no Census was taken within its borders; but, at the latter date, the population is recorded as having increased itself by one half. No data exist, however, by means of which the positive facts can be ascertained. Nevertheless, it is well-established that the advance of population in this province was repressed by the monopoly which a few opulent planters had obtained of enormous tracts of land, which reduced many emigrants to the necessity of becoming tenants instead of proprietors, and prompted many more to abandon their original purpose of settling in New York, and to extend their emigration to provinces where land could be obtained on more reciprocal terms. No authentic statement is upon record concerning the population, about 1774, of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, or Georgia, nor, in fact, for any time previous to the outbreak of the great American revolution. But all these States or colonies, as they may now be indifferently called, had proportionately enlarged their growth; the Treaty of Paris had promised them security; they were safe from marauders along the frontiers, and from privateers upon the high seas. Throughout the State of Pennsylvania, affairs flourished beyond the most brilliant hope. In the year 1760, the Quakers formed about a fifth part of the population of Pennsylvania. The inhabitants of the town of New York are described as, at this period, almost wholly engaged in commercial pursuits, varied by lavish expenditure and festivity. An injurious influence was perhaps exercised on the manners and habits of New York —then in a sort of old infancy, if the phrase may be allowed—by the number and variety of the adventurers (employing that term in its true, or Arabian, sense) who flocked to New York in the hope of making fortunes, just as those did who sought, in the days of Warren Hastings, to strip the peach-fruit from the Pagoda-tree.

With reference to the settlement of Georgia, the details, as related on both sides of the ocean, are singularly interesting. The young provincial community, destitute of commercial credit, and uncommonly exposed to hostile molestation, had hitherto evinced only a feeble and languid capacity of progress; but after the commencement of the conflict, and still more after its conclusion, its rise became singularly rapid. Among other emigrants who formed a valuable accession to the population of Georgia, about this time, were a number of Quakers, who, under the conduct of Joseph Mattock, a member of that religious community, founded a settlement some thirty miles from the young township of Augusta, to which, in honour of the Governor who so actively promoted its establishment, they gave the name of Wrightsborough. Mattock, says Grahame, "was acknowledged the chief magistrate of this settlement, and continued to preside over it, with patriarchal grace, till a very advanced age." Burnaby, who was accustomed to the grandeur and comfort of England, remarked that all the elegant, and even the luxurious, points of wealth were

displayed in the American provinces. In the houses of some of the inhabitants of New Jersey he found specimens of art works copied from the canvasses of the greatest masters, in every age, of Europe. In a journey of twelve hundred miles, through America, this traveller did not meet a single individual who solicited alms from him. The peasantry in general regarded the British troops with an aversion justified by their original conduct, and unaltered by their subsequent successes against the common enemy; and many paid dearly, for the attentions which they lavished on the British officers, in the corruption of their own manners, and the exaggerated representations of their wealth and luxury which were transmitted to England. American hospitality, stimulated to the highest pitch by the presence, the rank, and the services of so many British visitors, overflowed in ostentatiousness; and thus did the New World learn a lesson in manners from the Old.*

It is a remark of Burnaby, that "America was destined to be the mistress of the world." Another, by Farmer, author of "A View of the Policy of Great Britain," is to the effect that "nothing but common and imminent danger, or violent oppression, could make the colonies unite." And yet before the conclusion of the long war, the mighty pleader, Pratt, afterwards so justly celebrated as Lord Camden, said to Dr. Franklin,—"For all that you Americans say of your loyalty, I know you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country, and, notwithstanding your boasted affection for it, will set up for independence." Franklin replied, "No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans, and no such idea will ever enter their heads unless you grossly abuse them." "Very true," replied Pratt; "that is one of the main causes which I see will happen, and which will produce the event." It must have been apparent, however, to all who have followed the course of this History that a desire for independence—a movement, more or less conscious, in that direction—a hope, a vision, an aspiration—to some extent even a resolve to separate from the mother country on the first favourable opportunity—had long distinguished the statesmen and popular leaders of New England, and especially of Massachusetts. A suspicion of the same tendency attaches likewise to Virginia; and in the younger settlements, where men led free and almost savage lives in the face of rugged Nature and ferocious foes, a disposition to throw off external rule was frequently made manifest. Everything led up to separation; all the forces, longings, jealousies, and ambitions of the age, pointed with bloody fingers to the unnatural struggle that now came raging on.

CHAPTER XII.

The Resolution to call a General Congress—Jefferson on the Slave Trade—Determination of the Virginia Convention not to Import Slaves—The Act for the Better Regulation of the Province of Massachusetts—Franklin's "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One"—Imaginary Edict of the King of Prussia, by the Same Writer—Objections to Some of Franklin's Arguments—Measures of Resistance to the Regulating Act taken by the People of Massachusetts—Preparations for Fighting—Putnam, of Connecticut, and Hawley, of Northampton—Resolutions of the Boston Committee—Coercion and Resignation of Officials—Refusal of Bostonians to serve as Jurors—Threatening Proceedings of Armed Bands—Seizure of Powder and Cannon belonging to the Colonists—Gage writes Home for Reinforcements, and suggests the Employment of Indian Auxiliaries—Military Arrangements of the Colonists—The Suffolk Convention.

With the advancing summer of 1774 the American colonies were seen to be in a position of defiance towards the parent State which nearly amounted to a rupture. The resolution of Massachusetts to call a General Congress had been well supported by the other provinces, though not, in some quarters, without a degree of dissent which indicated the existence of opposing parties; and it was obvious to the most indifferent observers that union would not be wanting in the struggle of the colonies with the great Empire from which they had proceeded. The feeling of antagonism was extended beyond questions of taxation, and of political and judicial powers. In a provincial convention which she held during the summer, Virginia took in hand the great evil of slavery, and in a way which did her honour. Jefferson, unable by ill-health to attend this convention, sent a paper of criticisms and suggestions, to be read to the delegates, wherein he enumerated the several grievances from which the colonies

* Grahame, Book X., Appendix 3.

suffered, and foreshadowed the great principles of the Declaration of Independence.* "For the most trifling reasons," he wrote, "and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice." Jefferson's letter, containing these remarks, and others of not less importance bearing on the rights of the colonists and the necessity of searching reforms, was presented to the convention by Peyton Randolph, and it had a very marked effect. A resolution was passed that, after the first day of the ensuing November, the Virginians would neither themselves import slaves into the colony, nor purchase any from others. Circumstances proved too strong for this virtuous resolve; but it should be recollected to the credit of Virginia that it was affirmed by the convention of 1774.

The arrival, on the 6th of August, of the Act of Parliament for the better regulation of the province of Massachusetts complicated matters still farther. This Act abrogated to a great extent the charter of William and Mary, and substituted for its leading provisions others of which the effect was to diminish the liberties of the people in a very serious degree. The members of the Council, who had before been annually chosen by the elected representatives of the community, were from that time forward to receive their appointments from the King, and to be removable at his pleasure. Power was also conferred on the Governor, irrespective of his Council, to appoint and remove all judges of the inferior courts, justices of the peace, and officers belonging to the Council and the courts of justice. The sheriffs were to be removable by the Governor and Council as often as the latter should consider necessary. The Chief Justice, and the judges of the superior court, were to hold their commissions during the pleasure of the King, and to depend on his good will for the amount and the payment of their salaries. The right of selecting juries was taken from the freeholders of the towns, and conferred on the sheriffs of the counties. Moreover, the legislative powers of the town meetings, which had previously been very great, and on which the New Englanders had always set the highest value, were considerably reduced. Beyond the election of town officers and representatives at two annual meetings, the townsfolk were to enjoy no political privileges, nor even to assemble in special session, except by the written leave of the Governor, and then only for business purposes previously set forth, and sanctioned by him. Two other Acts were sent to General Gage together with the Regulating Act. These authorised him to quarter his army in towns, and to transfer to another colony, or to England, any persons informed against or indicted for crimes committed in supporting the revenue laws, or suppressing riots.

Such were the means by which the English Government provoked the discontent of the Americans to the pitch of rebellion. One might almost suppose that Ministers had taken in earnest the sarcastic advice of Franklin in a treatise which he published in 1773, under the title of "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One." In this discourse, which Swift himself could not have surpassed for wit, terse sense, concentration of thought, and masterly style, Franklin observes:—

"I address myself to all Ministers who have the management of extensive dominions which from their very greatness have become troublesome to govern, because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention, therefore, first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are never incorporated with the mother country; that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread-baker, who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

"Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expense of the settlers, or their ancestors; without the aid of the mother country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce,

* Bancroft.

by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships and seamen; they may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to some favor: you are therefore to forget it all, or resent it, as if they had done you injury. If they happen to be zealous Whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles, remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it; for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

"However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shown their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances, you are to suppose them always inclined to revolt, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their insolence may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities. Remote provinces must have Governors and judges, to represent the Royal person, and execute everywhere the delegated parts of his office and authority. You ministers know that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people; and much of that opinion on the choice of rulers placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for Governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity, they will think their King wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful whom you recommend to those offices. If you can find prodigals who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stockjobbers, these may do well as Governors; for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettifogging lawyers, too, are not amiss; for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little Parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrongheaded, and insolent, so much the better. Attorneys' clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for chief justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure; and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

"To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of maladministration, oppression, or injustice, punish such suitors with long delay, enormous expense, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and Governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of oppression and injustice; and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate. When such Governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons, recall and reward them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new Governors in the same practice, and make the supreme government detestable.

"If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities, reflect that a penny taken from them by your power is more honourable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence; despise, therefore, their voluntary grants, and resolve to harass them with novel taxes. They will probably complain to your Parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the Parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for, though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

"In laying these taxes, never regard the heavy burdens those remote people already undergo in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial Government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices, which in old countries have been done to your hands by your ancestors, but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people. Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their increased ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating, in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so levying them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget. But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has no limits; so that, when you take from them without their con-



NEW YORK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From a Print of the period.*)

sent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them that under such a government they have nothing they can call their own; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences."

Franklin goes on to suggest other tyrannical measures which the British Government had then adopted, or which it shortly afterwards carried out: such as the transportation of colonists to England for trial, in the case of alleged political offences; the declaration that the English Parliament had a right to make laws binding on the colonists in all circumstances whatsoever; the sending over of revenue officers to superintend the collection of imposts, and to conduct prosecutions, which, even in the event of an acquittal, were to be at the cost of the prosecuted: the misapplication of taxes in the way of granting pensions and rewards to Governors who had distinguished themselves by enmity to the people; the appointing of Governors and judges by the King; the repeated dissolutions of the local Legislatures; the arbitrary proceedings of customs officers in the suppression of real or imaginary smuggling; the refusal to redress or even hear grievances; the hanging of those who presumed to complain; the seizing of fortified places erected at the expense of the colonists, and the turning of them to the oppression of the provinces; the sending of armies and fleets into the country; the demolishing of frontier forts, so that the savages might be encouraged to attack the outlying settlements: and the investing of the military Commander in chief with great and unconstitutional powers. These sarcasms appeared first in the *Public Advertiser* (Franklin being then in England), and produced so great an effect that they were shortly afterwards reprinted in that journal, and in other places. At the same time, Franklin published an imaginary Edict of the King of Prussia, in which that monarch is supposed to claim Great Britain as a colony of his nation, on account of the peopling of England by the followers of Hengist and Horsa, and to order the same measures against her that she had decreed against the Americans.* This also had a great influence amongst a certain class of politicians, and was considered to present the case of the colonists in a fair light; but the justice of the implied argument is more than doubtful. Some of the New England patriots in the time of Charles II. had advanced the same thesis; yet it is a proposition which will not bear handling. The German invaders of England in the fifth and sixth centuries never formed a colony, of which the central seat of government was at Berlin, or any other German city. They in fact coalesced with the race they already found there, and in time created a nation distinct from the Teutonic stock, though in some degree allied to it; speaking a different language, following different ideas and traditions, and developing a novel type of political life and character. Even if at first a right of jurisdiction existed in any German kingdom (which is in the highest degree questionable, seeing



'A REAL AMERICAN RIFLEMAN.'
(*From "An Impartial History of the War in America,"* 1780.)

* Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV.

that the Britons, unlike the Red Indians, never acknowledged their subjection to a foreign ruler), such right had lapsed, owing to its not having been exercised for more than a thousand years. But the English settlements in America had always existed as colonies, and as nothing else. Neither the original settlers nor their descendants had mingled with the aborigines, so as to form a separate nation. They had always continued to be English; they had always in terms acknowledged the sovereignty of the mother country, however much, as a matter of fact, they had defied or evaded it; and the mother country, on her part, had never ceased to assert that sovereignty. The great mistake of the Americans—one which certainly envenomed the quarrel between America and England, and made it all the more difficult of adjustment, though this, of course, does not excuse the tyrannies of George III. and his Ministers—was in the denial of all practical jurisdiction by the parent State, and that at the very time when they were asserting their hereditary rights under the British Constitution.

But considerations of this nature have very little weight with people who are smarting under a sense of wrong. The Regulating Act exasperated the American colonists to the utmost, and they resolved to disregard its provisions. The councillors appointed by the King took the oaths of office within a few days after the receipt of the Act; but the committee of Boston, seeing clearly the gravity of the crisis, sent a circular to the other towns of the province, suggesting the necessity of united action in resisting the policy of the Imperial Government. One of the answers to this appeal plainly hinted at civil war as the result of that policy. "Is a glorious death in defence of our liberties," asked the authors of this reply, "better than a short, infamous life, and our memories to be had in detestation to the latest posterity? Let us all be of one heart, and stand fast in the liberties wherewith Christ has made us free; and may He, of His infinite mercy, grant us deliverance out of all our troubles!" Meetings, at which counsel was taken of the ministers of religion, and of others celebrated for piety, as in the old days of Puritanism, were held in various places; and the shire of Worcester summoned a county congress, at which it was expressly declared that the violation of the Massachusetts charter by the British Government was equivalent to a dissolution of the union of the provinces with England. Signs of military preparation, moreover, were not wanting on the part of the colonists. The several companies of militia were paraded for discipline in the towns and villages, and it was calculated that, out of a total population in the province of 400,000, the number of men between sixteen and sixty, most of whom possessed arms, and were trained to the use of them, was about 120,000. When Putnam, of Connecticut, a hero of the old wars with France, was told that twenty ships of the line and twenty regiments were expected from England in case Boston should not at once submit, he replied that he was ready to treat them as enemies. This must have sounded at the time like boasting, and doubtless many people laughed; but it expressed the real determination of the American people, and the end proved that it was no idle vaunt.

The time for holding the General Congress was now approaching. As the delegates from Massachusetts were being escorted by large numbers of the populace in the direction of Philadelphia, in the month of August, they received from Hawley, the patriot of Northampton, a letter strongly counselling a resort to arms, if they could in no other way rid themselves of British taxation. Hawley admitted that there was not then heat enough for battle; but constant and negative resistance would increase it. There was not military skill enough; but that was improving, and must be encouraged. "Fight we must finally, unless Britain retreats," he added. "But it is of infinite consequence that victory be the end of hostilities. If we get to fighting before necessary dispositions are made for it, we shall be conquered, and all will be lost for ever." He therefore recommended the laying up of an adequate supply of arms and military stores, and the formation of a bond of union, so that every grievance of any one colony should be regarded as an injury to the whole. Some plan, he thought, should be settled for a continuation of Congresses, even though such assemblies should be denounced by Parliament as high treason, as he believed they soon would be. Such were the sentiments with which the Massachusetts delegates proceeded to Philadelphia to attend the Congress. The feeling they expressed was general throughout the province. The people of the town of Worcester, apprehending a special effort to enforce the Regulating Act, manufactured arms and cast musket-balls, threatening to attack any body of soldiers whom Gage should send against them. The councillors appointed by mandamus felt the difficulty and even danger of their position. Some refused to accept their commissions; some who had consented to serve, declined to take any active part. Among the latter, one was menaced with death by his offended fellow-townsmen. Others were forced to resign by crowds of armed men, who plainly inti-

mated that they would brook no refusal. Several revoked their acceptance of the office to which they were called, and the remainder sought shelter with the Royal army at Boston.

While the delegates were pursuing their way to the capital of Pennsylvania, hailed in many quarters by deputations of enthusiastic citizens, and cheered by the ringing of bells, the Boston committee-men were joined by representatives of several towns in the surrounding country. By this body it was unanimously resolved that the recent acts of the English Government were unconstitutional, despotic, and opposed to natural rights, and that any attempt to enforce them would be an usurpation, even should the agents bear the commission of the King. The unconstitutional courts were forbidden to proceed, and their officers were described as "traitors cloaked with a pretext of law." Practice in arms was declared to be the duty of the people, and persons threatened with arrest were placed under the protection of their county and province. At Springfield, the inferior court was completely overawed by a band of nearly two thousand men, who marched into the town with drums and trumpets playing, planted a black flag before the court-house, and vowed they would kill any one who should seek to enter. The upshot of this bold movement was that the judges executed a written covenant not to put their commissions in force, and some of the lawyers signed a confession of their error in having sent an address to Gage. Certain offenders against popular principles were compelled to beg forgiveness, and a military officer was tarred and feathered. At Boston, the persons returned as jurors refused to take the oath, on the ground that the Chief Justice of the court had been impeached by the late representatives of the province, that the charter of Massachusetts had been changed by an act of usurped power, and that three of the judges had accepted seats in the new Council, in violation of the constitution. The judges afterwards declared to Gage that they could do nothing. Gage himself, on consulting with the fragment of his Council at Boston, found himself in a dilemma from which the military force at his disposal was not sufficient to extricate him.

He now took a step which added fresh fuel to the fire of popular discontent. On the morning of the 1st of September, he despatched two hundred and sixty men up the river Mystic to Quarry Hill, situated on a point of land between Medford and Cambridge, with instructions to seize the powder belonging to the province of Massachusetts which had been stored there. Two hundred and fifty half barrels were thus transferred to the castle, and at the same time two field pieces were taken away from Cambridge. This act set the people in a ferment. They met in large numbers, and by intimidation compelled several of the Government officials to resign their functions. Gage wrote home that without considerable reinforcements he could do nothing. The malcontents, he said, were not a mere Boston mob, but the freeholders and farmers of the county. They were numerous, and excited to a pitch of fury. The aspect of affairs was indeed so threatening that Gage feared a repulse if he attempted any active operations. A check, he observed in his despatch, would be fatal, and the first stroke would decide a great deal. Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor, after protesting that he would die, rather than submit to the dictation of the people, yielded to all their demands. The feeling of apprehension in the English camp at Boston was so great that the guards were doubled, cannon were planted on the outskirts of the town towards the country, and the troops were required to hold themselves in constant readiness against a surprise. Reinforcements were hastily summoned by Gage from Quebec and New York; but he still felt far from secure, and urgently demanded help from England. He also suggested the employment of Indians and Canadians against the English colonists—a conception fraught with mischief, especially as regarded the enlisting of savage warriors. New England was but too well acquainted with the merciless ferocity of those barbarian hordes, when excited by contest, by fanaticism, or by liquor.

With every succeeding day, the excitement caused by the seizure of the gunpowder at Quarry Hill became more formidable. Large masses of armed men, from several of the towns and counties of Massachusetts, of the other New England provinces, and of the neighbouring colonies, were on their march to Boston. A collision with the Royal troops would probably have ensued, had not the leaders of the patriotic party in that city sent word to their friends that the time for action had not arrived. But it was distinctly understood that the day of retribution for accumulated injuries was fast approaching, and Putnam wrote that, on the first intimation from Boston of a desire for martial assistance, he would be prepared with forty thousand men, well-equipped, to share in the honour of ridding their country of the tyrants by whom it was oppressed. The adjourned convention of the county of Suffolk, in Massachusetts, approved of the resistance of the people, declared that the sovereign who breaks a compact with his subjects

forfeits their allegiance, rejected the Regulating Act of Parliament and all officers appointed under it, enjoined the mandamus councillors to resign their places within eleven days, directed the collectors of taxes not to pay any money to the treasurer recognised by Gage, and resolved, should that General arrest any one on political grounds, to seize all the Crown officers in the province as hostages. The members also made suggestions for the election of officers of militia (formerly appointed by the Governor and Council), and for the holding of Provincial Congresses together with the General Congress which was shortly to assemble at Philadelphia. In the meanwhile, Gage was beginning to construct those fortifications on the neck of land joining Boston to the surrounding country, by which he hoped to secure the town and overawe the provinces.

CHAPTER XIII.

Meeting of the Congress at Philadelphia—Organisation of that Body—Speech of Patrick Henry—Voting Power of each Colony—Discussion on the Rights of the Colonists, and Statement of Grievances—Compromise by John Adams on the Power of the Parent State—Various Resolutions and Proposals of the Congress—Declaration of Rights—Memorials and Addresses to the King, to the People of England, to the Anglo-Americans, to the Canadians, and to the Inhabitants of Various Settlements - Dissolution of the Congress—What it did for American Independence—Lord Chatham's Opinion of American Political Genius—Opposition of Quakers to the Congress—Proceedings in Massachusetts, and Perplexity of Gage—Destruction of Tea at Annapolis, Maryland—Meeting of the Massachusetts Representatives, and Formation of a Provincial Congress—Measures taken by that Body—Gage and the Patriots—A Period of General Agitation and Alarm.

Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, was a great and important day in the annals of English America. It was the day on which the Congress of the United Provinces met in solemn session at Philadelphia. The members deputed by the several colonies had been arriving for some days, and they greeted one another with enthusiasm as the vanguard of liberty in that young western world. It was suggested to them, by Galloway, of Philadelphia, that they should appoint commissioners with full powers to go to England, and there represent their grievances to the Court. But it was very generally felt that such a proceeding would be undignified and futile. The representatives of the provinces were resolved to discuss their wrongs in a freely-elected Parliament of their own. They were in no mood to pay homage either to the English Throne or to the English Legislature, and they set to work without delay to organise a Chamber for the efficient consideration of every subject bearing on the political well-being of their widely-separated, but still in some respects homogeneous, communities. The first meeting took place in a tavern, and it was determined to accept the offer of the carpenters of Philadelphia, who placed their spacious hall at the disposal of the delegates. The number of members was at first fifty-five, including such men as George Washington, Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and others of high repute, if not of equal renown; and the colonies represented were eleven. Peyton Randolph, late Speaker of the Virginian Assembly, was chosen President of the Congress, and the conduct of business was regulated with all the formality of an established Legislature. As the provinces were not equally represented as regards the number of members, and their relative importance could not be exactly ascertained, it was decided that each colony should give one equal vote on every question discussed. The meetings were to be held with closed doors, and the transactions of the Assembly were on no account to be divulged, unless by order of the majority.

The resolution with respect to the voting power of each colony was arrived at on the second day of meeting, when Patrick Henry, speaking on behalf of Virginia, drew forth in long array the many injuries inflicted on America by the action of the English Parliament. His speech was the first utterance of the Congress after its organisation. It had not been quite clear what business should be first transacted; the responsibility of commencing proceedings of such vast importance and such uncertain issues weighed heavily on all; and for some time an embarrassing silence prevailed. The magnificent oratory of Patrick Henry breathed, or rather flashed, a spirit of life into the dead assem-

blage. He declared that the injustice of England had brought all government in the provinces to an end; that they had to begin anew; and that the Congress then sitting was the first in a never-ending succession of Congresses. He then went on to consider the future constitution of what he clearly regarded as a Federation of independent States. The representation of the colonies, he contended, must in the main be democratical, though he was prepared to concede somewhat to the claims of property, and to considerations of import and export, in adjusting the relative powers of the provinces. Slaves were to be absolutely excluded from any share in the political constitution of the general government; and if the freemen could be represented according to their numbers, such an arrangement, in the opinion of the speaker, would be the one most desirable. He would not allow any force to the objection that this would give too much power to the more populous States. British oppression, he said, had made one nation of the several colonies, so that he no longer considered himself a Virginian, but an American. Many contradictory opinions were expressed; but in the end the matter was settled in the way indicated by Henry.

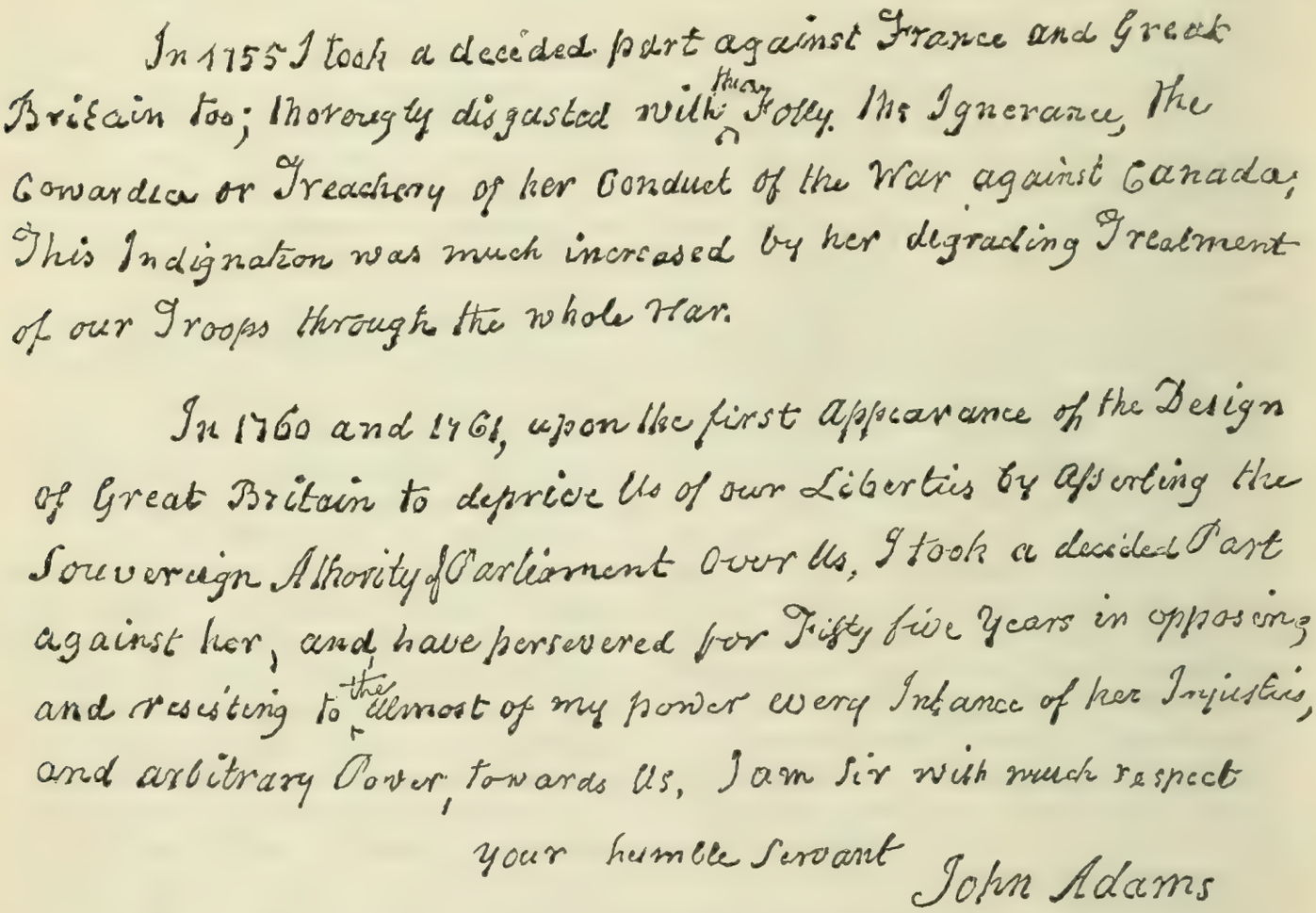
Before the close of the third sitting, an express arrived from Putnam, reporting an attack on the people by the troops at Boston, and that Massachusetts and Connecticut were in arms. A profound impression was produced, and next day the bells rang a muffled peal. Having despatched a letter to General Gage, requesting him to desist from his measures, Congress appointed a committee on the rights of the colonies, and another on the British statutes affecting their manufactures and trade. At a subsequent sitting, the first of these committees discussed with great minuteness the difficult question which was to engage its attention. Some were for going to extreme lengths, and for basing the liberties of the provincials on natural rights; others disagreed with this view, either from genuine dislike, or from a prudential fear of consequences. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, contended that allegiance was inalienable, and that the rights of the Americans were derived simply from the British Constitution. Similar deviations of opinion were observable with reference to the question whether or not Parliament had any jurisdiction over the colonies. The more moderate would allow some control; the more uncompromising opponents of England refused to admit the slightest. While the matter was being discussed, further intelligence arrived from Massachusetts as to what was going on there. The delegates from that province laid before Congress the address of the Suffolk county convention to Gage on his recent measures of military coercion, and the resolutions of the same body rejecting all obedience to laws passed by the English Parliament. Adhesion to the address and resolutions was enthusiastically voted by the Congress, which furthermore expressed a hope that the united efforts of North America would so convince the British nation of the unjust and ruinous nature of the policy then being carried out by the Administration as to enforce the employment of better men, and the introduction of wiser measures. But the hope was a vain one. It cannot be doubted that the English people, in the main, supported the Ministry in their determination, if possible, to put down American resistance. The national honour was supposed to be bound up in the result; and the agreement of the colonists to admit of no Parliamentary jurisdiction whatever, increased the popular anger at American disloyalty.

The result of the discussion on colonial rights in the Philadelphian (or, as it was called, the Continental) Congress, was a tacit admission that the privileges of the colonists rested on a historical rather than a natural basis. The statement of grievances was equally limited, it being determined, against the wish of South Carolina, not to include in that statement any reference to the Navigation Acts, or to the laws injuriously affecting manufactures, which had been passed in earlier times (though these were very generally condemned), but to have regard only to what had been done since the accession of George III. The division of opinion as to the authority of the mother country was serious and prolonged; but at length a compromise was proposed by John Adams in the following words, which were introduced into a Declaration of Rights:—"From the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of the countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament as are, *bonâ fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent." These concessions to the claims of Great Britain, with the consequent limitations of the American case, were dictated by prudence rather than by principle. The more cautious feared to provoke the power of England, and perhaps hoped to stand well with the rest of Europe by a display of moderation. But it is apparent that most of the members were strongly inclined, as a matter of individual opinion, to a

more defiant course. The resolution proposed by John Adams, and accepted by Congress, was certainly not at all consistent with the favourite doctrine of the patriotic party, that the British Parliament had, of right, no jurisdiction whatsoever over the colonies, under any conceivable circumstances. The formal moderation of Congress lost much of its value when read by the light of opinions which were known to be generally entertained, and which it was certain the colonists would lose no opportunity of enforcing.

Among the other matters discussed by Congress was a proposal of Galloway that the general government should consist of a President, to be appointed by the King, and a Council, to be chosen once in three years by the several Assemblies. The acts of this body were to be revised by the British Parliament, and the American Council was to have a negative on British statutes relating to the colonies. Lee, of Virginia, and Patrick Henry, opposed this scheme; the latter arguing that to entrust the taxation of the country to a Council, elected not by the people themselves, but by their representatives, would be to lay the colonists at the mercy of that bribery which had been avowed by the old country as a part of her system of government. The project was set aside, and Galloway was confirmed in those loyalist predilections which he seems to have entertained in secret from the first.

Before the breaking up of the Congress, a resolution was passed, though not without dissentient voices, approving the opposition of the people of Massachusetts to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament, and declaring that, if any attempt should be made to carry them into execution, all America ought to support them in their opposition. This was on the 8th of October. On the 10th it was further declared that every person who should accept or act under any commission or authority derived from the Regulating Act of Parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter of Massachusetts, ought to be held in detestation. Without any antagonistic votes, it was resolved that from the 1st of December the Americans would import no merchandise from Great Britain and Ireland. If the several grievances of the colonists should not be redressed by


In 1755 I took a decided part against France and Great Britain too; thoroughly disgusted with the Folly, the Ignorance, the Cowardice or Treachery of her Conduct of the War against Canada; This Indignation was much increased by her degrading Treatment of our Troops through the whole War.

In 1760 and 1761, upon the first appearance of the Design of Great Britain to deprive Us of our Liberties by Asserting the Sovereign Athority of Parliament over Us, I took a decided Part against her, and have persevered for Fifty five Years in opposing and resisting to the utmost of my power every Instance of her Injustice and arbitrary Power towards Us, I am Sir with much respect

your humble Servant John Adams

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS.
(*From "A Piece of Autobiography," by John Adams, written in* 1815.)



THE CROWD AT SPRINGFIELD WITH THE BLACK FLAG.

the 10th of September in the following year, no merchandise was to be exported to the parent State, or to the West Indies. The second of these resolutions was distinct from the first, and was opposed by three delegates from South Carolina, on the ground that the exports of that colony to England were so large that to prohibit them would involve total ruin. The dissentients, finding themselves out-voted, left the Congress, but were recalled after several days of suspended activity, when the unconditional export of rice was allowed. Another resolution of the Congress was to the effect that the provinces would neither import slaves, nor purchase them if imported, after the 1st of December; at which time they would wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and would neither be concerned in it themselves, nor hire their vessels, nor sell their commodities or manufactures, to those who sanctioned it.

The Declaration of Rights to which the Congress agreed, asserted that the colonists had never ceded to any sovereign Power whatever the privilege of dealing arbitrarily with their life, liberty, or property. It was alleged by the authors of this document that their ancestors, at the period of the emigration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects of the realm of England; that by their emigration they had not forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they and their descendants were entitled to all of them which their circumstances enabled them to exercise. They argued that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council; that, as the colonists were not, and from various causes could not be, represented in the British Parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where only their right of representation could be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject simply to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as had heretofore been used. They asserted their right to trial by their fellow-colonists; denounced a standing army, kept up in time of peace in any colony, without the consent of the Legislature of that colony, as illegal; and maintained that a Legislative Council appointed during pleasure by the Crown was unconstitutional.

In addition to this statement of elementary rights, the delegates voted a memorial to all their American countrymen; an address to the King, and one to the people of Great Britain; a letter to the Canadians; and sundry appeals to the settlements of St. John, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas, which were not represented in the Congress, and were supposed to be peculiarly liable to Royal influences, as being Crown colonies. In the memorial to their own countrymen, the popular representatives set forth as one of the greatest of existing grievances the recent Quebec Bill, which they described as a wicked attempt to establish the Roman Catholic faith, together with a model of tyranny, within the British Empire, for the gratification of a French colony but recently conquered at the expense of the blood and treasure of the ancient colonies of England. The letter to the Canadians adroitly, but not very ingenuously, followed a different line of argument. It threw doubts on the sincerity of those who had passed the Quebec Bill; suggested that the restored system of French law could not be fitly administered by English functionaries; and urged the Canadians to make common cause with the English Americans by electing deputies to the Congress. In their address to the King, the delegates recapitulated their grievances, implored the Royal clemency for protection against them, and imputed all their distresses, dangers, and fears to the destructive system of colonial administration which had prevailed since the conclusion of the French war in 1763. As his Majesty enjoyed the singular distinction of reigning over freemen, the language of freedom, they trusted, could not be displeasing to him. "Your Royal indignation," they proceeded, "we hope will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men who daringly interpose themselves between your Royal person and your faithful subjects, and, by abusing your Majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints." In conclusion they wrote:—"Permit us, most Gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent

relation formed by these ties to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never can compensate the calamities through which they must be gained. We therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that your Royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition."

With a view to conciliate the people of England, the delegates, in addressing them, expatiated on the great value they attached to a full share in the system of the British Constitution, and prophesied danger to the whole of that system by the extinction of its vital principle, liberty, in so large and important a part of the Empire as America. All they asked was to be replaced in the situation they occupied at the close of the late war, in which case the harmony that had formerly subsisted between the mother country and her colonies would be restored. "To your justice," they said, "we appeal. You have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind,—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause,—we must then tell you that we will never submit to any Ministry or nation in the world." It is difficult to resist a suspicion that some of these declarations were not very truthful. The admiration of the British Constitution expressed by the delegates did not prevent their contemplating, and making preparations to establish, a Constitution of a very different kind; and their assertion that they would be content with the political state existing up to 1763 is far from harmonising with the complaints they made before that period, or with the notorious fact that in many quarters, especially in New England, a separation from the old country had been contemplated for some generations. We shall altogether misapprehend the tenor of American history if we fail to observe that the ill-treatment of the colonists by George III. and his Ministers merely hastened the War of Independence, and did not create the feeling out of which division and rupture were in time certain to issue.

The Continental Congress sat eight weeks. On the 26th of October it was dissolved, after having recommended the appointment of a similar assembly, to meet on the 10th of May following, unless a redress of grievances had been obtained ere then; and, to further the creation of this second Congress, it was recommended that all the colonies should elect deputies as soon as possible. Thus ended a most important experiment in American legislation. That experiment must be regarded as one of the great turning points in the History of the United States. The assembling of a Congress representing most of the colonies was a plain assertion of national existence, and foreshadowed the nature of that independent Government which was clearly coming on. The scattered forces of Anglo-American life were concentrated in a great Assembly which embodied the will of many distinct communities. The old divisions and jealousies were to some extent healed: a country was slowly forming itself out of the chaos of discordant settlements. Observers in England had often expressed a doubt as to whether the American colonies, even supposing they could establish their independence, would be able to maintain a condition of unity in the face of so many diverging and often antagonistic tendencies. The doubt was not unreasonable, for, up to that date, the Northern, the Southern, and the Middle States had frequently exhibited a great deal of distrust and want of sympathy. Their populations perpetuated among themselves all the political and religious differences of society in the old land, together with others which had arisen in America itself from distinctions of climate, of natural productions, of commerce, and of general interests. But, as Patrick Henry observed, the oppression of the English Government had effaced the boundaries of the several States, and a common pressure on the freedom and well-being of all had compacted the diffused and straggling life of the colonies into an intense and indivisible force. The debates in Congress had proved, on a grander scale than had yet been seen, that Americans possessed a large amount of debating power, and the genius of statesmanship in no stinted measure. Chatham himself —an authority not easily to be surpassed—declared that the delegates assembled at Philadelphia were, in solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conduct, second to no human assembly of which history has preserved the memorial. Sweeping and facile statements of this character were very much in the taste of the eighteenth century; but, in this particular instance, the compliment involved no great exaggeration.

Yet the Congress did not give unmixed satisfaction even to Americans. The Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys doubted the propriety of such an Assembly, the proceedings of which, they feared, would provoke a sanguinary war with the

mother country. At a meeting held at Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1775, the views entertained by Friends on the existing crisis, with especial reference to the recent Congress, were elaborately set forth. "The divine principle of grace and truth which we profess," they wrote, "leads all who attend to its dictates to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King, as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his Government; to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them. . . . From our past experience of the clemency of the King and his Royal ancestors, we have grounds to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional Government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas, and of settling in the wilderness." They therefore felt compelled publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies whatsoever; and they expressed a hope that they would be enabled to maintain their testimony against any requisitions which might be made of them, of a nature inconsistent with their religious principles, and the fidelity which they conceived they owed to the King and his Government, as by law established. These views were held by the majority of the American Quakers; but there were some who agreed with the revolutionary party, and mixed themselves up with its proceedings. The dissentients were accordingly advised by their brethren to guard, with the utmost circumspection and care, against joining in any measure which should appear not to be dictated by that "wisdom which is from above; which is pure, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy and good fruits."* The loyalty of Quakers, ever since the days of William Penn, is in curious contrast with the extreme opposition to all established forms and authorities manifested by the two founders of Quakerism, George Fox and James Naylor, and by their immediate followers both in England and America. It seems, however, to be a natural result of those principles of quietism which form so large a part of Quaker doctrine and practice. When the King's Government drew the sword on the Americans, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey expressed a warm sympathy with the Republicans; but, as a rule, they would not fight.

While the Congress at Philadelphia was debating the great and imminent questions of the day, the people of Massachusetts were making further preparations for the state of war which, there could now be little doubt, was certain to arrive ere long. Gage was obliged to forbear from any assertion of authority beyond the fortifications of Boston, and to content himself with maintaining his rule in the city itself. The male inhabitants of the county of Worcester, from sixteen to seventy, formed themselves into companies and regiments, elected their officers, and agreed that one third of the enrolled should hold themselves ready to march at a minute's notice. Even in Boston, under the immediate eye of the military, a resolute and unflinching spirit was exhibited. The newly-elected representatives of the town were fully determined, in the event of a dissolution, to join the other members for the province in forming a local Congress. In the country, resistance was the only thing thought of, and the twelve towns nearest Boston agreed to withhold from the troops everything that was not strictly necessary to life. The Massachusetts Assembly was to meet on the 5th of October, 1774, and it was known that the elected councillors, now superseded by those of the King's appointment, intended to take their seats. The mandamus councillors shrank from opposing them, and Gage, not knowing what to do, and yet fearing to run the risk of dissolving the Assembly, issued a proclamation on the 28th of September, declining to meet that body at Salem, where it had been appointed to sit, and therefore discharging its members from the duty of attendance. The General was indeed sorely perplexed, and pestered the Home Government by the most contradictory recommendations.

Firm in their resolve to oppose the agents of the English Government, yet doubtful as to the best course to be pursued, the representatives of Massachusetts applied to Congress for advice. Some of the richest people in Boston talked of abandoning their homes, and, with their families, building

* History of the Society of Friends in America, by James Bowden, 1854, Vol. II., chap. 12.

huts in the woods, rather than submit to military dominion in the city. Gage continued to seize the warlike stores of the people, to fortify the most advantageous spots, to plant cannon so as to command the roads from the country, and to treat the citizens as a conquered race. Gadsden, one of the members of Congress, was in favour of an immediate attack on the English Commander, before reinforcements could arrive; but the general sense of the Philadelphian Assembly was opposed to measures of violence until all pacific means had been exhausted. In Maryland, however, a species of collision occurred. A brig from London arrived at Annapolis with a large consignment of tea, on which the owner of the vessel at once paid the duty. The people were angered at this acknowledgment of the tax imposed by England, and a committee was appointed to keep watch, so that the tea should not be landed. Not only the townsfolk, but the people of the surrounding country, became excited on the subject, and the two importers and the shipowner expressed their sorrow for what had happened, implored forgiveness, and offered to burn the whole cargo. Even this, however, did not appease the mob; and it was at length found necessary to commit the vessel itself to the flames. Such events were of course very regrettable, for they encouraged that tendency to anarchical violence which is always latent in communities, and which is particularly prone to assert itself in the southern colonies of America. But they showed how deep-seated was the opposition to British imposts.

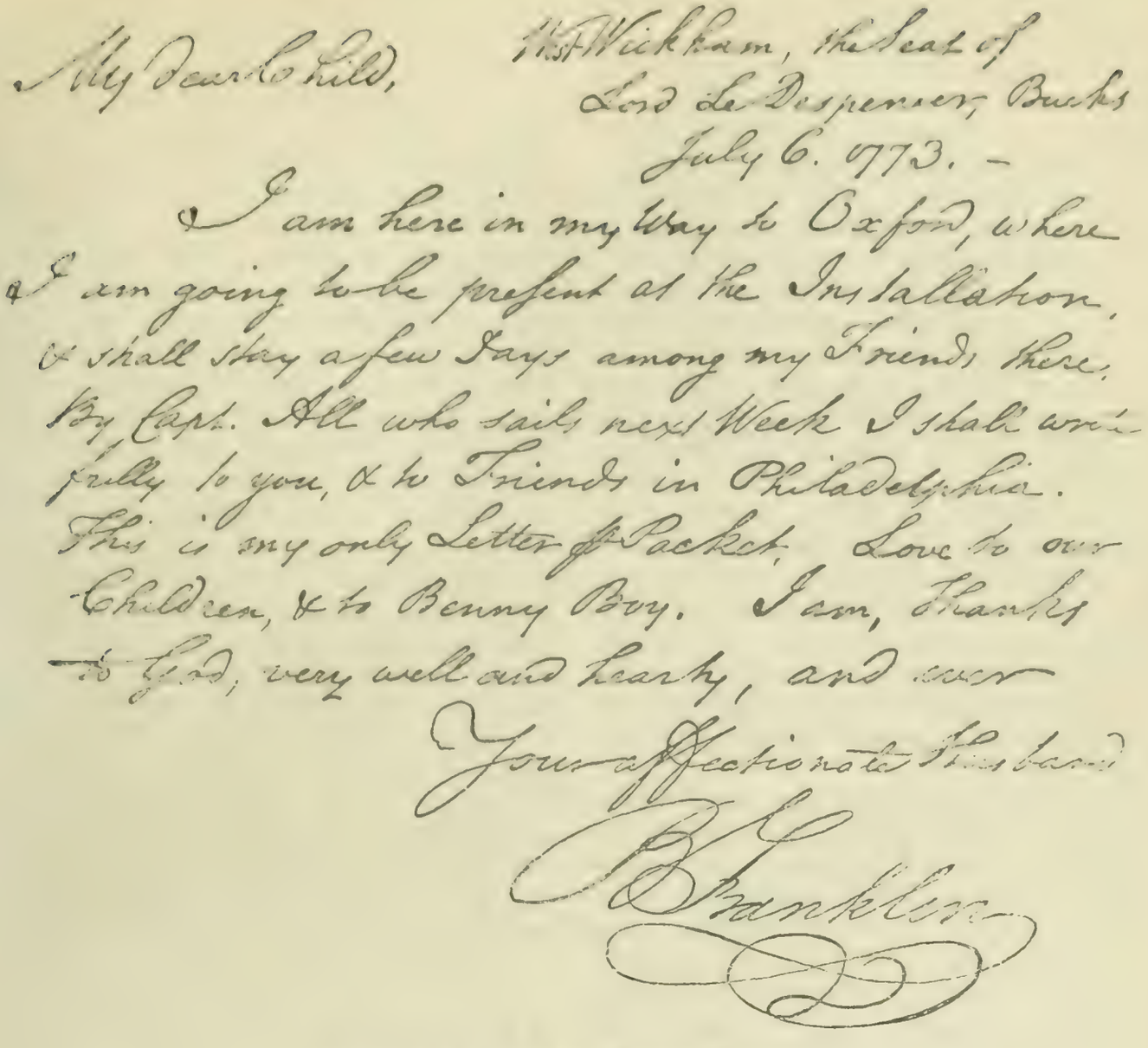
The representatives of Massachusetts would not recognise the validity of General Gage's proclamation excusing them from attendance. Ninety members made their appearance, on the 5th of October, at the court-house in Salem. They waited two days for the Governor, and then, finding he did not appear, resolved themselves, on the third day, in accordance with instructions they had received from their constituents, into a provincial Congress. Having adjourned to Concord, which is situated about eighteen miles from Boston, they chose John Hancock their president, and began their proceedings on the 11th of October. Two hundred and sixty members took their seats, and on the 14th sent a message to the Governor, informing him of what they had done, remonstrating against his hostile preparations, and adjuring him to desist immediately from the construction of the fortress on Boston Neck. In his reply, Gage expressed great indignation at the idea that the lives, liberty, or property of any but avowed enemies were in danger from English soldiers. He observed that the troops which he commanded at Boston had been deprived almost of necessaries by the people of Massachusetts; yet they had discovered no resentment. While the malcontents were complaining of alterations in their charter by Act of Parliament, they were themselves, argued Gage, subverting that charter by the mode of assembly which they had adopted, and were acting in direct violation of their own constitution. He therefore called on them to refrain from such unconstitutional proceedings; but his warnings were disregarded. On the 17th of October, the members of the Provincial Congress adjourned to Cambridge, thus removing their official seat to within about four miles of Boston. Here they appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province; ordered the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants, who were to hold themselves in readiness to appear in arms at a minute's warning; elected three general officers to command these "minute-men," as they were termed, as well as the provincial militia, if called into active service; and appointed a committee of safety and a committee of supplies. The greatest trouble was with respect to funds. A degree of parsimony was evinced by several of the members; but, after much hesitation, they were induced, on successive days, to vote three distinct sums, amounting in all to nearly £16,000, for defraying the expenses of the coming struggle. They also resolved to pay no more money to the Royal collector, appointed a receiver-general of their own, and instituted a system of provincial taxation. The Massachusetts representatives would gladly have reverted to the charter of Charles I.; but this was not sanctioned by the Continental Congress, and the former body accordingly adhered to that which had been granted by William III. The Assembly at Cambridge then adjourned to the 23rd of November, and the two antagonists stood face to face, mutually distrustful, agitated by hatred and apprehension, yet each making pretence of a desire for some friendly arrangement, and a disinclination to abandon the strict grounds of law.

During this pause, the public mind passed through a state of excitement and tumult similar to that which Shakespeare describes when, speaking in the character of Brutus, he observes that all the interim between the first conception of a dreadful purpose and the carrying of it into execution is like a phantasma or a hideous dream. An American writer of the time has remarked that the events of that period may be transmitted to posterity, but that the agitation of the people can never be fully comprehended but by those who witnessed it. Portentous rumours and vague alarms filled the

air like a subtle epidemic. It was said that Gage had commanded his troops to attack the Massachusetts militia, and to fire on the people of Boston. Business was almost suspended, and crowds of armed men filled the country roads, ready for action on the first opportunity that should present itself. Towards the close of the year, a Royal proclamation reached America, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain. Hereupon the people of Rhode Island removed from the public battery some forty pieces of cannon, and the Assembly gave orders for procuring arms and martial stores, and for the immediate equipment of a military force; while in New Hampshire a body of four hundred men, commanded by John Sullivan, at that time a lawyer, but afterwards a Major-General in the American army, surprised the castle at Portsmouth, and confined the Royal garrison until all the ammunition in the magazine, together with several arms and pieces of artillery, had been carried off. In effect, the sword was already drawn, though the state of peace nominally continued. A fratricidal war, which might have been averted by mutual concessions—by a greater regard for popular rights on the one side, and a greater deference to Imperial claims on the other—was on the eve of breaking out; and the despotic Powers of continental Europe looked on, in scarcely-dissimulated triumph over those principles of freedom which they hoped would perish in the shock.



VIEW IN MASSACHUSETTS.



My Dearest Child, At Wickham, the Seat of Lord Le Despencer, Bucks July 6. 1773. –

I am here in my Way to Oxford, where I am going to be present at the Installation, & shall stay a few Days among my Friends there. By Capt. All who sails next Week I shall write fully to you, & to Friends in Philadelphia. This is my only Letter & Packet. Love to our Children, & to Benny Boy. I am, Thanks to God, very well and hearty, and ever

Your affectionate Husband

B Franklin

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CHAPTER XIV.

Disagreement of New York with the Results of the Continental Congress—Want of Reliable Intelligence in England as to what was going on in America—Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia—His Policy of encroaching on the Limits of Other States—Indian War in the West—A Forest Battle, and subsequent Conclusion of Peace—The Western Huntsmen, and their Position towards American Politics—Elections to the House of Commons in the Autumn of 1774—Speech from the Throne at the Opening of Parliament—Ministerial Difficulties with respect to America—Franklin's Proposals for a Compromise—The Question as between Colonial Rights and Imperial Claims—Proceedings at Boston—Perplexity in England—Lord Howe and Franklin—Chatham's Motion in the House of Lords for an Address to the King on the Affairs of America—His Speech on that Occasion—Reception of the Motion—Bill by the same Statesman for Settling the Colonial Troubles—Rejection of the Measure by Ministers and their Supporters.

THE Congress had been a great success. Its counsels and resolves were ratified by all but one of the Provincial Congresses and Legislative Assemblies of America, and it was very generally felt that a protest of the most authentic and weighty kind possible had been made against the encroachments of the mother country. The one exception, however, was serious. New York refused, in its representative Chamber, to recognise what had been done and affirmed at Philadelphia. In that cosmopolitan province which is watered by the Hudson, a large and influential class was imbued with Royalist principles. Many of the rich colonists were connected with families of distinction in England and Scotland; and the capital had for some time been the head-quarters of the British army in America. The defection of New York from the general cause of the colonies, as represented by

the Continental Congress, gave great satisfaction in the old country, where Ministers always supposed that the loyal part of the population was more numerous and more important than it really was. The Government of George III., and the King himself, were in some respects deceived by their representatives in the New World. They thought that the resistance of the people was little more than the hasty ebullition of a discontented mob, and that a firm display of power would rally to their side all the most substantial elements in the land. One great source of error in those days was the want of authentic intelligence. England was really ignorant of what was going on in her own possessions. In our time, an omniscient press reflects the events, the feelings, the aspirations, even the humours and whims, of the most distant communities. But in the reign of George III., Ministers knew nothing of America but what they learned from the interested, and not always truthful, reports of office-holders, or from the statements of American agents in England, whom they not unnaturally suspected of exaggeration, and who may perhaps in some respects have exaggerated.

The soul of the movement now rapidly leading to rebellion was undoubtedly Massachusetts; but Virginia also had a large share in the work of revolution. For the present, however, the attention of public men in the Old Dominion was to some extent diverted by events of a different character. The Governor of Virginia at that period was Lord Dunmore—a Scotch nobleman who had previously occupied, for a short time, the same post at New York, and who had earned a bad name for rapacity and absolutism. In Virginia he made himself more popular, by turning his own greed to the advantage of the colony. In spite of most positive instructions to the contrary from the King and the Colonial Minister, he supported the claims of Virginia to the West, that he might in this way acquire for himself certain immense tracts of land which the Indians of southern Illinois were disposed to sell. He then directed his attention to another quarter, and extended his jurisdiction over Pittsburg and the neighbouring country on the Monongahela, which of right belonged to Pennsylvania, but which Dunmore coveted as a great place for Indian trade, and a region likely to be much sought by western emigrants. When the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania opposed the agent whom the Scotch Earl sent to do his bidding, Dunmore expressed himself as if he had been personally insulted, and a series of petty contentions and collisions took place in the wild lands that opened on the illimitable western world. He ventured to exercise power, and to grant estates, north and west of the Ohio, although that territory had been reserved by Act of Parliament to the province of Quebec. Beyond the Alleghanies, however, the claims of rival jurisdictions were so contradictory that American backwoodsmen were prone to recognise none at all, but such as they could establish for themselves by their own labour and enterprise. The Indians were equally indifferent to the asserted rights of one province or another, and opposed themselves with impartial ferocity to the straggling bands of adventurers, from whatever quarter they came. Single murders, and massacres on a small scale, continually occurred, and at length something like a state of war was created in the wide plains watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

In the autumn of 1773, the enterprising explorer, Daniel Boone, was conducting his wife and family, with some others, to a place of settlement in Kentucky, when, as they approached Cumberland Gap, they were attacked by Cherokee Indians. Six of them, including Boone's eldest son, were slain, and the rest were compelled to turn back. The Government of Virginia summoned the Cherokees to give up the offenders; but they managed to evade their responsibility, and one of the white men, who had escaped, killed an Indian at a horse-race on the frontier, in revenge for what his countrymen had suffered. This led to reprisals. Six white men and two negroes were slaughtered by the savages in February, 1774, and a few weeks later they murdered some others on board a trading canoe on the Ohio, and carried away their goods. It soon became known that the several tribes in that part of America were conspiring against the whites, and the backwoodsmen along the frontiers began to organise war-parties. Unhappily, they acted with as much unreasoning cruelty as the Indians themselves. Several of the savages were entrapped, and massacred in cold blood, and a large number of tribes were inflamed with the desire of vengeance. The colonists became alarmed. They implored the Virginian Government for assistance, and Lord Dunmore, carrying out the expressed wishes of the Assembly, ordered the militia of the frontier counties to be embodied for defence. Nevertheless, the settlers continued to suffer from the tomahawk of the red man. Forty scalps were taken into the chief village of the Shawnees, and the summer was rendered horrible by acts of atrocity, in which each side vied with the other in treachery and bloodthirstiness. As the autumn advanced, Dunmore called out the militia

of the south west, and, seeking an interview with the Delawares and the Six Nations, concluded a peace with them. Descending the Ohio at the head of twelve hundred militiamen from the neighbouring counties, he crossed to the opposite bank, and proceeded to the towns of the Shawnees, which he found deserted. But his movements had been too expeditious, for he had promised to wait for the south western men at the mouth of the Kanawha River, and when the energetic and courageous backwoodsmen, riding over rugged hills and through long reaches of forest, arrived, on the 6th of October, at Point Pleasant, near its junction with the Ohio, they found themselves without any intelligence from the Governor.

The position was one of great danger. The Shawnees were marching through the woods towards the encampment of the south western Virginians, and these savage warriors had a deservedly high name for valour and warlike skill. On the 10th of October, they burst on the white men in full force. A fierce and prolonged combat ensued. The Indians, protected by the trunks of trees, behind which they lurked with the stealthiness peculiar to their race, poured a devastating fire into the Virginians, mortally wounding several. From sunrise to noon, the fight continued with unabated severity; then the Indians began to retreat under cover of the thickets. A running fire was kept up for some hours longer; but at the approach of night the savages disappeared across the river. Of the Virginians, nearly fifty men were killed, and about eighty injured; while the savages, who are supposed to have numbered eight hundred, must also have suffered gravely, though the exact proportion of their dead and wounded could not be ascertained. Having been reinforced by three hundred troops, the Virginians, some days later, followed the flying enemy across the intervening river, marched eighty miles through a desert country, and on the 24th of October encamped on Congo Creek. The Indians now thought it advisable to come to terms. Lord Dunmore admitted them to a conference, and a treaty was concluded which adjusted all differences, gave up the Kentucky side of the Ohio to Virginia, and further extended the jurisdiction of that colony to regions which, according to the regulations of the British Parliament, belonged to the province of Quebec.

It was not long ere Dunmore, involved in the whirlpool of American revolution, was at deadly issue with the Virginians; but for the moment he was highly popular. The Assembly described his conduct of the campaign as "truly noble, wise, and spirited," and it certainly had the effect of delivering the western territories from the dangers which had threatened them. But these Indian wars, and the wild lives of explorers, hunters, and trappers, which so often occasioned them, educated a large number of Americans in the active virtues of soldiership, and enabled them, in the coming struggle with the mother country, to encounter with success the trained regiments of England. Here again the King and his servants were ignorant of what was going on in America. They knew nothing of the fresh and vigorous race which was shooting up in the West—of the young nation which a fortuitous concourse of emigrants from all parts of Europe was creating between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and which a free contact with untamed Nature, with the hardships of the wilderness and the perils of Indian strife, was moulding to the proportion of heroes. But the men themselves knew their power and understood their rights. The soldiers who had just proved their valour against Indian foes, halted at Fort Gower, on the northern bank of the Ohio, when returning from the campaign, in order that they might consider the existing condition of their country, and the relations of the colonies towards the parent State. The upshot of their deliberations was conveyed in a resolution which promised continued allegiance to the King, if he would reign over them as a brave and free people, but which at the same time declared that, as attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweighed every other consideration, they were resolved to exert all their powers for American liberty, when called on by the unanimous voice of their countrymen. These western adventurers, living in a country where there was no visible representative of Royal power, on lands which they had won by their own daring and defended by their own prowess, were peculiarly inclined to the reception of ideas pointing to Republican independence.

If the people of America were determined, the people of England were not less so; and, unfortunately, the resolves of the two pointed to contrary ends. The elections to the British Parliament in the autumn of 1774 resulted in a large majority on the side of Government, and that distinctly on the question of their colonial policy. It is true that bribery was employed in several instances; but this appears to have been resorted to as a means of determining the issue as between man and man, rather than as between principle and principle.* Everything we know of that period shows

* Earl Stanhope affirms that there was less venality at this General Election than at the preceding one. (History of England, chap. 51.)

that the coercion of America was dear to the English heart, and that it was considered disgraceful in an ancient and famous Empire to yield to the menaces of a distant possession. Of course there were exceptions to this rule. A few men sincerely desirous of promoting conciliatory measures found their way to the House of Commons; but they formed merely a small though devoted phalanx. Many even of the liberally-disposed thought that the Americans had been too violent and headstrong; only a few, and those the most factious, were prepared to defend the colonists in everything, and to refuse all support to the Ministry in asserting the dominion of England. The consequence was, that when the Government met Parliament on the 30th of November, they were enabled to assume a confident position with regard to the great question of the day. In his Speech from the Throne, the King reminded the two Houses that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a highly criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures and given such orders as he judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the Acts passed at the commencement of the year relative to the province of Massachusetts.

The Addresses in reply to this Speech, which of course re-echoed the sentiments of the Royal communication, were carried by large majorities; yet Ministers seemed perplexed as to what course they should take in the unparalleled difficulties of the time. Nothing definite had been done when Parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays. During the recess, however, intelligence arrived in England that a Congress had been sitting in America, and that resolutions of an extreme character had received the sanction of that body. In those days, intercommunication between distant countries was so slow that the English Ministers were always acting with reference to a state of things which had perhaps materially changed since the last despatches. The condition of America was much more serious by Christmas, 1774, than it had been when Congress adjourned on the 26th of October; and even in September, Gage had written home that the Regulating Acts of Parliament could only be enforced by military power, that all the provinces sympathised with New England, and that the people were arming in defence of what they believed to be their rights. The quarrel had been envenomed since that date; the people and the military were already face to face. Gage had previously suggested that the obnoxious Acts should be suspended, and that the colonies should be left to themselves, and to the anarchy and want which, in his opinion, would speedily ensue. This, he thought, would soon bring them to repentance; but, if such advice had ever been reasonable, the time for carrying it out had now passed. The King also rejected every idea of compromise, and said to Lord North that blows must decide whether the colonies were to remain subject to England, or to become independent. The Premier, whose ideas were more liberal than those of his colleagues, by whom he was frequently over-ruled, proposed to send out commissioners of inquiry; but the King would not hear of such an arrangement. He had at any rate the penetration to see that rebellion had begun, and that the day of small conciliations had gone by.

Franklin had by this time come to the conclusion that the colonies must be entirely emancipated from the rule of the mother country; yet he published some hints as to the terms on which a durable union between Great Britain and her American possessions might possibly be effected. These terms were to the effect that the Tea Duty Act should be repealed; that payment should be offered for the tea that had been destroyed; that England should give up her monopoly of American commerce; that America, on her part, should furnish liberal aids in times of war and peace; and that the Quebec Act should be rescinded, together with the Regulating Acts. The repeal of the last-mentioned statutes he particularly insisted on. The charter of William III., he argued, was a compact between the King and the people of Massachusetts, and could be altered only by the consent of both. If it were once admitted that the English Parliament had a right to change the colonial laws at will, the colonists would be deprived of all privileges but what they would hold at the pleasure of the parent State. Franklin might have spared himself the trouble of making these proposals. It was not in the slightest degree likely that they would be accepted; nor, indeed, was the argument convincing from the English point of view. That the Massachusetts charter was a "compact" between the King and the people, in the sense of an agreement by which two perfectly independent parties mutually bind one another, is certainly a position very far from tenable. It was rather a something conferred, which the Power so conferring could, as a matter of strict legal right, withdraw.

To exercise that right may have been unwise, may have been unfair, may have been unjust; but it is not easy to see how it can be described as illegal.

The Revolution of 1688 had modified the functions of Royalty, and, by a gradual increase of popular power, had introduced the authority of Parliament as a necessary element in all but the set forms of government. In this way it had come to be considered that whereas, in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, the administration of the colonies was the sole prerogative of the King, it had now been transferred to a department of State, to be managed by the responsible Minister of the day, with the sanction of Parliament and the assent of the monarch. Such an arrangement, it is true, was no more satisfactory to the Americans than the simpler form of despotism which it displaced; for it left them at the mercy of a political organisation in which they had no share. Powers so dangerous should always have been used with the most conscientious regard for the interests and reasonable wishes of the colonists; and it is not to be controverted that they were seldom so used. But the denial that they existed, except as an usurpation—the assertion that, do what the colonists might, Parliament was never to exercise any control—was a challenge which the mother country could hardly avoid accepting. Even Burke always contended for a Parliamentary jurisdiction. Had the leading politicians on both sides of the Atlantic been more temperate—more truly inclined to a policy calculated to promote the unity of the Empire and the welfare of all its members—some plan might, at an earlier period, have been discovered for limiting the supervising power of Parliament, and permanently securing the substantial liberties of the Americans. Blamable as the policy of English Ministers had often been, they had generally, up to the close of George II.'s reign, shown a disposition to reconsider any measure against which the colonists respectfully remonstrated. The change of mood after the accession of the Third George may in part be attributable to the haughty nature of the American demands, as well as to the despotic tendencies of the King; and that those demands so suddenly acquired this character of haughtiness, appears to have been owing to the relative increase of American power, and corresponding decrease in the feeling of dependence, consequent on the subjugation of the French in Canada. The desire for a separate national existence had been cherished in New England, and perhaps in some of the other colonies, for generations; the determination to effect it on the earliest opportunity was always borne in mind; but the opportunity itself did not arise until 1763.

While Parliament was considering the state of America, yet at the same time making no provision for increased expenses, adding not a man to the army, and actually reducing the navy—so little was it supposed that American resistance could ever assume the magnitude of a war—the people of Massachusetts were preparing for the struggle. The Provincial Congress established a secret correspondence with Canada, entreated the religious ministers of New England to aid in averting the dreadful slavery with which the country was threatened, and addressed the people in a stirring appeal which affirmed that it was impossible to conquer a nation in arms, but at the same time urged the immediate necessity of adopting measures of defence, and pointed out that the minute-men not already provided should be at once equipped, and disciplined at least three times a week. The unity of feeling among the great majority of the people was a fact not to be questioned. It was a feeling derived from the primitive traditions of the colony, and fostered by the eloquence of divines who made politics a part of their religion. Gage could do nothing to extinguish it, and he appears to have attempted little. Towards the close of the year, the electors met, according to their ancient forms, to choose delegates to the next Provincial Congress. Proclamations against these irregular assemblies were issued by the English commander; but the prohibition was not enforced. It was as much as Gage could do to hold his ground against the rising tide. With the small force at his disposal, he was powerless to suppress the political action of the colonists.

The petition of the Continental Congress was presented to the King by Franklin and the agents of Massachusetts only, the other colonial representatives refusing to join. The King promised that after the recess it should be submitted to Parliament, and in the meanwhile the professional politicians talked the matter over, with little agreement as to what should be done. Lord North refused to repeal the Regulating Act, but evinced a willingness to leave the matter of taxation in the hands of the Americans themselves. Barrington, the Secretary at War, who knew that the army was ill-organised and far from strong, advised a withdrawal of the troops from Massachusetts, and the granting of liberal concessions. But the King remained firm in his policy of simple and unrelieved coercion. In this juncture, Lord Howe, brother of the gallant officer who fell at Ticonderoga, called on Franklin, with a view to effecting some compromise, such as might incline the English Government to adopt a more conciliatory course.

The interview took place on the eve of Christmas Day, 1774; but it led to no material modification of the American demands. Lord North still clung to the idea of sending commissioners to America, and asked Franklin if he would undertake such an office. Franklin replied by a statement of demands which must have staggered the English Premier. The Assembly of Jamaica voted, in December, a petition on behalf of the continental settlements, at the same time declaring that they had no intention of joining the American Confederacy; but nothing sufficed to turn aside the resolve of George III. to attempt the complete reduction of the colonies. All this while Franklin was the great object of regard or of hatred. The day after his interview with Lord Howe, he was received by the Earl of Chatham at Hayes, that nobleman's seat in Kent. The political virtues of the Americans were highly commended by the English statesman, who declared that he would do his utmost to promote their cause, as the last hope of freedom for England herself. But his utmost amounted to nothing, as



A PLAN OF BOSTON. (*From Faden's North American Atlas*, 1777.)



TRADERS ON THE OHIO ATTACKED BY SAVAGES.

regarded the ultimate development of events. He had few supporters in Parliament; he was unable to effect a junction with the Marquis of Rockingham; he and Burke were at issue; and the Ministerial majority was so strong that it was hardly possible to break it down.

The wishes of the King prevailed with the Government. Lord North found himself unable to carry out his temporising policy, and, at a Cabinet Council held on the 12th of January, 1775, it was resolved to interdict all commerce with the colonists, and to stigmatise as traitors and rebels those who had set themselves in opposition to the policy of the mother country. On the 20th of the same month,—papers relating to America being then laid before the House of Lords,—Chatham moved to address the King for immediate orders to remove the forces from the town of Boston. The speech which he then delivered was one of his most effective bursts of oratory; and it was listened to by Franklin and many other Americans. Vindicating the colonists in their opposition to the English Parliament, he said:—

"Resistance to your acts was necessary, as it was just; and your imperious doctrine of the omnipotence of Parliament and the necessity of submission will be found equally impotent to convince or to enslave. The means of enforcing thraldom are as weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. General Gage and the troops under his command are penned up, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are, in truth, an army of impotence; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation. But this tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood, shed in civil and unnatural war, will make a wound that years, perhaps ages, may not heal. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts; three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity? They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town of Boston, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants. But his Majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last! I pronounce it a union solid, permanent, and effectual. Its real stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land; in their simplicity of life are found the integrity and courage of freedom. These true sons of the earth are invincible. . . . Every motive of justice and policy, of dignity and prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your Acts of Parliament, and by demonstrating amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures, every danger and every hazard impend;—foreign war hanging over you by a thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors. If the Ministers persevere in thus misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone; I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that, the American jewel out of it, they will make the crown not worth his wearing."

Chatham's motion was supported by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, and Lord Shelburne; but the vast majority of the peers treated it with scorn and indignation. By some, the great Liberal statesman was accused of openly preaching sedition, and he was held personally responsible for events which were but too likely to take place in America. Such, indeed, were the views of the King himself. On the speech being described to him, he bitterly denounced Lord Chatham, and looked forward, with indecent eagerness, to the time when death, or the infirmities of age, should rid him of so troublesome an enemy. Replying, at the close of the debate, to the strictures of his opponents, the mover of the address to the sovereign reiterated his conviction that the Americans should be exempt from all taxation which they had not authorised by their own representatives. Yet even *he* granted to the mother country the right of regulating the commerce of the whole Empire; while Rockingham, though supporting the motion, still clung to his original view that the Act declaring the supremacy of the English Parliament was just and proper. Amongst the minority of eighteen who voted for the motion, against the sixty-eight who opposed it, one peer was to be found whose presence on the popular side is remarkable. This was the King's youngest brother, the Duke of Cumberland. George must have been annoyed at such a defection; but the largeness of the majority comforted him. He thought that the votes of a few

irresponsible lords would overawe the rising spirit and youthful genius of democratic America.

Undiscouraged by the fate of his motion, Chatham, on the 1st of February, made yet another effort to avert civil war. He presented to the House of Lords a Bill, which he entitled, "A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the Supreme Legislative Authority and Superintending Power of Great Britain over the Colonies." It was affirmed by this Bill (which its author described as a basis for measures of a conciliatory character, such as might avert the dangers of disruption by which the Empire was menaced) that the Parliament of Great Britain had full power to bind America in all matters touching the weal of the whole British dominions, and especially in making laws for the regulation of navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; that no military force could ever be lawfully employed to destroy the best rights of the people; yet that the power of sending troops to the colonies should be maintained, independently of the voice of the colonial Assemblies. The measure furthermore provided that no taxes for his Majesty's revenue should be levied in America without the consent of the colonists; that the Congress of Philadelphia should be legalised, and empowered to meet again on the 9th of May, for the purpose of making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the British Parliament, and of voting a free grant to the Crown of a certain perpetual revenue; that the prayer of the petition of Congress should then be granted, the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts in America be confined to their ancient limits, and trial by jury in civil cases be restored wherever it had been abolished; that all the recent Acts of Parliament which had been the cause of agitation in America should be forthwith suspended; and that, in order to secure due and impartial administration in the colonies, his Majesty's judges in America should hold their offices and salaries in the same manner as in England, viz., *quam diu se bene gesserit* (so long as they should conduct themselves properly). At the conclusion of the Bill it was expressly declared that the colonies in America were justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So little was even Lord Chatham inclined to destroy all control of the colonies by the mother country, that he made a very distinct and emphatic statement to the contrary. If, he said, he could bring himself to believe that the Americans entertained the most distant intention of throwing off the legislative supremacy and superintending power of the British Parliament (which, however, had he been correctly instructed, he would have known really *was* their intention), he would himself be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power by every possible exertion that England was capable of making.

The Bill was in some respects a very good one, and at an earlier stage of the quarrel it might have effected its avowed object. But it is certain that, had it been sanctioned by the English Parliament, it would not, in their then mood and temper, have satisfied the Americans. In the composition of his measure, Chatham consulted Franklin, and the latter, while thinking that it might serve as a starting-point for ulterior arrangements, frankly confessed that it was inadequate to the wishes of his countrymen. Neither the English statesman nor the American politician expected that the Bill would pass; it was indeed quite obvious that it would be cast out; and its production seems to have been intended for no other end than to force the Ministry into a more emphatic declaration against the Americans, into a position still more irreconcilable, and thus to strengthen the opposition of the colonists. The measure was encountered by Ministers with a flood of vituperation. It was condemned as the work of Franklin, whom Lord Sandwich described as among the bitterest and most mischievous enemies of England; and in the end it was rejected without even being allowed to lie on the table of the House, although the Duke of Manchester, Earl Temple, and Lord Lyttleton were for adopting a middle course, and, out of respect for its illustrious author, would have allowed the Bill to be introduced, so that it might be read and debated. The consciousness that America would not accept the proffered terms had probably something to do with this summary repudiation of the Bill; but a wiser statesmanship would rather have determined on putting the Americans in the wrong by offering a fair measure of conciliation. The Government of the day preferred to sow the storm, and it was not long before they reaped the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XV.

Joint Address to the King from Lords and Commons—Debates in the Two Houses—Augmentation of Sea and Land Forces—Bill for restraining the Trade and Commerce of New England—Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North—Opposition of the Court Party—The Proposals affirmed by a Large Majority—Burke's Plan of Conciliation—His Speech on bringing forward a Series of Resolutions—Arguments of that Statesman on behalf of American Liberties, and against their Subjugation by the British Government—Rejection of the Government Proposals by the Colonial Governors—Communications between Franklin and Lord Howe with a View to Conciliation—Proposals of the Government and of the American Agent—Franklin's Interview with Burke—Question as to Franklin's Motives with regard to England—His proposed Memorial to Lord Dartmouth, and Departure for America—Dr. Johnson's Tract on the American Question—Extracts from, and Remarks on, that Production.

HAVING achieved their double victory over Lord Chatham, Ministers at once proceeded to the development of their own plans for meeting the existing troubles in America. On the motion of the Government, a joint address to the King was carried in the Lords and Commons, the members of which declared their opinion that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; besought his Majesty to pursue the most effective measures for ensuring due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme Legislature; and solemnly pledged themselves, together with their lives and fortunes, to support the sovereign in the maintenance of the just rights of the Crown, and of the two Houses of Parliament, against all rebellious attempts to infringe them. The proposal for this address was brought forward in the Lower House by Lord North on the 2nd of February, 1775, the day after the rejection of Chatham's Bill for the pacification of the colonies; and it led to a very animated debate. In his opening speech, the Premier intimated that a large military force was to be sent to America, and that the foreign commerce of the New Englanders, together with their fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, would be effectually stopped until they returned to their allegiance. Charles James Fox, then in the spring-time of his brilliant career, moved an amendment censuring Ministers for having rather inflamed than healed differences, and praying for their removal. With great eloquence and power of reasoning, he vindicated the Americans in the course they had taken, and upheld their determination to assert the right of all Englishmen to tax themselves, and to retain a due control over the Government to which their interests were entrusted. Dunning declared that the colonies were *not* in a state of rebellion, but were only resisting the attempt to establish a despotism in America, as a prelude to the same system in the mother country. On behalf of the Government, Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, addressed the House with his usual vehemence, and some of the speakers on the same side disgraced their cause and themselves by venomous and highly injudicious mockery of the colonists, their religion, character, and modes of life. It was the fashion in those days to describe the Americans as cowards, who would run at the first sight of an English regiment; and imputations to this effect were freely made in Parliament. When known in America, they must have contributed greatly to exasperate the people, and undoubtedly they rendered still more mortifying the ultimate discomfiture of the Royal army.

Fox's amendment was negatived by a large majority, and the original motion was carried. When the address was reported, on the 6th of February, the opposition was renewed. Lord John Cavendish earnestly deprecated civil war, with its concomitant, a foreign war; and Wilkes, then member for Middlesex and Lord Mayor of London, exclaimed, "Who can tell whether, in consequence of this day's violent and mad address, the scabbard may not be thrown away by the Americans, as well as by us, and whether, should success attend them, they may not in a few years celebrate the glorious era of the revolution of 1775 as we do that of 1688?" A proposal that the address should be recommitted was disallowed, and on the following day it was introduced into the Lords, after a conference between the two Houses. In the Upper as in the Lower Chamber, the questions involved were warmly discussed. The Marquis of Rockingham bluntly declared that he would risk neither life nor fortune in support of the measures recommended. He affirmed that four-fifths of the nation were opposed to the address—a fact of which he could have had no certain knowledge, if fact it were; and he promised that, having set out by supporting the cause of the people, he would never, for any temptation whatsoever, desert or betray that cause. A great deal of personality and mutual incrimination marked the debate. Both Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden disavowed having had anything to do with the original Act for taxing America, which they condemned as the origin of the existing dispute. Camden was reminded by the Duke of Grafton that he was himself Lord Chancellor at the time the law passed, and must therefore have been a consenting party to it. The Duke of

Richmond made similar accusations of insincerity against Mansfield; and Mansfield and Shelburne gave one another the lie direct. With the exception of the taxing Bill, Lord Mansfield supported the whole of the recent legislation on America, sanctioned the measures shadowed forth in the address, and, speaking as a lawyer, asserted that the Americans were undoubtedly in a state of rebellion. The equally high authority of Lord Camden was advanced on the contrary side. That eminent jurist denied that a state of rebellion existed in America, for many distinctions were to be made between actual and constructive treason. Ultimately, the House agreed to the address of the Commons by a majority of nearly four to one. On the 9th of February, it was presented to the King by a numerous deputation from the two Houses, headed by the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker; and George, in his reply, pledged himself to enforce, speedily and effectually, obedience to the laws, and to the authority of the Legislature. To Lord North he spoke of adopting the most coercive measures, and in a message to the Commons he recommended an augmentation of the sea and land forces. The result was a vote of 2,000 additional seamen, and 4,400 additional soldiers—a very small increase, considering that not only were the Americans threatening to give a great deal of trouble, but France was arming on a large scale, with views not at all friendly to England.

Fortified by the large majority which had ratified the address, Lord North, on the 10th of February, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands, and prohibiting them from pursuing any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, excepting in the case of such persons as should procure from their Governors certificates of good and loyal conduct, and who should subscribe a test acknowledging the supremacy of the British Parliament. The penal Acts of the preceding year had been confined to Massachusetts; but, as the other New England provinces had since joined in the movement initiated by the principal colony of that part of America, they were now included in one general punishment. The opponents of the new measure represented that it had the vice of confounding the innocent with the guilty, and of destroying a trade on which whole provinces depended—an act which might have the effect of starving a large number of persons, and of provoking the Americans into repudiating their debts to British merchants. Sir George Saville argued that rebellion is sometimes right, and asked whether a people taxed without their consent, deprived of their charter, tyrannised over by an army, and denied even the privilege of complaining might not be in justifiable rebellion. In support of the Bill, it was urged, with some pertinence and force, that, as the Americans had resolved not to trade with England, it was but fair to prevent them trading with other countries; that, as they had entered into associations to ruin English merchants, impoverish English manufacturers, and starve the West India Islands, it was a justifiable act of retaliation to return their mischiefs upon their own head. The colonists, argued the Ministerial party, had incurred the penalties of rebellion, and, as a consequence, had rendered themselves liable to military execution; but, instead of proceeding to such extremities, Government only proposed to bring them back to a sense of duty by a restriction on their trade. The Bill was sanctioned by a large majority, and so was another measure for laying similar restraints on the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, on account of their sympathy with New England. In one of the debates on this measure in the House of Lords, Camden justified the union of the Americans in defence of their liberties, and prophesied their inevitable success. A protest against the Act was signed by Rockingham and Shelburne.

It has been seen that the position of Lord North towards the colonies was somewhat equivocal. His own nature inclined him to conciliation; he was not without liberal ideas, and, with better subordinates in the Ministry, and a more reasonable Parliament, he might possibly have averted the struggle which deprived England of so large a part of her possessions. But the Cabinet consisted, to a great extent, of men holding absolutist views; and the elected, no less than the hereditary, Chamber was only too willing to abet their designs. Still, the Premier endeavoured, by advances of a more friendly character, to mitigate the effects of a severity which he did not wholly approve. On the 20th of February, while the coercive Act was still passing through Parliament, he brought forward, in a committee of the whole House, a resolution to the effect that, whenever any of the colonies should, by their own act, make provision for the common defence, and also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice, Parliament would forbear to levy any taxation on the provinces so acting, except such as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which should be carried to the account of such colonies exclusively. This proposal excited very general surprise and

dissatisfaction, and many of Lord North's own adherents and colleagues were offended by it. It was considered to be an abandonment of principles embodied in the joint address of the two Houses and in recent Acts, and to indicate weakness, doubt, and tergiversation. North, however, defended his proposal on the ground that it would afford a test as to the sincerity of the allegations



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put forward by the Americans. If the ostensible causes of their opposition were the real causes, they would, he conceived, accept the proffered terms; if they refused them, it would be a proof that they had other views, and were actuated by other motives, than those which they professed. "To offer terms of peace," he said, "is wise and humane. If the colonists reject them, their blood must be on their own heads." It appeared at first as if the resolution would have been ignominiously negatived. Some, even of those who sat on the Treasury benches—a section of the Government forming what was called the party of "the King's Friends"—denounced the proposal in no measured terms, and averred that it was intended to pay court to the Opposition by an implied admission that, after all, the taxation of Americans by the British Parliament was unjust and grievous. These uncompromising politicians declared that they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands, nor assent to any measure which did not start with an express assertion of the supremacy of the British Parliament. The position of Lord North was serious, especially when a motion was made that the chairman should leave the chair, which was equivalent to proposing that the House should resume its ordinary business without the resolution being put to the vote. The policy of the Prime Minister, however, was ably supported by Sir Gilbert Elliot and by Wedderburn, who succeeded in convincing the majority that the twofold object of Lord North, as dimly and summarily

shadowed forth in the joint Address, was to repress rebellion by measures of restriction, and at the same time to offer indulgence to those who would return to their duty. There was no design, it was stated, to give up the rights of Parliament; and Lord North himself said that his only intention was to separate the grain from the chaff, and to forward their own plan of conciliation. On the 22nd of March, Edmund Burke submitted to the House thirteen resolutions. Their effect was to repeal several Acts of Parliament (dating from 1765) which had injured or offended the Americans, to leave in their hands the payment of the judges (who were to be irremovable except for misconduct),



LORD HOWE.

disunite the colonies by opening a door to the loyal. Fox, Burke, Barré, and others, fiercely attacked the resolution; but it was carried by 274 to 18. The measure might have had salutary effects at an earlier date; but it was now feared by many that the quarrel had gone too far to be composed by such means, particularly when taken in conjunction with the coercive laws which had just been passed.

About a month later, the Opposition brought to re-fashion the relations between the mother country and the colonies, and to raise a revenue from those colonies by means of grants and aids voted by the General Assemblies. The resolutions, after a warm debate, were rejected by the House; but they were made by Burke the occasion of delivering a very eloquent and masterly speech. Enlarging on the rapid growth and amazing energy of the Anglo-American race, he said:—

"As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn

from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits,—whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle,—we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dextrous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Burke went on to show that, in these American colonies, from a great variety of sources, had grown up what he described as a fierce spirit of liberty. To prosecute that spirit as criminal—to apply to so great a public contest the ordinary ideas of criminal justice—appeared to him narrow and pedantic. It was in this speech that Burke made use of that brilliant expression which has since become one of the common-places of political discussion:—"I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." He pointed out—what a mind of less penetration would have failed to discover, but which is certainly as true as it seems paradoxical—that provinces where slaves most abound are all the more, instead of the less, attached to their own freedom on account of that institution. Slavery, by perverting the moral sense of the slave-holders, will in time destroy the very life of freedom in any nation; but, in young communities, the possession of this privilege of domineering over others, with its consequent immunity from painful or ignoble toils, from poverty, and from many forms of suffering, always makes the privileged class more haughty in rejecting the arbitrary rule of others. It is true that slavery was forced on the Americans by England, and that many of the colonists strongly objected to its continuance; yet there it was, and it had its effect on the character of the people, especially in the south. Another subject upon which Burke dilated was the difficulty of governing, except with a loose rein, a dependency so distant from the centre as America from England. "Three thousand miles of ocean," he remarked, "lie between you and your subjects. This is a powerful principle in the natural constitution of things for weakening government, which no contrivance can prevent. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system." This, said Burke, was a weakness inherent in all great and widely-extended Empires: the Turk could not govern Egypt as he governed Thrace, nor exercise the same dominion in the Crimea or Algiers as at Brusa or Smyrna. "My hold of the colonies," he continued, "is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government is one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith—wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty,

the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break the unity of the Empire. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused into the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member. Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England?"

The eloquence of Burke's address held the House in rapt attention for three hours; but his arguments persuaded few who were not already persuaded. The vote against him was more than three to one, and it was now evident that the Opposition in Parliament had done all they could. The quarrel was one which, at the stage it had then reached, was not likely to be composed either by reasoning or by oratory. Personal rancour had envenomed it; national pride had stepped in to forbid any settlement but that which should be determined by the sword. The King believed that the dignity of his Crown was concerned in a complete subjugation of the revolted colonists. The colonists, on their part, desired, it can hardly be questioned, not merely to assert their rights, but to humiliate the mother country, in revenge for a series of wrongs under which they smarted. Hot blood had been engendered on both sides, and it was not to be allayed even by eloquence the most splendid. Burke was always in favour of maintaining the supremacy of the Crown and Parliament over the colonies, and to that supremacy he still clung, though, acknowledging the force of events and the difficulties of the time, he felt compelled to make very considerable concessions, and to relinquish the Imperial privilege of taxing the American provinces, for which he had formerly contended. He could not have supposed, after Chatham's failure, that his resolutions would be affirmed; he was content that the subject should be once more discussed, and that he should be enabled to express, in fiery and sonorous words, his latest views on the great question of the day. It is perhaps doubtful whether even these concessions would have been deemed sufficient. The passions of both antagonists had by this time been so excited that probably nothing but complete and unconditional victory would have satisfied either. The proposals of the Government had not the smallest chance of being accepted by the Americans. They were conveyed to the several Governors in a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary, but were received with contempt. The exemption of New York, Delaware, and North Carolina from the penal enactments of Parliament increased the resentment of the other colonies, without in the slightest degree conciliating the provinces which it was sought to flatter. On the contrary, its effect was to throw those provinces unreservedly into the arms of the malcontents. A series of blunders had reached its natural termination in irreconcilable hostility.

During the early months of 1775, some further communications with a view to a reconciliation had taken place between Franklin and Lord Howe, but without result. Howe had been appointed to the command of the fleet in America, but he was, if possible, to act the part of a pacificator as well. He and his brother, Sir William Howe, to whom the direction of the land forces in the colonies was assigned, under the general orders of Gage, were invested by the King with commissions for the restoration of peace, according to the terms proposed by Lord North. Until about the middle of March, Franklin continued to negotiate with Lord Howe, and with other English gentlemen, in a vain endeavour after some accommodation. At one time there seemed a faint prospect of success. Franklin offered for the consideration of Government a set of seventeen terms, embodying the demands of his countrymen. Of these, the greater number, either in whole or in part, were accepted by the Administration; but the right of Parliament to exercise a power of altering the American constitutions was still asserted, and this condition was so utterly rejected by Franklin that he refused even to discuss it. Counter-propositions were made on behalf of the Government; but, though much was conceded by the Cabinet, and, on the other part, liberal money-grants were promised by Franklin if the requirements of the colonies were allowed, the negotiations always broke down on the question of Parliamentary control, which, as a general principle, would not be waived by the one side, nor allowed by the other. Franklin also insisted on denying the right of the King to send troops to any colony, except with the consent of its Legislature—a condition which even Chatham regarded as inadmissible. It was not until he had made this attempt at an agreement that Lord North brought forward his conciliatory motion in the House of Commons; and, although Franklin and Lord Howe still continued to discuss the matter, it became every day more obvious that

agreement was impossible. The American envoy at length made preparations for departure. During his last day in London, he spent several hours in the society of Burke, to whom he lamented the approaching rupture of the connection between England and her colonies, but at the same time declared that it was inevitable. He professed a profound and affectionate admiration for the old country, and remarked that Great Britain presented the only instance in the history of the world of a State whose distant possessions had been as well governed as the capital itself. But the Americans, he said, were threatened with the loss of those advantages, and had to consider, not whether they were still to be governed as before the troubles (for better they could not be), but whether they were to give up so happy a situation without a struggle.

Burke entertained the highest respect for the varied and remarkable abilities of Franklin, and always believed in his sincerity and honour. But it has been doubted by many whether, in making these warm assertions of love for the country of his ancestry, and of sorrow at the approaching separation of the colonies from the seat of empire, the American statesman and philosopher was speaking truthfully. It is painful to cast even a shade of suspicion on a mind so great as Franklin's; yet it is difficult to help feeling that for some years his thoughts had been fully possessed with the idea of an independent American Republic, that he worked quietly and secretly to that end, and that at the same time he amused the heads of parties in London by exaggerated representations of the affection of New England towards Old England. Josiah Quincy, a young Bostonian then in London, wrote to a friend in his native city, on the 27th of November, 1774, that the ideas of Franklin were not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but were extended to total emancipation —a subject on which he was "explicit and bold."* With this covert design (which is not likely to have been conceived at the very time it was confessed to Quincy) his avowed sentiments were not in harmony. If it was true that, up to a very recent date, the colonies had been as well governed by the mother country as that country itself—if it was true that the colonists were aware of that fact, prompt to confess it, and eager in their filial love towards a parent who had done so much for them—it is incredible that a man of Franklin's great influence with his fellow-Americans could not have averted civil war, even after all the errors and wrong-doings of the Governments of George III., especially as a disposition to conciliate was now being shown by Ministers. But the fact appears to be that, in the windings of a somewhat tortuous policy, Franklin overstated the good government of the colonies by England previous to 1763, the degree of bad government since that year, and the amount of affection towards the ruling State entertained by the descendants of Englishmen in the New World. In Massachusetts —always the leader of great political movements —the quarrel with the old country began with the first settlement. It was continued during the reign of Charles II., when the authority of the King was barely acknowledged in any detail of government whatever. It led to a revolution in the days of James II., and his representative, Sir Edmund Andros; it was hardly mollified by the charter of William and Mary. Since then, all through the eighteenth century, the occasions of disagreement had been frequent, not only in New England, but in most of the other colonies. Great Britain had behaved with much selfishness towards her offspring, and there is little to show that the child bore any very ardent love towards its parent. The chief feeling between the two appears to have been one of mutual jealousy and distrust. England desired to use America for the promotion of her own immediate interests. America, angered at the cruelty of such a system, inspired with the new political ideas which a novel situation had created, and influenced by a not unnatural ambition, dreamt of independence long before she was strong enough to take any actual steps for accomplishing that purpose. In the meanwhile, she often needlessly irritated the old country by frowardness and exaggerated opposition. With all her faults, England showed on many occasions a readiness to compromise, a willingness to abandon or retract offensive measures. Had America been equally disposed to waive or modify her utter denial of Parliamentary jurisdiction, the deadly issue of the quarrel might have been averted. But Franklin did nothing to promote such a disposition.

That the feelings of the great American were at that time so bitter as very nearly to lead him into an act of great imprudence, notwithstanding his habitual self-control, is shown by an anecdote which he relates of himself. A few days before he left London, he listened to a debate on American affairs in the House of Lords, during which he was extremely annoyed at remarks by some of the speakers, to the effect that the Americans were all knaves, who sought in the existing dispute a means of repudiating their debts, and that, if they had any sense of equity or justice, they would offer

* Life of Franklin, by Jared Sparks.

payment for the tea that had been destroyed. Going home somewhat heated, he drew up a memorial to Lord Dartmouth, in which, as the agent of the province of Massachusetts, he protested against the continuance of the blockade of Boston, and solemnly demanded satisfaction for the accumulated injury produced by that measure. He also protested against the Bill, then under consideration in Parliament, for depriving the Americans of their share in the fisheries of Newfoundland and other northern parts, as an act highly unjust and injurious; and he gave notice that satisfaction would probably one day be demanded for all the injury that might be done and suffered in the execution of the law, and that in no future war would either a man or a shilling be granted in aid of the parent State, until full satisfaction should be made. When Franklin read this most injudicious outburst to his friend Mr. Thomas Walpole, a member of the House of Commons, that gentleman looked at it several times, and then at its author, as if he thought the latter a little out of his senses. Having, at Franklin's request, shown the document to Lord Camden, he gave it as their joint opinion that the presentation of such a memorial might be attended by dangerous consequences to Franklin personally, and would contribute to exasperate the nation.* It was therefore suppressed; but the fact that Franklin desired it to go to the Colonial Minister is a curious indication of the state of his mind at that time. This was his last act of importance in England. Soon afterwards he posted to Portsmouth, and, taking ship for Philadelphia, was sailing out of the English Channel as Burke was making his great speech to the House of Commons on behalf of the American cause.

While Burke and Chatham, in conjunction with Franklin, were presenting the claims of the colonies in their most favourable light, another leading intellect of that age was working with equal energy to disprove the justice of those claims, and to hold up the Americans to the hatred and vengeance of Englishmen as a set of ungrateful reprobates, little better than parricides, who, after enjoying many years of favour and protection from the parent State, were now, from the mere wantonness of political licence, endeavouring to throw off their allegiance. Dr. Johnson was then a pensioner of the Crown, and his genius was employed by the Court to prop up a cause which even its supporters regarded uneasily. Previous to the elections in the autumn of 1774, he had published, under the title of "The Patriot," an address to the constituencies, in which he sought to prejudice the popular mind against the colonists, and against all who opposed arbitrary power in England; and he now, at the bidding and under the direction of the Ministry, put forth a tractate called "Taxation no Tyranny: an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress, 1775." This production will always be interesting, not only for the sake of its author, nor merely for the perverse ingenuity with which the argument is conducted, but as a condensed and authoritative statement of the Ministerial view of the case. "A tax," argued Johnson, "is a payment exacted by authority from part of the community for the benefit of the whole. From whom and in what proportion such payment shall be required, and to what uses it shall be applied, those only are to judge to whom government is entrusted. In the British dominions, taxes are apportioned, levied, and appropriated by the states assembled in Parliament. Of every empire all the subordinate communities are liable to taxation, because they all share the benefits of government, and therefore ought all to furnish their proportion of the expense." And again:—"Our colonies, however distant, have been hitherto treated as constituent parts of the British Empire. The inhabitants, incorporated by English charters, are entitled to all the rights of Englishmen. They are governed by English laws, entitled to English dignities, regulated by English counsels, and protected by English arms; and it seems to follow, by consequence not easily avoided, that they are subject to English government, and chargeable by English taxation." The reader who has closely followed the course of this History does not need to be reminded that Johnson's definition of the relation of the colonies to the mother country is far from exact, and that therefore the suggested "consequence" is more easily avoided than the writer supposed. The colonies were governed by laws of their own making, and to a great extent were protected by their own arms; nor could they, according to the theory of the British Constitution, be taxed where they were not represented. But Johnson was debauched by his love of despotism. His reply to the American Congress is a monument of bad reasoning and political immorality, varied by coarse insult and ignorant depreciation. The colonists went too far in their absolute denial of Parliamentary jurisdiction; but, had they accepted the views of Johnson, they would have signed the charter of their own slavery.

* See "An Account of Negotiations in London for effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies," written by Franklin on his voyage to Philadelphia, and addressed to his son. Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. V.

CHAPTER XVI.

Lord Dartmouth's Despatch on the State of Massachusetts—A Command given to Sir William Howe—Quarrel of that General with the Electors of Nottingham—General Burgoyne and his Previous Career—England and the European Powers—Views of France on the American Quarrel—Proceedings of the Second Massachusetts Congress—The New Englanders and their Religious Ministers—Opinions of a Loyalist—Reply by John Adams—Assemblage at the Old South Meeting House to Commemorate the Boston "Massacre"—Retaliation by the Troops—Second Convention of Virginia—Speech of Patrick Henry—Resolution of the Virginian Convention to Aid the National Defence—Menaces of the Governor, Lord Dunmore—The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts—George III. and John Wilkes—Position of New York towards the Other Colonies—Severe Instructions sent out to General Gage at Boston—Insurrectionary State of the Provinces—Lord Chatham on American Subordination—Conciliatory Proposals despatched from England.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grave facts which were continually being reported from America, and the conviction of the King and his Ministers that at any rate Massachusetts was in rebellion, the British Government seemed unwilling to regard the state of affairs as really dangerous. Gage, who, being on the spot, knew well the temper and capabilities of the people, had urgently required twenty thousand men for meeting the gathering forces of the revolution; but the authorities at home denied his request, and made light of his fears. Lord Dartmouth wrote to him, early in 1775, that the violences committed by the malcontents seemed to be but the acts of a rude rabble, without plan or concert, and that a smaller force than what had been asked for would be sufficient. The best plan, he told Gage, would be to arrest and imprison the persons principally concerned in the Provincial Congress; and he believed that this measure, if kept secret until the moment of execution, could hardly fail of success. Even should bloodshed follow, and actual hostilities commence, the efforts of the people, in the opinion of the Colonial Minister, could not be very formidable, as the Americans must necessarily be unprepared for encountering a regular force. "The charter for the province of Massachusetts Bay," he remarked, "empowers the Governor to use and exercise the law martial in time of rebellion. The Attorney and Solicitor-General report that the facts stated are the history of an actual and open rebellion; and therefore the exercise of that power upon your own discretion is strictly justifiable." In using this language, Dartmouth was carrying out the personal instructions of the King. It was resolved to dare the Americans to the uttermost; but it was not believed that their powers of resistance had become considerable.

This was in January. By February, Ministers were less confident, and it was resolved to raise the army in Boston to ten thousand men, and to supersede Gage—not, indeed, nominally, but practically—by a General of greater capacity. The command was in the first instance offered to Amherst, but he refused unless he were placed at the head of twenty thousand troops—so far confirming the judgment of the officer about to be removed. It is said to have been also offered to General Oglethorpe, who would undertake the task only on condition of being furnished with powers of concession and conciliation, which were denied him. The post was then accepted by Sir William Howe, from whom the Americans had been led to expect a very different course. When returned for Nottingham at the recent general election, he had given it as his opinion that the Government had gone too far in their American policy, and that the whole of the British army would not be sufficient to conquer America; and he added that, if offered a command there, he would refuse it. He seems to have recollected these words when informed of his appointment. A sense of inconsistency made him hesitate, and he asked if the command came to him as a mere offer, or as a mandate from the King. On hearing that it was the latter, he said it was his duty to obey; but the electors of Nottingham construed his duty after a different fashion. He had gained his seat by promising to support the Americans, and to vote for the repeal of the four penal Acts of Parliament; and he was now told that he should have refused to act against a people which had shown its gratitude to his name and family by erecting a monument to his brother. Some enthusiasts even went so far as to express a hope that he might fall in the expedition. Howe excused himself by alleging that he was ordered to go, and had no choice; and he argued, in an address to the electors, that it was necessary to secure the stability of English rule in America by promoting a lasting obedience.

Under his command, Howe had two Major-Generals, whose names became conspicuous in American history—Sir Henry Clinton and John Burgoyne. Clinton was a scion of the ducal houses of Newcastle and Bedford, and son of a former Governor of New York. Burgoyne was a man of something more than ordinary ability, and his life had in it that touch of wildness and romance which helps to bring out the most adventurous side of a soldier's nature. While still a very young man, he contracted a clandestine marriage



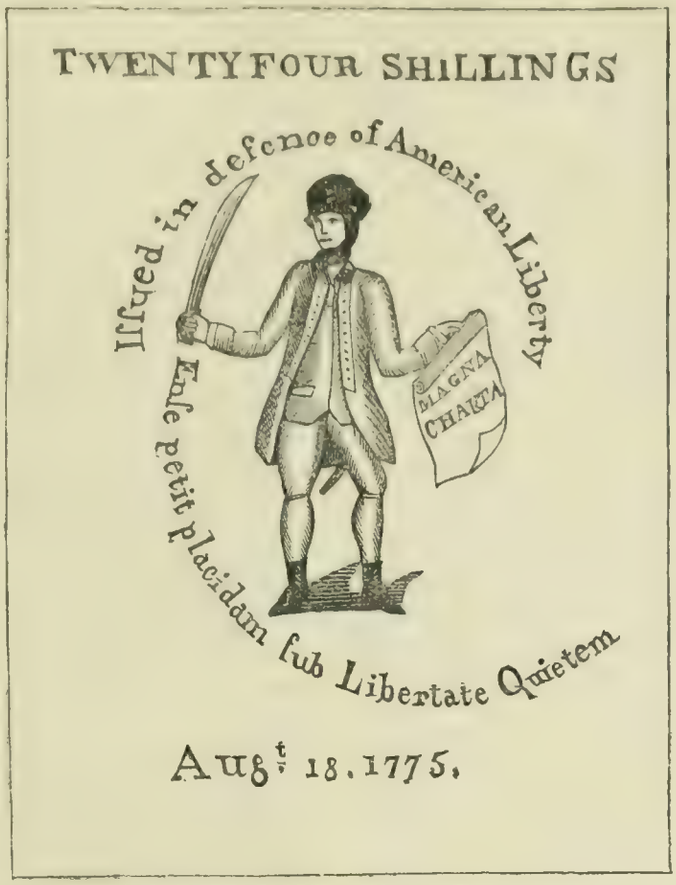
VIEW OF BOSTON FROM BUNKER'S HILL.

with Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, but ultimately made his peace with the offended parent. Afterwards, he distinguished himself as an officer at the taking of Belle-Isle, and, in association with the Portuguese, won high credit for daring courage in a successfnl attack on the Spanish town of Alcantara, during the war with Spain. On his return to England, he served in Parliament, and, though inclining to the Liberal side in politics, fell under the lash of "Junius," as a presumed partisan of the Duke of Grafton. Burgoyne possessed a ready talent, which, had he cultivated it more, might have given him a higher position than he now occupies in the world of intellect. He spoke with facility, and was the author of dramatic pieces and poems which are yet remembered among the productions of that age. His military abilities were not of the highest order; but they were respectable, and his courage was beyond reproach. Sir William Howe had no reason to be discontented with either of his subordinates.

It being now evident that war was afoot, instructions were sent out to the English consuls and agents in every port of Europe to intercept all munitions of war destined for the colonies. Apprehension was felt that the Dutch would form magazines on the island of St. Eustatius, one of their West Indian possessions, to which the merchant-vessels of New England were in the habit of resorting. The States-General of Holland were therefore peremptorily required to forbid their people to transport military stores to the West Indies, beyond the absolute wants of the colonies. The French Government was addressed to the same effect, but in more guarded and ceremonious language; and the Ambassador of France requested that rigorous and precise orders might be given to all British naval officers not to annoy the commerce of the French colonies. Such orders, it was replied, had already been given; but a feeling of distrust had grown up between the two Powers, and each thought the other insincere in its professions of friendship. France was at that time represented at London by a Minister who watched the progress of events with much shrewdness, and kept his Government well-informed of the position of parties, the fluctuations of opinion, and the views, hopes, and resources of the colonists, as represented to him by their agents. His reports were always very favourable to the Americans, and strongly against the ability of England to suppress rebellion, or to break down the opposition that had grown to such alarming dimensions on the other side of the Atlantic. Louis XVI. and his Ministers were hoping for an opportunity of recovering Canada, and the more far-seeing already contemplated the possibility of French aid being rendered to the insurgent colonists in their battle with the waning power of England.

In America, every week added to the enthusiasm of the people, and Massachusetts still kept the lead. The members of the second Congress of that province took a fresh step in their career of resistance on the 9th of February—the day on which King George received the joint address of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Eleven men were appointed by the Congress as a committee of safety, charged to resist every attempt to execute the Acts of Parliament; and to these men was confided the task of guarding the warlike stores of the province, making returns of the militia and minute-men, and mustering as many of the former as they should consider necessary. General officers were appointed to the command of this force; and among them was the gallant Seth Pomroy, who thirty years before had distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg. The Congress passed resolutions for procuring and making fire-arms and bayonets; directed the establishment of a provincial arsenal at Concord; decreed an issue of provincial bills of credit to the amount of £50,000; and published an address informing the people that, from the large reinforcements of troops that were expected at Boston, the tenor of intelligence from England, and other indications, they had reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of the colony was intended. With regard to taxes, they did not feel that their powers enabled them to make any demand of that nature; but they recommended the people to pay all their provincial taxes to a treasurer of their own appointment. No work was to be done for the English troops, nor were any supplies to be furnished them; and, to counteract the designs of the Home Government with regard to the Canadians and Indians, communications were opened with the province of Quebec through the committee of correspondence of Boston. It is certain that at this time the Massachusetts people contemplated employing Indian auxiliaries against the King's troops—a resource which had already occurred to the other side as one which might be turned to account. During the sitting of the second Massachusetts Congress, it was ordered that a secret letter should be written to a missionary much esteemed by the Indians in the western parts of New York, entreating him to use his influence with them to join the patriots in the defence of American rights. The letter, which remained secret for more than fifty years, was dated from Concord (a place

with a very inappropriate name), April 4th, 1775.* "It is worthy of remark," says an impartial English historian, "that the Massachusetts delegates, the framers of this very letter, were among those who expressed the highest astonishment and indignation when, at a later period, a similar policy was adopted on the British side."† To each of the converted Indians domiciled at Stockbridge, the Massachusetts Congress voted a blanket and a ribbon as a testimony of affection, which was further expressed in a message affirming that they were all brothers; and the Indians thus flattered promised to intercede with the Six Nations on behalf of the colonists. The session of the Congress lasted rather more than a fortnight, and one of its latest acts was to appoint a fast day. On the bills of credit, issued in consequence of the decrees of this Assembly, was represented an American grasping a sword, and pointing to the words of Algernon Sidney—*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* (With the sword he seeks quiet rest under the protection of liberty).



THE AMERICAN BILL OF CREDIT.

The warlike measures of the colony were now pursued with ardour. Artillery and provisions were collected at various places, and the clergy, as in days of old, roused the popular spirit by fervid religious appeals, and allusions calculated to induce the opinion that the patriots of New England were the special favourites of heaven, and that consequently their cause was certain to prevail. The English were bidden to beware of fighting against the Lord God of their fathers, for they should not prosper. The spirit of the English Republicans of the days of Charles I. and Cromwell was revived in their American descendants, and the very language they employed was the same. The people of Massachusetts were still profoundly steeped in Biblical lore, and the phraseology of the Old Testament came naturally to their lips on all occasions of importance. But some generations of commercial life had created in their midst a number of more worldly minded thinkers, who preferred to stand well with the Government, rather than with the popular party. One of these, named Daniel Leonard, argued in favour of Imperial taxation, denied that there was any grievance, and, pointing to the prosperity of the country, asked where was the hardship of having to pay a trifling tax on tea. The consequences of rebellion he painted in alarming colours. The country, he said, could not possibly resist the might of England. It would be over-run, torn to pieces, drenched in blood, and utterly ruined. The colonies would never unite; multitudes of the raw, untrained militia would be unable to prevail against a small British army; the southern provinces had enough to do to keep down their slaves; the Canadians and savages would devastate the back settlements; and the loyally-disposed would flock by thousands to the Royal standards. It is impossible not to perceive that there was a good deal of plausibility in these representations; yet the mass of the American people could reason more correctly.

John Adams was their spokesman on this occasion, in reply to the faint-hearted views of Daniel Leonard. In some remarks which he addressed to his countrymen on the causes of the coming war, and on the prospects of the American communities, he said:—"If Great Britain were united, she could not subdue a country a thousand leagues off. How many years, how many millions, did it take to conquer the poor province of Canada, which yet would never have submitted but on a capitulation, securing religion and property? But Great Britain is not united against us. Millions in England and Scotland think it unrighteous, impolitic, and ruinous to make war upon us; and a Minister, though he may have a marble heart, will proceed

* Mr. Sparks has printed the document in full, from the MS. Journals of the Massachusetts Congress, in the Appendix to his edition of Washington's Writings, Vol. III.

† Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 52.

with a desponding spirit. London has bound her members under their hands to assist us; Bristol has chosen two known friends of America; many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are for us, and among them a St. Asaph, a Camden, and a Chatham; the best Bishop that adorns the bench, as great a judge as the nation can boast, and the greatest statesman it ever saw." Adams denied that the Parliament of England had authority over America. It had none by Old or New Testament law; none by the law of nature or of nations; none by the common law of England; none by the statute law, since no statute for that purpose had been made before the settlement of the provinces, and the declaratory Act of 1766 had been passed, without the consent of the colonists, by a Parliament which, according to the contention of John Adams, had no authority beyond the four seas. Ireland was ruled by England because it was a conquered country; but America had never been conquered by Great Britain, nor had she ever consented to be a State dependent on the British Parliament. Passing from the question of right to the chances of the future, Adams observed:—

"Should the nation suffer the Minister to persevere in his madness, and send fire and sword against us, we have men enough to defend ourselves. The colonies south of Pennsylvania have a back country, inhabited by a hardy, robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New England, and habituated, like multitudes of New England men, to carry their rifles on one shoulder to defend themselves against the savages, while they carry their axes, scythes, and hoes upon the other. We have manufacturers of fire-arms; powder has been made here; nor could the whole British navy prevent the importation of arms and ammunition. The new-fangled militia will have the discipline and subordination of regular troops. A navy might burn a sea-port town, but will the Minister be nearer his mark? At present we hold the power of the Canadians as nothing; their dispositions, moreover, are not unfriendly to us. The savages will be more likely to be our friends than our enemies. The two characteristics of this people, religion and humanity, are strongly marked in all their proceedings. We are not exciting a rebellion. Resistance by arms against usurpation and lawless violence is not rebellion by the law of God or the land. Resistance to lawful authority makes rebellion. Hampden, Russell, Sidney, Holt, Somers, Tillotson, were no rebels. If an Act of Parliament is null and void, it is lawful to resist it. This people, under great trials and dangers, have discovered great abilities and virtues, and that nothing is so terrible to them as the loss of their liberties. They act for America and posterity. If there is no possible medium between absolute independence and subjection to the authority of Parliament, all North America are convinced of their independence, and determined to defend it at all hazards."

In the main, the arguments of Adams were just; but in denying to the English Parliament any control over America, he denied the right of all mother countries over their dependencies. The right of the United States to make laws for their Territories might be questioned on the same grounds. The Americans were in the main the descendants of British subjects, dwelling in what was at that time a part of the territory of England. As their ancestors could not, by their removal from one part of English territory to another, divest themselves of their allegiance, so they themselves still remained subject to England. That this subjection was not to the King only, but to the State, resulted from the change effected at the Revolution of 1688, which bound up the authority of the monarch with that of the Parliament. The change had been accepted at the time by the Americans, and could not be repudiated, except by an act of rebellion. Parliament may have pushed its powers too far, and may thus have justified in the Americans that right of insurrection which, in the last resort, belongs indefeasibly to all people; but, on legal and constitutional grounds, the jurisdiction of Parliament, whatever its limitations, could not be utterly denied.

The winter wore away in preparations for strife on both sides; but those preparations were much more vigorous on the part of the colonists than on that of the British officials. Assistance flowed in to Massachusetts from the other colonies, and a determination to die in defence of the common liberty was very generally expressed. In the north, Gage looked on with that indolent good-nature which he occasionally varied by unsuccessful attempts at severity. It cannot be said that his forbearance was met by any exhibition of a similar feeling on the part of the New Englanders. On the contrary, they lost no opportunity of irritating the authorities by every demonstration of their sentiments which it was possible to make. The military were insulted with the utmost elaboration of studied affront, and deserve some credit for the self-control which for the most part they exhibited. Any one considered favourable to Government was liable to intimidation and to actual outrage. Tarring and feathering was frequently practised, and it was a much-approved device to smear the houses of

the loyal with filth, so as to render them almost uninhabitable.* That the leading Americans of that day did not directly incite to these vexatious forms of terrorism, is doubtless true; that they did little or nothing to check them, but, on the contrary, encouraged the state of mind out of which they issued, is equally certain.

Having succeeded, on the 26th of February, in checking the advance of a body of soldiers sent to Salem in quest of military stores, the patriotic party were emboldened to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the collision between the troops and the people which had occurred on the 5th of March, 1770, and which they thought fit to designate as a massacre. A large number of Bostonians assembled at the old South Meeting House, and were addressed by Joseph Warren, who chose for the text of his speech the evil effects of standing armies in time of peace. The holding of such a meeting at all was against one of the recent Acts of Parliament; but this of course added zest to the performance. Some forty officers of the English army and navy were present, and were placed by Samuel Adams, who occupied the position of moderator, in conspicuous positions on the platform, close to the speaker. Warren made an inflammatory address, the real purport of which was but thinly disguised by obviously insincere expressions of a desire to remain united with Great Britain. This most imprudent, if not actually malicious, piece of declamation was heard by the officers with exemplary patience; but, on a motion being made to appoint an orator for the ensuing year, "to commemorate the horrid massacre," they began to hiss. The people threatened vengeance, and there would probably have been a riot on the spot, had not Adams, by his influence with the citizens, managed to restore order. But, although a collision was thus avoided, the military were greatly exasperated by what they could not help regarding as a set purpose of provocation. They determined to adopt the favourite custom of their adversaries, and to subject the obnoxious to the brutal practice of tarring and feathering. A countryman who had bought an old firelock from a private, in contravention of an Act of Parliament which forbade trading with soldiers, was paraded through the streets in that ignominious state, surrounded by a guard with fixed bayonets, playing "Yankee Doodle" in derision.† Samuel Adams took great credit to his fellow-citizens for their virtuous self-control in putting up with such indignities, rather than precipitate a crisis. He said nothing of the numberless provocations by which this counter-provocation had been preceded.

In Virginia, there was some hesitation as to supporting Massachusetts to the extent of actual fighting. The second convention of the former province assembled on the 20th of March; but, although the proceedings of the Continental Congress were approved, it was doubted by some whether it would be prudent to adopt a motion by Patrick Henry, that the colony be immediately put into a posture of defence, and that a committee prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and subjecting to discipline, as many men as might be sufficient for that purpose. Could a non-military people, it was asked, stand up against one of the most formidable nations in the world? It would be time enough to fly to arms when all hope of peace had vanished. Patrick Henry, in impassioned language, replied that they had tried argument, entreaty, supplication, remonstrance—all in vain. They had petitioned the Throne, and had been spurned from it. To indulge the hope of reconciliation was therefore idle. "There is no longer any room for hope," said Henry in emphatic tones. "We must *fight*. I repeat it, sir—we *must* fight. An appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us. We are not weak if we make use of those means which the God of Nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as ours, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged: their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable—let it come! Gentlemen may cry, Peace, peace!—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms." For himself, Henry added, he chose either liberty or death; and it is related that, as he spoke, his features glowed, and were transfigured by the light of intense emotion. His burning words had a prodigious effect on the convention; and his appeal was strengthened by the expression of a confident belief that they would not fight their battles alone—that God would raise up friends to aid them.

The arguments and exhortations of Patrick Henry were supported by Richard Henry Lee, who, estimating the force which England had at her command, gave it as his opinion that the resources of America were fully able to cope with it. In the end, the resolutions were adopted, and a

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 48.

† The term "Yankee" is supposed to be an Indian corruption of the word "English" or "Anglois." The grotesque designation of the American national air has been explained in various ways, but none very satisfactory.

committee was formed for carrying them into effect. Henry Lee, Washington, and Jefferson, were among the members of this committee, which in a few days produced a plan for the creation of a militia that should be in constant training and readiness. After re-appointing their former delegates to the Continental Congress which was to meet in May, and carrying several resolutions for the encouragement of provincial manufactures, and for the making of gunpowder, iron, and steel, the convention broke up. As Lee was bidding farewell

Drums were beaten through the city; the men of the independent company stood to their arms; and the Mayor and corporation asked the Governor for an explanation of what he had done. There had been a rumour that Dunmore, if driven to extremities by a popular revolt, would excite an insurrection among the slaves; and this naturally made the municipal authorities all the more alarmed at the seizure of the powder. They demanded that it should be restored. "The whole country," replied Dunmore, after some attempts at equivocation,



A COUNTRYMAN TARRED AND FEATHERED.

to two of his colleagues, who were standing in the porch of the capitol, he wrote with a pencil on one of the pillars:—

> "When shall we three meet again
> In thunder, lightning, or in rain?—
> When the hurlyburly's done,
> *When the battle's lost and won.*"

The Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, who, as we have seen, had for a time been very popular with the people, because of the aid he gave to their designs on western territory, became alarmed at the proceedings of the convention; and certainly not without cause. He seized the gunpowder stored in the provincial magazine at Williamsburg, and created a serious agitation in consequence.

"can easily be made a solitude; and, by the living God! if any insult is offered to me, or to those who have obeyed my orders, I will declare freedom to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes." The Virginians, however, were not prepared to submit tamely to the act of the Governor, and it was proposed by some hot spirits in various parts of the country to march on Williamsburg. On hearing that some were already on their way, Dunmore charged the magistrates on their allegiance to stop the march of these avengers, on pain of his executing the threats which he had previously uttered, and which he now repeated. That the project was really entertained by him is proved by a communication to Lord Dartmouth, in which he proposed



PURSUIT OF PAUL REVERE, THE SCOUT.

to reduce the colonists to submission by means of a force of Indians and negroes, acting in conjunction with a small body of troops. On the advice of Washington and Peyton Randolph, the patriots who had assembled in arms at Fredericksburg on the 29th of April agreed to disperse; and the danger was averted. But, ere the volunteers disbanded, they entered into a solemn pledge to one another to reassemble at a moment's warning, if either Virginia or any sister colony should require protection.

The inevitable collision, however, was fast coming on. Sunday, the 2nd of April, had seen the arrival at Marblehead of two vessels bringing the news that both Houses of Parliament had bound themselves to suppress the rising rebellion in America, and that severe military and other measures were to be resorted to. The Provincial Congress, on the very next day, required the attendance of all absent members, and directed the towns not yet represented to send members without delay. They then proceeded to the organisation of their military resources, and, while forbidding anything which might seem like the commencement of hostilities, authorised the militia to act on the defensive. The adjournment took place on the 15th of April, and the country awaited, in grim yet quiet expectation, the bursting of the storm. In England, the King and the Court party looked forward with entire confidence to the result. A large proportion of the people still adhered to the Ministerial view of the quarrel, and believed that the national honour required the subjugation of rebellious colonists. But there were by this time many others who held that England was not justified in taxing the Americans without their sanction, and then making war on them because they resisted. To some extent a reaction had taken place in public feeling since the determination of the Government to draw the sword. This may be attributable in part to the effect of those eloquent speeches in Parliament which had flowed from the lips of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Colonel Barré, and other advocates of the colonial cause; but it is doubtless also to be referred in a degree to that natural feeling of repugnance to a fratricidal war which is never utterly wanting in a great and manly nation. Lord Camden, writing to Chatham on the 12th of February, 1775, said that the lower classes held the approaching war in abhorrence; that the merchants and tradesmen, from interested motives, were against it; but that the landed interest was almost entirely anti-American. It is doubtful, however, whether all the trading classes were opposed to the war, and it is probable that the majority of the nation were in favour of coercive measures. Still, the opponents of such a policy were numerous, and they made themselves heard. On the 10th of April, Wilkes, in his capacity of Lord Mayor, approached the Throne, together with the aldermen and livery of London, in order to present a remonstrance against the proposed measures with reference to America, and to request his Majesty to dismiss his advisers on the instant, as the first step towards a redress of grievances which alarmed and afflicted his people. The King replied:—"It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in my Parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdom." A few days afterwards, the King, who was seriously offended by the remonstrance which had been presented to him, especially when submitted by the hand of Wilkes, issued a notice that he would not receive any address from the city except in its corporate capacity. The address, it seems, had been got up by a minority of the livery, the greater number of whom were in favour of the Ministerial measures.

The King placed great dependence on the disinclination of New York to join the other colonies in resistance to England. He also hoped to detach North Carolina and Georgia by special favours; and, in order to propitiate the Highlanders of the old 47th Regiment, then settled in the former of these provinces, he sent out one Allan Maclean as an agent for working on their loyalty. But neither North Carolina nor Georgia was disposed to abandon the general cause of the colonists; and even New York counted many malcontents, who only awaited their opportunity to become rebels. The Assembly had, indeed, refused to elect delegates to another Congress; but the people took the matter into their own hands, and, by large majorities, chose forty-one delegates to a convention which should represent the real wishes of the province. This convention re-elected all the members of the first Congress but one, with a view to their attending the second, and charged them to "concert measures for the preservation of American rights, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." It is probable that, for reasons already described, New York was less willing to proceed to extremities than many of the other settlements; yet it was not nearly so loyal as the King and his

advisers supposed. Its heterogeneous population was full of pent-up fires, which at any moment a spark might kindle.

Nevertheless, it was in Massachusetts that the chief danger lay, and it was there that the Government determined to strike their hardest blow. On the 15th of April, instructions were sent out to Gage to take possession of every colonial fort; to seize and secure all military stores collected by the rebels; to arrest and imprison such as should be thought to have committed treason; to repress rebellion by force; to make the public safety the first object of consideration; and to substitute more coercive measures for ordinary forms of procedure, without pausing to obtain the aid of a civil magistrate. The General was invested with the power of granting pardon in certain cases; but clemency was not to be extended to the president of the Massachusetts Congress (which was described as a "seditious meeting"), nor to its principal members, who were to be tried for their offences, either in America or England.* It is easy to blame these instructions, and to denounce their cruelty; and certainly the acts of the British Government which had created the feeling they were designed to check, are, in the main, beyond defence. But matters had come to such a pass that some vigorous exercise of authority was absolutely needful. The representatives of the Sovereign were habitually defied. Illegal assemblies were being held with systematic precision. Preparations for civil war were openly made. The armed forces of rebellion held possession of the country. The press teemed with seditious writing. The loyal were silenced by a species of terrorism; and insult, outrage, and menace flourished with scarcely a check. If the authority of the mother country was to be asserted at all, it was imperative to make the assertion with emphasis and power. Anything less decisive was certain beforehand to be attended by disastrous failure and accumulated discredit.

Chatham himself, as far back as 1770—and matters had grown far worse since then—had warned the Americans that some of them were going too far. In a speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 2nd of March of that year, he had said:—"I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must also own that I find fault with them in many things. I think they carry matters too far, they have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill judged. Trade is your object with them, and they should be encouraged. But (I wish every sensible American, both here and in that country, heard what I say), if they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do—if they will not be subject to the laws of this country—especially if they will disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms,—much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opposer than they will find in me. They must be subordinate. In all laws relating to trade and navigation especially, this is the mother country- they are the children; they must obey, and we prescribe. It is necessary; for in these cases, between two countries so circumstanced as these two are, there must be something more than connection—there must be subordination, there must be obedience, there must be dependence." Lord Chatham was unfortunate in his selection of the Trade and Navigation Laws as illustrations of the legitimate subordination of the colonies to England; for those laws were amongst the most cruel interferences of the mother country with her possessions. But his main principle was correct, and it was every day being more openly defied by the Americans. The chief seat of this rebellious spirit was Massachusetts; yet it was to be found strongly developed in other provinces as well. The Royal authority was almost at an end, except in a few localities. Men still talked of their desire to preserve the old connection with the land of their ancestry; but they repudiated every means by which that connection might be made efficacious. Nor were they disposed to listen to the most liberal offers of conciliation. "An Address of the People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America," written by Sir John Dalrymple at the request of Lord North, was sent out in the spring of 1775. It contained a renunciation of the right of taxing the colonists; promised that they should be allowed to appoint their own judges, and pay them from their own resources; offered the perpetuation of existing charters; and proposed to take the first step in concession, if the colonists would not. Yet the Americans do not seem to have cared even to inquire how far this document had a really official character. Dissension had ripened into rage, and the first blood of civil war was on the eve of being shed.

* Bancroft.

CHAPTER XVII.

Determination of General Gage to seize the Military Stores at Concord—Preparations of the Massachusetts People for resisting the Attempt—Scouts sent out to rouse the Neighbouring Towns—Gathering of Volunteers on Lexington Common—Approach of the British Troops—Collision of the Soldiers and the People at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775—The Moral of that Event—The Troops at Concord—The Fight at that Town—Disastrous Retreat of the British—A Breathless Flight and Pursuit—Return of the Discomfited Forces to Boston—Losses of the British and the Americans—Effects of the American Victory—Gathering of Provincial Troops for the Blockade of Boston—Gage shut up within his Lines of Defence—Composition and Character of the New England Army—Want of Warlike Commodities, and Scarcity of Money—Large Emissions of Paper—Proceedings at New York on Receipt of the News from Massachusetts—Address of the General Committee to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London—Patrick Henry and the Virginians—The Spirit of the South—Rebellion general throughout the Land.

General Gage, roused at length from his apathy by the increasing perils of the time, resolved to strike a blow against the warlike preparations of the enemy. The Massachusetts Congress adjourned on the 15th of April, 1775, and, on the afternoon of that day, Gage (at the repeated solicitations, it is said, of the Massachusetts loyalists) made arrangements for an expedition to destroy the colony's stores at Concord, an inland town, rather more than eighteen miles from Boston. This was not unknown to the popular leaders, who took measures to obstruct the attempt. A portion of the gunpowder was removed; the cannon were hidden; and signals were concerted for announcing the first despatch of troops towards Concord. The English General probably knew nothing of these countermeasures, and, at any rate, enough powder still remained in the arsenal to make the enterprise worth undertaking. On the night of the 18th of April, about eight hundred of the Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Marines crossed in boats from Boston Common to East Cambridge, situated on the opposite side of a creek which there runs up from the sea, and forms the outlet of the river Charles. Being then provided with a day's provisions, they passed the marshes, and gained the road to Concord. Along this road, several English officers had posted themselves at various points, in the hope of intercepting any expresses that might be despatched from Boston to rouse the country; but Joseph Warren had already sent out scouts in the directions of Lexington and Charleston, and they had spread the alarm before the troops were in motion. As the expedition was leaving Cambridge, a voice from the crowd of sight-seers was heard to say that the soldiers would miss their aim. An English officer asked "what aim?" "The cannon at Concord," replied the speaker. The remark was at once reported to General Gage, who ordered that no one should be suffered to leave the town; but the precaution came too late. Paul Revere, the scout who had been despatched along the road to Charleston, was very nearly captured by two officers; but he contrived to elude them, and, riding rapidly through the little town of Medford, he waked the minute-men of that place, and kept knocking at doors as he passed on until he reached Lexington.

The night was now some way advanced. The clear darkness of an April sky was faintly illuminated by a setting moon; and, as the soldiers plodded through the country ways which lay between them and Concord, they were startled by the sudden apparition of two lights streaming from the tower of the North Church in Boston across the dusky stretch of marsh and meadow-land that lay beyond,—by the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and the rapid and sharp volleying of small arms. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, who was in command of the expedition, considered it prudent to send back for a reinforcement; but, meanwhile, the news of what was on foot spread like wildfire along the road to Concord, and, although Revere, and another scout named Dawes, were captured by the English, and detained for a short time, the exciting intelligence reached the place of storage by two o'clock on the morning of the 19th, and young and old were soon on the alert. The hasty summons rolled on from town to town, from village to village, from homestead to homestead. It wakened the sleepers in solitary farmhouses, no less than in the close ways of humble boroughs. Men started from their beds at the cry of danger, or at the clash of bells from the meeting-house. The whole country-side was roused; and from many scattered localities a small band of resolute patriots drew together, and prepared to repel the threatened danger. In the early hours of the morning, about a hundred and thirty of the Lexington men assembled on the common of that town, under the command of John Parker, who ordered the members of his little force to load with powder and ball, but not to be the first to fire. As nothing was seen of the approaching troops, a watch was set, and the company dispersed, with strict injunctions to remain within call, should they be required. It was not long ere several were again drawn towards the common by the necessity of action.

Day was nearly breaking when the foremost ranks

of the English regulars were seen advancing quickly, under the orders of Major Pitcairn, of the Marines. At this time, it would appear, there were not more than sixty or seventy of the Lexington men on the common, the rest having failed to obey the summons to re-assemble. The troops halted, that their comrades might have time to come up; and, hearing the alarm-guns, they began to load. The whole column having re-united, Major Pitcairn ordered his men to charge, and, riding forward at their head, addressed the Americans. He is said, according to adverse narratives, to have exclaimed, "Disperse, ye villains! ye rebels, disperse! lay down your arms! why don't you lay down your arms, and disperse?"* Whether he used this precise language is doubtful;† but he certainly called on the assembled militia-men to disarm and separate, as, indeed, he was in duty bound to do. The summons was unheeded, except by a few who began to break the ranks; and Pitcairn ordered his troops to fire. On the English side it is alleged that this order was not given until the troops were themselves fired on from behind a stone wall, and from the adjacent houses; the Americans assert that the firing came first from the English. However this may be, the discharge of musketry, accompanied by the loud cheers of the soldiers and their rapid advance, struck terror into the unseasoned and ill-disciplined militia-men. They soon turned and fled, leaving several of their number dead or wounded on the ground; then, rallying for a moment, they returned the fire of their adversaries, wounding one soldier, and striking Major Pitcairn's horse. Anything like effectual resistance, however, was in vain, and thus the first armed collision between the people and the troops ended badly for the former. The incident was gloomy and mournful enough; but it has led to a vast amount of idle and misleading declamation. Men have written as if the slain on this occasion were an army of martyrs, who, while engaged in some peaceful or even religious pursuit, were suddenly set upon and murdered without resistance. Even assuming the truth of the accounts most favourable to the American side, this is clearly far from being the case. The Massachusetts people had in the first instance stored up several materials of war, with a view to carrying on hostilities against the Sovereign Power, under certain contingencies. They had then made preparations for opposing the march of troops towards the town where these stores had been collected. They placed themselves, with arms in their hands, in the way of those troops; and, when summoned to disperse and to lay down their weapons, they refused. Even if we admit that the first firing did not come from their side (and the point is doubtful), it is obvious that, as regards this particular collision, the Americans themselves created a state of war, and had no right to complain if they suffered the consequences which a state of war usually entails.

After drawing up for a brief time on the village green of Lexington, and cheering with very unnecessary and (as it afterwards proved) premature exultation, the troops hurried on to Concord. The men of that town were already busily engaged hiding cannon and military stores, while the women and children were seeking shelter in the neighbouring woods. The alarm-company rallied near the liberty pole on the hill, and were joined by a number of minute-men from the adjacent towns of Lincoln and Acton. On seeing the approach of the British, and observing that they greatly outnumbered their own forces, the Americans retreated across the river Concord to some high ground about a mile from the middle of the town. The troops reached Concord at seven o'clock in the morning, when the Light Infantry took up a position along the hills, and the Grenadiers on the lower road. Search was made for arms and powder, but without any great success, as the larger part of the stores had been removed. However, the soldiers were enabled to spike three cannon, and to throw into the river five hundred pounds of ball and sixty barrels of flour, together with some gunpowder; but, while they were performing this duty, the Concord men had been reinforced by others from the surrounding towns, so that they now numbered about four hundred. American accounts state that private dwellings were rifled by the English; but Colonel Smith, in his despatch to General Gage, says that both he and Major Pitcairn did their utmost to convince the people that they meant them no injury, and that, if they opened their doors when required for the purposes of the search, no mischief would be done. "We had opportunities," writes this officer, "of convincing them of our good intentions; but they were sulky, and one of them even struck Major Pitcairn." The balance of evidence is in favour of the assumption that the troops, on the whole, behaved with remarkable forbearance under very trying circumstances; but it is certain that the Americans were determined the day should not pass quietly. Seeing smoke rising from the town, and conceiving that it had been set on fire, they resolved to attack the intruders. The English soldiers had in fact burned the liberty-pole of the place, together with several carriages for artillery, and the flames had communicated to the court-house,

* Bancroft. † Earl Stanhope's History of England.

where, however, they were speedily extinguished. Barrett, the colonel in command of the American forces, gave the word to advance, but, it is said, told his men not to fire unless they were actually attacked. Marching in double file, and trailing their arms, the minute-men and militia, after a moment's hesitation, moved towards the bridge, which the English soldiers, seeing what was intended, began to destroy by taking up the planks that formed the roadway. The Americans pressed forward in manifestly hostile array, and were received by a few shots, one of which killed Isaac Davis, the captain of the minute-men of Acton, who, at daybreak, had taken leave of his young wife with words of solemn farewell. The name of this brave man is cherished in the United States with great affection, as one of the earliest heroes of the War of Independence. His widow lived to be more than ninety years old, and died in comparatively modern times, after seeing the American Republic great and prosperous, the memory of her husband honoured by the recognition of Congress, and herself aided by the country with whose history she was so pathetically associated.*

The action of the British produced on the Americans the effect that might have been expected. Major John Buttrick, of Concord, exclaimed, "Fire, fellow-soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" The word ran, like fire itself, along the line, and a ringing volley leapt out from the levelled pieces. The troops at the bridge fell back in disorder on the main body, and the whole force, having accomplished as much of the original design as was practicable, and seeing that the town and country were roused, began to retire, after half an hour's hesitation. The retreat, after awhile, lost its first character, and became a rout. The English were seized with an irrational panic, for which, as yet, there was insufficient cause; and this emboldened the militia and volunteers to dash forward in pursuit. A cry was raised by the Americans that the "lobsters" were afraid of them. In a little while, numerous armed men, posted behind trees and walls, and in houses on the line of march, poured an incessant and galling, though irregular, fire into the retreating ranks of the English. In front, on both flanks, and in the rear, a rain of shot burst forth, and the adversary was so well concealed that it was impossible to reply with effect. The line of retreat on Lexington was by a narrow and winding road, six miles in length, passing over hills and between thickets of trees, which offered admirable coverture for the lurking marksman. Every advantage was taken of these positions, and the regulars suffered severely. Now and then they turned, and checked the enemy; but it was only for a moment. One woody defile succeeded another; and from rock and knoll and hurst, from budding hedge and grey stone wall, the stinging fire leapt out, as if the earth itself had changed into a deadly foe. The retreat was very like that of Braddock's army from before Fort Duquesne. It was a rout of terrified men, varied occasionally by frenzied contests with an unseen antagonist. Colonel Smith, in his despatch to General Gage, taunts the Americans with not having made one gallant attempt during the whole action, and with keeping under cover, although his troops were so much fatigued. It cannot, however, be fairly said of them in this respect that they did more than avail themselves of the opportunities for effective action which they found. For the common credit of humanity we must hope that another charge made by Colonel Smith was founded on misinformation. "In this affair," he records, "it appears that, after the bridge was quitted, they [the Americans] scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded, being seen by a party that marched by soon after."†

As they approached Lexington, the retreating troops quickened their pace to a run, and seemed to think of nothing but saving their lives. They had expended nearly all their ammunition, yet were quite unable to shake off their pursuers. The officers endeavoured to check their flight; but it was not until they had got a little beyond the scene of the early morning's encounter that they were once more reduced to something like order. At this point, some officers succeeded in getting to the front, and, by menaces of death, began to form their ranks afresh. But the fire of the concealed enemy was still extremely hot, and it is more than doubtful whether the companies would have rallied, had not assistance very opportunely arrived. The wounded were beginning to drop from loss of blood, and the flanking parties were so fatigued that they could no longer act with vigour. Fortunately, General Gage, on hearing of the opposition which his forces had experienced at Lexington in the morning, had sent forward a reinforcement, consisting of sixteen companies from the 4th, 23rd, and 49th Regiments, and some Marines, with two field-pieces. This detachment, which numbered about twelve hundred men, was under the command of Earl Percy, who reached the neighbourhood of

* Bancroft.

† It is probably to some such incident, in a less exaggerated form, that Mr. Bancroft alludes when he says that "one wounded soldier, attempting to rise as if to escape, was struck on the head by a young man with a hatchet."

Lexington a little after two o'clock in the afternoon, just at the moment when the defeated army under Colonel Smith had rushed in disorderly flight through the town, and was being to some extent rallied by its commanding officers. Percy's artillery at once opened fire upon the pursuers, and the new-comers formed into a hollow square for the reception of the fugitives, who, scared, panting, and utterly exhausted, flung themselves down on the ground, with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase.*

prayer and benediction, and a powerful body of militia-men and minute-men converged on the road from Lexington to Boston. The gathering was so strong at some points that two waggons sent out with supplies for the English troops were captured. Percy could see that his foes were thickening all around, and he recognised the necessity of renewing the retreat. After half an hour's rest, the army was again in motion, once more pursued by the implacable adversary; once more struck, in front, in flank, and in rear, by concealed



DEATH OF ISAAC DAVIS.

The Americans were kept at bay, but they were not driven back. On the contrary, fresh reinforcements continued to arrive, and in numbers so large that the whole English company, including the detachment under Earl Percy, stood in danger of being overwhelmed. Youths still in their teens, and old men of seventy, joined the ranks of the Massachusetts protecting force. Mounted messengers rode through the towns and villages, shouting "To arms!" The pastors of small country communities sent forth their flocks with words of

marksmen; once more fighting desperately at particular localities, yet unable to gain any positive advantage. It is said that the regulars set fire to houses on their way, and murdered unarmed men; but statements of this kind are often rashly, if not malevolently, made, and should be received with doubt, unless strongly supported. The soldiers on the present occasion seem to have had enough to do to protect themselves, and it appears hardly probable that they should have paused to commit acts of wanton cruelty. The Americans ran with unwearying activity from one point to another, lying down to load, and then firing from behind a tree or bush. Where cover was wanting, they

* The fact and the comparison are to be found in Holmes's "American Annals," Vol. II., and in other American histories.

raised breastworks of shingle; and whenever any company was out of powder and shot, its place was immediately supplied by another. Panic had again set in among the discomfited troops; their ammunition was once more beginning to fail; and matters looked extremely threatening when, towards sunset, the appearance of Charleston Harbour raised the drooping spirits of the regulars. Some ships of war were stationed there, and under protection of their guns the fugitives crossed the river Charles, and got safely into Boston. On that disastrous day, Earl Percy's brigade had marched thirty miles in ten hours: Smith's detachment had retreated eighteen miles in six hours. Forty-nine Americans had been killed, thirty-four were wounded, and five were missing. The English altogether lost two hundred and seventy-three. Amongst the severely wounded was Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the commander of the original expedition.

The fighting had continued at its hottest for seven hours, and the result contributed in no small degree to raise the spirits and confidence of the Americans, and to depress the English. The news of what had been accomplished was carried by mounted messengers from town to town in every direction, so that in a remarkably short time the fact was known over the whole length and breadth of Anglo-America. The enthusiastic response which it awakened was proof conclusive that the whole of the colonies, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the western prairies, were ripe for rebellion. Some of the early settlers in Kentucky were so charmed with the triumph of Massachusetts that they gave the name of Lexington to their encampment. From the several colonial Governments and Legislatures came expressions of devotion to the common cause, and preparations were hurried on for coping with the aroused power of England. When Earl Percy marched out of Boston on the morning of that momentous 19th of April, his band had derisively played "Yankee Doodle," and some of the officers had boasted that the rebels would take to their heels the moment they caught sight of the military. The beaten soldiers were now told that they had been made to dance to the tune which they had so insultingly played; and on the retreat the Americans jeeringly called out for "Chevy Chace"—in allusion, of course, to Percy. The colonists had, in truth, made a fairly successful commencement of their great contest, and some exultation was natural and excusable. But it is certain that a great deal of exaggeration was introduced into the several accounts of the battle, and that the Americans were unduly elated at the results of what was, after all, nothing more than a well-contrived and fortunate ambuscade. One thing is clear—that the civil war was commenced more by the action of the colonists themselves than by that of the English authorities.* Unless for the purpose of provoking a collision, there was no sufficient reason for making such a display of military force in the very teeth of the army, for the greater part of the stores had been effectually concealed; nor can the collection of those stores, with the confessed intention of employing them against the British Government, be regarded as anything but an act of covert hostility. The despotic conduct of the mother country towards her colonies may or may not be a justification of the civil war which ensued; but hostilities were precipitated by the initiative of the colonists, and this initiative was taken at the very time when a disposition to offer liberal concessions was gathering force in England, and had found expression in the Ministry itself.

The die, however, being now cast—the sword being openly drawn from its sheath—the Americans acted prudently in making ready for the shock of battle which was certain to follow. It could not be supposed that the Power they had defied would tamely accept the defiance. A long and bloody war was inevitable, and, at the urgent demand of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, sitting at Cambridge, the militia-men of New England flocked towards the vicinity of Boston, to form one large host for besieging that city, as the headquarters of the British force. In Connecticut, Colonel Israel Putnam, an officer who had served with credit in the war with France, but who, since the peace, had cultivated a farm and kept a tavern at Pomfret, received news of the fight at Lexington while, dressed in a leathern frock and apron, he was working at some stone fences on his land. Remarking that "Putnam dared to lead where any dared to follow," he at once took horse, and rode to Cambridge, which he reached by sunrise on the following morning, after a ride of a hundred miles in eighteen hours. Soon afterwards he was placed at the head of three thousand men who had followed him from Connecticut; large numbers came in daily from other directions; and, in a little while, an army of volunteers, amounting probably to some twenty thousand, was drawn round Boston Harbour. The chief command was conferred on

* The latest American oration, that by Mr. R. H. Dana, jun., on the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, fairly concedes this point. "Let us never forget," says Mr. Dana, "that the men of Lexington, on that morning, were martyrs—*intentionally and intelligently* martyrs."

Colonel Artemas Ward, with the rank of Major-General, under whose directions a long line of blockade was formed. Of the equipment of this army, it is sufficient to say that the men had very little artillery, and that they were only provided with such necessaries as they could carry, or could obtain from the kindness and sympathy of friends. The contingents from the neighbouring colonies had been requested by the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts to bring their own military stores and provisions with them, as the chief of the New England provinces had nothing more than what she required for her own use. With such meagre resources, the enterprise which was now being undertaken might well have seemed desperate; but the struggle had been long contemplated, and it was well known by the revolutionary leaders that they had the majority of the people at their back. Joseph Warren, on the morrow of Lexington, declared that the next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between the provinces and the mother country would be at an end. He knew, as all knew, that no offers of conciliation would follow the receipt of intelligence that the colonists were in full insurrection, and had blockaded the British troops in Boston.

The Massachusetts Provincial Congress, sitting on the 22nd of April, resolved unanimously that a New England army of thirty thousand men should forthwith be raised, of which Massachusetts itself should contribute nearly fourteen thousand. The term of enlistment was to expire on the 31st of December; and, in a little while, the several New England Governments sent, by their simultaneous action, a large number of citizen soldiers to swell the patriot ranks before Boston. Nothing could be more embarrassing than the position of General Gage. He had not yet received his reinforcements from England, and although the works which he had previously constructed on Boston Neck were a sufficient guarantee against assault, he feared that his disheartened forces were not strong enough to pass beyond, and drive back the foe. A large proportion of the citizens were of more than doubtful loyalty, and Gage hit upon a device for getting rid of them. If they would promise not to join in an attack upon his troops, and would deposit their arms with the select-men at Faneuil Hall, he was willing that the men, women, and children, with all their effects, should have safe conduct out of the town. The offer was accepted; and the road to Roxbury was for several days covered with waggons and trains of exiles, who, at some inconvenience to the people of the surrounding country, were disposed of by the Provincial Congress among the villages of the interior. Subsequently, however, on the suggestion of the Boston loyalists, who thought the disaffected should be detained as hostages, this permission was revoked, on the plea that the arms had not been faithfully delivered. The incident had no other result than to exasperate the besiegers, and they talked boastfully of driving the English army into the sea. But the difficulties in the way of such an exploit were greater than at first appeared. Not only were the fortifications on the Neck impregnable without better artillery than the insurgents possessed, but the investing force lacked many of the most necessary qualifications of an army. It was wanting in discipline; it had no exact military knowledge; it was made up of a number of separate divisions from distinct provinces, very loosely held together, very little inclined to recognise any paramount or general sway. Artemas Ward, the chief commander, was old and infirm, and his authority, as far as it went, was over-ruled by the Committee of Safety. As the first enthusiasm of the Lexington and Concord success died out, many of the volunteers grew tired of keeping watch over Boston, and discovered that they must return to their homes, to put their affairs in order, or to obtain a stock of provisions. Furloughs were largely applied for and liberally granted, and the absentees showed no great haste to rejoin their ranks. Ward feared that his whole army would melt away. An inquiry into the number of guns in store gave very unsatisfactory results. Cambridge owned six three-pounders and one six-pounder; and at Watertown there were sixteen pieces of various sizes. But many of the latter were too bad for use, and the ammunition ran so short that the larger guns could not be served at all. In the whole province of Massachusetts, hardly sixty-eight barrels of gunpowder could be discovered, and the other colonies were no better off. In the whole American camp there were not nine cartridges to a man. The investing line was extended over an area of ten miles, and the condition of the provincial army (if it can be called an army) was such that it could not possibly have resisted an energetic assault, had Gage and his troops been spirited enough to deliver one.

Another difficulty with which the Americans had to contend, and one that was even more serious than the failure of ammunition, was the want of money. During the preceding winter, Massachusetts had raised scarcely £5,000 of currency to meet all her numerous expenses. Funds being now the great necessity of the hour, it was found expedient, in May, to legalise the paper-money of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and to issue Treasury notes in Massachusetts. Two large

emissions were made within a few weeks, and of these notes some were specially called "soldiers' notes," the lowest of which was for one dollar. The "soldiers' notes" were intended for the prepayment of the troops, and were made a legal tender, without discount or abatement. Notwithstanding the paucity of coin, the ardour of the Massachusetts Congress suffered no decay. It was resolved in that body, on the 5th of May, "that General Gage had disqualified himself for serving the colony in any capacity, that no obedience was in future due to him, and that he ought to be guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy." The feeling that prompted these words can very easily be understood. It was inevitable that the Americans should regard Gage with anger and dislike; but to Englishmen it did not appear that he had done more than his duty. Indeed, it had for some time been thought that he had done much less than his duty, and had allowed the spirit of rebellion to grow to alarming proportions by treating it with blamable forbearance.

The news of the British repulse at Concord and Lexington reached New York on the 23rd of April. It had the effect of so greatly encouraging the malcontents in that city that the Tories, or loyalists, who had previously enjoyed a majority in the Provincial Legislature, and who were strong among the wealthy and official classes, were now completely overwhelmed, and afraid to assert themselves. Two sloops at that time lay at the wharfs, laden with a large quantity of flour and other supplies for the English army at Boston. It was Sunday; but the people, overcoming any religious scruples they may have felt, unloaded the ships of their cargoes, and brought them ashore. The merchants whose vessels were cleared out dared not let them sail; the custom-house was closed by a popular intervention; and it was determined to stop all vessels going to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia, or Boston, the chief strongholds of the British power. Volunteer companies made demonstration of their resolve to support the cause of Massachusetts, as being the cause of the American colonies generally; several arms were seized by the mob; a new committee for the city and county, consisting of a hundred members, was chosen by the people at their usual places of election; and all parts of the colony were summoned to send delegates to a provincial convention. One of the earliest acts of the new general committee was to form an association, the members of which engaged themselves to submit to committees and to Congress, to withhold supplies from the English troops, and, at the risk of life and fortune, to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament. Even the loyally-disposed thought it prudent to yield in some degree to the prevalent sentiment. Fourteen members of the New York Assembly transmitted a petition to General Gage, begging that hostilities might cease till fresh orders could be received from the King, and in particular that no military might be stationed in the province of New York. Moreover, the Royal Council despatched two agents to England, to protest against the conduct of the army at Boston; and at the same time, the New York committee sent an address to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, in which they said:—

"Born to the bright inheritance of English freedom, the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to slavery. The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity is their indefeasible birthright. This they are determined to defend with their blood, and transfer to their posterity. The present machinations of arbitrary power, if unremittedly pursued, will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in a dissolution of the empire. This country will not be deceived by measures conciliatory in appearance. We cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce by the Legislature of the parent State, excluding in its nature every idea of taxation. When our unexampled grievances are redressed, our prince will find his American subjects testifying, by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign. America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part is, by the most powerful sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent. This city is as one man in the cause of liberty; our inhabitants are resolutely bent on supporting their committee and the intended Provincial and Continental Congresses; there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other counties. In short, while the whole continent are ardently wishing for peace upon such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. We speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare that all the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of Parliament."

Shortly after the despatch of this appeal, the Massachusetts and Connecticut delegates to the Continental Congress arrived at New York. They were met, three miles beyond the city, by large bodies of the provincial soldiery, by numerous carriages, by citizens on horseback and citizens on foot; and the town was entered amidst the ringing of bells and the shouting of enthusiastic crowds. New Jersey

was equally emphatic in supporting the action of the New England colonies; and Pennsylvania, despite the opposition of most of the Quakers, began to make preparation for service in the field. All this occurred early in May, and on the 5th of that month Franklin arrived at Philadelphia. The very next morning he was unanimously elected a deputy to the Congress, and his voice undoubtedly did much to strengthen the desire for independence, though the Pennsylvanian delegation was instructed to combine, if possible, a redress of grievances with a perpetuation of the union between Great Britain and her colonies. Virginia was strongly disposed to action. The independent company of Hanover, and its county committee, were summoned by Patrick Henry, who was elected as their head, and under whose command they marched for Williamsburg, adding to their numbers at every town and hamlet. Lord Dunmore himself testified, in a despatch to his Government, that there was scarcely a county in the whole province wherein part of the people had not taken up arms, and declared their intention of forcing him to make restitution of the powder he had seized. Hoping to quiet the popular commotion, he convened the Council; but Henry continued his march, and Lady Dunmore, apprehending that she might be seized as a hostage, retired with her family to the *Fowey* man-of-war. Dunmore considered it advisable to temporise. He sent out a messenger to meet Henry on the way, and to pay him £330 for the gunpowder. The volunteers then retired, though, if the country was in danger before, it was no less so after the payment of the money; and, two days later, Dunmore issued a proclamation against Patrick Henry, whom he secretly denounced to the Ministry as a man of desperate circumstances and disobedient spirit. But the insubordinate tendencies of Patrick Henry were shared by the majority of the people in most of the American colonies. Maryland, indeed, mollified by the act of its Governor, who gave up the arms and ammunition of the province, instructed its delegates to Congress to bring about a reconciliation. But the people of South Carolina seized the weapons in the Royal Arsenal; the Provincial Congress of that colony, under the presidency of Henry Laurens, resolved to create an army to aid in the national defence; and the militia officers threw up their commissions from the Royal Governor. North Carolina was animated by the same feelings, and in Georgia the King's magazine was rifled, that ammunition might be sent to Boston. Rebellion had openly declared itself throughout the land.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Plan for seizing Ticonderoga—Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys—Taking of the Fort by the Patriots—Character of Ethan Allen—Seizure of Crown Point, and other Successes of the Insurgents—Meeting of the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia—Proceedings of that Body—Appointment of a Generalissimo over the United Colonial Army—The Post conferred on Washington—His Fitness for such a Command—Formation of a New Colony in Kentucky—Daniel Boone, the Explorer—Declaration of Independence by the Settlers in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina—Meeting of the Virginian House of Burgesses (June 1st)—Flight of Lord Dunmore—Answer of Virginia to the Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North—Thomas Jefferson—Proclamation of General Gage—His Letter to Lord Dartmouth touching the Employment of Indian Auxiliaries—Appeal of the Continental Congress to the American People—Relative Positions of England and America—Reception in England of the News of Lexington and Concord—The City of London and the Civil War—Determination of the King to prosecute Hostilities—Refusal to receive the Petition of Congress.

It is sometimes alleged by American writers that, up to the collision of the colonists with the Royal troops at Lexington, hardly any of the former, even in New England, or in Massachusetts itself, believed that blood would be shed, or that the connection between the mother country and her dependencies would be broken. If so, the designs of the American patriots must have been matured with extraordinary rapidity. Ten days after the unfortunate affair with the soldiers of Gage, a scheme which had already been talked over in another quarter took final shape at Hartford, Connecticut. While passing through that city on the 29th of April, Samuel Adams and John Hancock secretly met the Governor and Council, to settle the details of an expedition to surprise Ticonderoga. The plan had originated with the Green Mountain Boys—a body of active partisans recently formed in Vermont, from the name of which colony they took their designation. Ethan Allen—a man who had formerly been outlawed by the Government of New York for encouraging the people of

Vermont to assert their independence of that province—was to be one of the leaders of the attack, and Connecticut was to furnish the necessary funds. A few men were got together in Massachusetts, and word was quickly spread through the hills of Vermont that the attempt was forthwith to be made. A hundred of the Green Mountain Boys joined the volunteers from Massachusetts on the 7th of May, and elected Ethan Allen as their chief, in spite of a commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, which conferred the command on Benedict Arnold. On the following day, the party began their march. Near Orwell, which was reached late on the 9th, a few boats were discovered, and eighty-three men crossed the narrow waters between Lakes George and Champlain, and, guided by a farmer's son, who was well acquainted with the fort and its vicinity, landed not far from the position. As several of the men were thus left behind, the boats were sent back to bring up the rest; but it was found impossible to wait for them, lest the expedition should be discovered, and the advantages of a surprise be missed. In the early morning of the 10th, Allen drew up his men in three ranks on the slopes of the high ground, and told them he would not insist on their going forward against their will. Not a man, however, hung back, and Allen then led his little band up to the gate of the fortress. Through the wicket, which was open, the Americans rushed into the enclosure with a cry as of wild Indians, and formed on the parade in such a way as to face each of the barracks. After a slight skirmish with cutlasses, one of the sentries, who had been slightly wounded, surrendered himself, and volunteered to show the way to the apartment of the commandant, Delaplace. On being summoned to come forth, that officer presented himself half-dressed, and



HENRY LAURENS.

asked by what authority he was required to deliver up the fort. "I demand it," answered Allen, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress!" The Continental Congress, however, knew nothing of the matter, and did not assemble for its second session until a few hours later. Delaplace might have objected to the validity of the alleged commission; but there is no arguing with superior force. The commandant had no more than forty-four soldiers under him; Allen had nearly double that number. On being menaced by



WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE, MOUNT VERNON.

the drawn sword of the American leader, Delaplace gave up the position, which he had allowed to remain in a state of insufficient defence because he had no reason to suppose that it was threatened with any danger. The whole affair was over in a few minutes.

It was no inconsiderable advantage that was thus gained. The seizure of Ticonderoga placed in the hands of the Americans more than a hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, a number of swivels and small arms, and other stores; and so marked a success, though not very singular under the circumstances, helped to raise the spirits of the patriots, and to make them think they could accomplish whatever they attempted. It has sometimes been supposed that Ethan Allen was a religious fanatic of the Puritanical type; and the style in which he addressed Delaplace seems to favour such an impression. But it appears that he was a free-thinker, who, like several of the American revolutionists of that period, rejected Christianity. He was the author of a work entitled "Reason the only Oracle of Man;" yet he cherished some singular notions. The ancient doctrine of metempsychosis had obtained a hold on his mind, and he used to assure his friends that he expected to return to this world after death in the form of a large white horse.*

A detachment of the Green Mountain Boys, under Seth Warner, shortly afterwards seized on Crown Point, which had a garrison of only twelve men, who, seeing the futility of resistance, surrendered on the first summons. Another party succeeded in capturing a British agent named Skeene, and getting possession of the harbour of Skeenesborough. The forces investing Boston destroyed or carried off the forage and cattle on the

* Earl Stanhope, quoting from the Life of Ethan Allen by Sparks.

islands adjacent to that city, despite the efforts of the English troops to prevent them, and burnt a schooner which had been sent to interfere with their operations, but which was ultimately abandoned, with four small guns and twelve swivels on board. The lighthouse at the entrance to Boston harbour was set on fire by the insurgents, and consumed; and Benedict Arnold, in command of a schooner called the *Liberty*, captured an English sloop on Lake Champlain—the only vessel belonging to the Royal Navy on those waters. On the 25th of May, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston with their reinforcements; and they found the posture of affairs much more serious than they had reason to suppose when they left England.

In the midst of these events, the second Continental Congress pursued its deliberations at Philadelphia. Its first meeting was on the 10th of May—the day on which Ticonderoga was captured; and America had undergone a new birth since the 19th of April, the day of Lexington. Whatever the cherished designs of the popular leaders up to the middle of April, the country had at any rate refrained from the most extreme forms of defiance. Now, there could no longer be a question that the colonies of New England were in a state of open rebellion. A report on the collision between the Royal troops and the popular forces was read, and entire approval of the conduct of Massachusetts was expressed. The action of that one province thus became, by adoption, the action of the whole confederation of colonies. Nevertheless, Congress hesitated as to voting assistance to the army of Massachusetts, which the representatives of that province requested, but postponed the question for some days for mature deliberation in a committee of the whole body. On the 13th of May, a delegate from Georgia was admitted to the Congress; and on the 15th the people of New York were directed not to oppose the landing of troops, but at the same time to prevent the erection of fortifications. They were to act on the defensive, and to repel force by force, in case of need. These instructions were very much in accordance with those of New York itself. More loyalty was still to be found in that part of English America than in most others. The colonists were, indeed, angry at the encroachments of the English Ministry on colonial freedom, and they expressed to the people of Massachusetts their warm sympathy and hearty good wishes; but they disapproved the action of their own mob in seizing the Royal arms, and, having established a kind of truce in their capital city, they laboured for the restoration of a good understanding between America and England. John Jay, the representative of the colony in the Continental Congress, made a motion for a second petition to the King, which was debated for several days. The delegates were still undecided whether to adopt this motion or to reject it, when, on the 18th of May, news arrived of the taking of Ticonderoga. It had the effect rather of dismaying than of inspiriting the representatives assembled at Philadelphia. They appear to have dreaded the retribution which so daring an act was likely to provoke, and they accordingly recommended to the provincial committees of New York and Albany to cause the artillery and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and to make an exact inventory of them, in order that they might be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and her colonies (an event which the members of the Congress declared, in their resolution, they ardently desired) should render such an act "prudent, and consistent with the over-ruling law of self-preservation." There was even some talk of abandoning Ticonderoga and Crown Point altogether; but the Massachusetts Congress remonstrated, and Connecticut, with the consent of New York, sent a thousand men to the defence of the two fortresses.

Yet the Continental Congress did not neglect those precautions which the necessities of the case seemed to require. During the month of May and several successive weeks, the delegates made many important arrangements. They determined to stop all exportation of provisions to the British fisheries, or to any colony or island subject to the British Government. They established a Post Office under the direction of Franklin. They prohibited the negotiation of bills of exchange on behalf of British officers, and of all orders issued by army and navy agents or contractors. They rejected the conciliatory proposals of Lord North, and renewed their former application to the Canadians. They passed resolutions for organising an American army, and for the emission of a paper currency, to be guaranteed by the whole of the provinces; and they formed those provinces into a perpetual union, to which was given the title of "The Twelve Confederated Colonies." The twelve were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Georgia, at present, was not included, but it made a thirteenth not many weeks later. In answer to a representation from Massachusetts, setting forth that the province was destitute of all

regular government, Congress declared that, by the violation of their charter, the people of that part of America were absolved from allegiance to the Crown, and might lawfully appoint a government of their own until the charter was restored. On the other hand, the second petition to the King, proposed by John Jay, was ultimately adopted, together with an offer to open negotiations with a view to an arrangement.

The most important step was to appoint, on the invitation of Massachusetts, a Generalissimo over the forces of the Confederation, and on the 15th of June this post was conferred, by a unanimous vote, on George Washington, then forty three years of age. The subject had been discussed some time before, and the incompetency of Artemas Ward for the post he was filling at the head of the New England levies was universally allowed. Besides, the army beleaguering Boston was now to be made subsidiary to a Continental Army, which was thenceforward to be known by that name, and to be distinguished from the Provincial Militia of each colony; and, as Virginia was the oldest and largest of the provinces, it was considered advisable to give the supreme command to a Virginian, and especially to one who had already distinguished himself by valour and capacity in the field. Some of the deputies from New England would have placed the conduct of military affairs in the hands of Putnam; but they readily gave way on finding that the general sense, even including that of Massachusetts, was strongly in favour of Washington. That great man at once felt that duty to his country imperatively required him to accept the proffered position; but his diffidence was such that he whispered to Patrick Henry, with great emotion, "This day will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation." Nevertheless, he appeared in his place in Congress on the 16th of June, and, after refusing all pay beyond his expenses, said:—"As the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not feel myself equal to the command I am honoured with." On the following day, the delegates of all the colonies resolved unanimously in Congress to maintain, assist, and adhere to, the General of their choice "with their lives and fortunes." By his commission he was invested with the command of all the forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies, with full power and authority to act as he should think for the good and welfare of the service; and he was to take special care that the liberties of America should receive no detriment. It was felt that by none could the sword of the confederated colonies be so fitly wielded as by this Virginian gentleman, whose courage was matter of history, whose abilities were well known, whose integrity was above suspicion, whose patriotism was ardent yet temperate, and whose possession of an independent fortune placed him above the reach of ordinary temptation.

We must here for a while turn aside from the main stream of American history to observe the progress of events in an outlying portion of the national territory, then beginning to take shape beyond the Alleghanies. A number of adventurers, headed by one Henderson, had negotiated a treaty with the Cherokees for certain lands situated between the Ohio, the Cumberland mountains, the Cumberland river, and the Kentucky river. They were presently joined by the famous explorer, Daniel Boone, and by a party of colonists not easily daunted by Indian opposition and Indian ferocity, from which they were made to suffer on more than one occasion. Other leading adventurers were Richard Calloway, John Floyd, and James Harrod; and these men—a mere handful in all—assembled on the 23rd of May beneath a great elm-tree which overhung the walls of a stockade erected a few weeks before by Boone, near the mouth of Otter Creek. The meeting was organised as a convention, and prayers were read by a clergyman of the Church of England. That the land was within the territory over which Virginia claimed jurisdiction did not deter these settlers from taking the first steps towards establishing an independent administration, on the strength of the recent purchase of land from the Cherokees. All power, they asserted, is originally in the people, and therefore no doubt should be felt as to the efficacy of any laws they might be pleased to make. A committee, of which Calloway was the head, was then appointed, and, in a report which the members of that committee delivered on the 25th, they pledged themselves to attempt with vigour the organisation of the new province, adding,—"That we have a right, as a political body, without giving umbrage to Great Britain or any of the colonies, to frame rules for the government of our little society, cannot be doubted by any sensible or unbiassed mind." The name first given to this infant settlement was Transylvania, since altered to the barbarous designation of Kentucky. The legislation of the emigrants was avowedly based on what they described as "the happy pattern of the English laws." Courts of justice were speedily instituted in the wilderness, and a militia was formed for defence against the Indians. The main

features of the constitution were, that there should be an annual choice of delegates; that taxes should be raised by the convention only; that all official salaries should be fixed by statute; that land-offices should be always open; and that perfect religious freedom and general toleration should be observed.

Daniel Boone, who must be regarded as the father of Kentucky, was certainly one of the finest characters of that age—a man made by Nature for an explorer, for a discoverer of new lands, for a founder of new States, for one of the noble army of pioneers who cause the desert to recede, and enlarge the horizon of the civilised world. The chief of American historians has said of him:—"The State, now that it has become great and populous, honours the memory of the plain, simple-hearted man, who is best known as its pioneer. He was kindly in his nature, and never wronged a human being, not even an Indian, nor, indeed, animal life of any kind. 'I with others have fought Indians,' he would say, 'but I do not know that I ever killed one; if I did, it was in battle, and I never knew it. He was no hater of them, and never desired their extermination. In woodcraft he was acknowledged to be the first among men. This led him to love solitude, and habitually to hover on the frontier, with no abiding place; accompanied by the wife of his youth, who was the companion of his long life and travel. When at last death put them both to rest, Kentucky reclaimed their bones from their graves far up the Missouri, and now they lie buried on the hill above the cliffs of the Kentucky river, overlooking the lovely valley of the capital of that commonwealth. Around them are emblems of wilderness life; the turf of the blue grass lies lightly above them; and they are laid with their faces turning upward and westward, and their feet towards the setting sun."*

At the same period, events of importance were passing in the county of Mecklenburg, in North Carolina—a region peopled chiefly by Presbyterians of Scoto-Irish descent. It was in May that the settlers in this remote spot heard of the proceedings in the British Parliament which had taken place in February, and which had for their object to declare that the American colonies were in a state of rebellion. As a measure of retaliation, it was proposed to abrogate all dependence on the Royal authority. A representative committee, formed by two delegates from each company of militia, was called together at the town of Charlotte, and, during its deliberations, news arrived of the collision at Lexington. This excited so strong a feeling against the English authorities that one of the delegates, named Ephraim Brevard, proposed a series of resolutions, which amounted to a declaration of independence. By these resolutions, all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament were annulled and vacated; all commissions, civil and military, already granted by the Crown to be exercised in the colonies, were declared void; the Provincial Congress of each colony, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, was invested with legislative and executive powers within its own jurisdiction; and it was affirmed that no other legislative or executive power did or could exist at that time in any part of those colonies. What right a small frontier settlement of North Carolina had to legislate for the whole body of the American provinces, it would be difficult to say; but the militia-men of Mecklenburg county seem to have had no doubt at all on the subject, and the resolutions were carried without hesitation. They then proceeded to form themselves into nine military companies, to elect their own officers, and to constitute a species of judicial administration. All former taxes were sequestrated, and it was resolved that persons receiving new commissions from the King, or exercising old ones, should be dealt with as enemies of the country. These arrangements were made binding on all until the Provincial Congress should provide otherwise, or until the British Parliament should abandon its pretensions to legislate for America. As soon as they had been affirmed, the resolutions of the colonists were despatched to Charleston, and to the Provincial Congress sitting at Philadelphia. They appear to have met with a very favourable reception from the western counties of North Carolina generally.

These events took place in the closing days of May, 1775. On the 1st of June, the House of Burgesses of Virginia was convened for the last time by a Royal Governor. The Speaker was Peyton Randolph, who had just been officiating as President of the Continental Congress, but who had resigned that post to John Hancock, President of the Massachusetts Congress in the autumn of 1774 When Randolph arrived at Williamsburg, at that time the capital of the province, he was seen to be attended by an escort of independent companies of horse and foot, and it was generally understood that this was in consequence of the office he had just been discharging in what may be called the Federal Assembly—a body of which the legality had never been recognised by the English Government, and which the patriotic party, therefore, felt all the

* Bancroft's History of the United States.

more pleasure in honouring. Further evidence of the spread of Republican principles was discernible in the fact that several of the Burgesses appeared in the uniform of the recently instituted provincial troops—a hunting-shirt, of coarse linen, thrown over their ordinary clothes, and a woodman's axe by their sides. After transacting some purely local business, the Burgesses proceeded to consider the conciliatory proposals of Lord North. While they were thus engaged, the Governor, Lord Dunmore—who had previously sent in an apology for his removal of the colonial gunpowder—received an express from General Gage, informing him of his intention to issue a proclamation proscribing Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Fearing that this fact, when generally known in Virginia, would create so great a commotion as to endanger his life, or at least his liberty, Dunmore hastily withdrew, during the night of June 7th, to the *Fowey* man-of-war, then lying at York. The Burgesses, five days later, addressed to him their answer to the proposals of the British Government. They averred that, next to the possession of liberty, they desired most a reconciliation with the mother country, but that the resolution of the House of Commons only changed the form of oppression without lightening its burden. They added that the British Parliament had no right to meddle with their constitution, or prescribe either the number or the pecuniary appointments of their officers; that they had a right to give their money without coercion, and from time to time; that they alone were the judges, alike of the public exigencies and of the ability of the people; that they contended not merely for the mode of raising their money, but for the freedom of granting it; that the resolve to forbear levying pecuniary taxes still left unrepealed the Acts restraining trade, altering the form of government of Massachusetts, changing the government of Quebec, enlarging the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, taking away trial by jury, and keeping up standing armies; that the invasion of the colonies with large armaments by sea and land was a style of asking gifts not reconcilable to freedom; that the resolution did not propose to the colonies to lay open a free trade with all the world; that, as it involved the interest of all the other colonies, they were bound in honour to share one fate with them; that the Bill of Lord Chatham on the one part, and the terms of Congress on the other, would have formed a basis for negotiation and reconciliation; but that, leaving the final determination of the question to the General Congress, they were now determined to weary the King with no more petitions, nor the British nation with any more appeals.* The author of this important State paper—which Lord Shelburne described as masterly—was Thomas Jefferson, afterwards third President of the United States, one of the most remarkable of the revolutionary leaders of that time, a man of keen, practical intellect, of strong sense and judgment, sceptical in religion, yet with a firm faith in political justice and the rights of humanity. Having produced his reply to the proposals of the English Government, Jefferson left Williamsburg for Philadelphia, to assist in the deliberations of the Continental Congress.

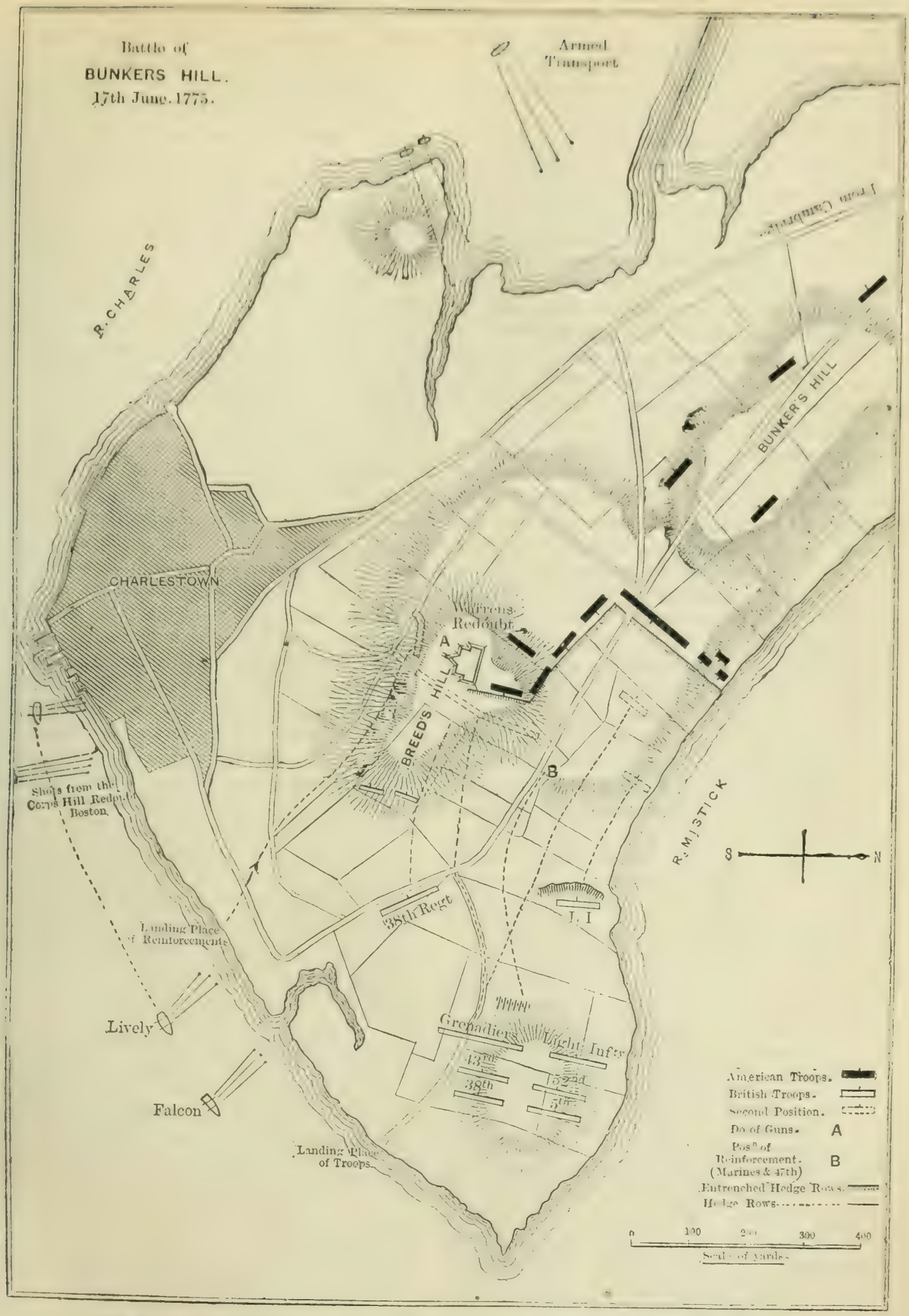
Gage, in his capacity as Governor of Massachusetts, now began to assume a bolder tone towards the insurgents, feeling, probably, that since the arrival of reinforcements he was in a better position to make his power felt. He accordingly issued, on the 12th of June, a proclamation offering a general pardon to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the habits and duties of peaceable subjects, but excepting from this act of grace Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences, it was stated, were "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." The same proclamation announced the operation of martial law in Massachusetts as long as the unhappy occasion should require. About the same period, Gage wrote a despatch to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Minister, requesting him to concentrate at Boston fifteen thousand men, of whom a part might be hunters, Canadians, and Indians; to send ten thousand more to New York; and to despatch an additional seven thousand composed of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, for service in the vicinity of Lake Champlain. It had come to the knowledge of Gage that certain savages domiciled in Massachusetts had been in communication with the camp before Boston; and he therefore felt the less scruple in looking for aid to the same source. The Americans had undoubtedly made advances to the red men as possible allies against the English Government: how far they were justified in so doing by the fact of similar advances having been previously contemplated, although perhaps not actually made, by the representatives of the Crown, is a nice point of casuistry, which will never find a satisfactory solution as long as the morals of such questions are obscured by partisan feeling.

On the same day that Gage issued his proclamation, the Continental Congress published an appeal to the people of the twelve united colonies, enjoining them to keep a fast on one and the same day,

* Bancroft.



THE DEFENCE OF BREED'S HILL: PRESCOTT IN THE REDOUBT.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. (*Showing the First and Second Positions of the Troops.*)

when they were to recognise "King George III. as their rightful sovereign, and to look up to the supreme and universal superintending Providence of the great Governor of the world for a gracious interposition of heaven for the restoration of the invaded rights of America, and a reconciliation with the parent State." It may, without any considerable violation of charity, be doubted whether this injunction was not rather a politic keeping up of appearances than a sincere expression of feeling. A British historian of America, very favourably inclined towards the colonists, has pithily and pertinently observed that "it is a general practice of mankind, and the peculiar policy of Governments, to veil the most implacable animosity, and the most decisive martial purpose, under a show of professions more than ordinarily forbearing and pacific; nor can any proclamation be more ominous of violence than that in which a kingdom or commonwealth judges it expedient to vaunt its own moderation."* The patriotic party very naturally desired to stand favourably with the European Powers; it was their policy to put themselves in the position of affectionate subjects who desired nothing so much as to retain their connection with the mother country, but who were being goaded into separation by the obstinacy and cruel oppression of the Imperial Government. Their acts, however, were not in harmony with this assumption. They continued to insist on conditions which they knew that England would not grant. They were aware that civil war had already begun in the north; they themselves were making preparations for carrying on that war with the utmost possible vigour; and they were fostering the sense of injury out of which the desire for complete independence was taking shape. Individual members of Congress may have truly wished for a peaceful solution of all difficulties, and a perpetuation of the old relations between England and her colonial possessions; but such was not by this time the feeling of the country generally (though doubtless the dissentients were numerous), nor, it is to be suspected, was it the real aspiration of Congress as a whole. It had not been the drift of the leading New Englanders for some years.

The degree of insincerity thus apparent in the proceedings of Congress is not greater than what is usually observable in the policy of States when conducting difficult negotiations with other Powers. The representatives of the American colonies were persuaded of the justice of their cause, but they had to struggle with a Government possessed of immense resources. It was essential that they should gain time, and it was desirable that they should preserve before the world the credit of meekness and much-suffering—of reluctance to sever old ties, and tenderness in the cherishing of old memories. But the quarrel had been envenomed past cure, and it would be idle to blame the Americans for taking every measure to ensure success in the trial of strength that had become inevitable. It would be equally idle to condemn the English Government for accepting a defiance which could not be evaded, and making a supreme effort for the retention of a magnificent colonial empire which was slipping from their grasp.

Intelligence of what had happened at Lexington and Concord reached England at the end of May. The astonishment and anger which it created may easily be imagined. We have seen in our own day how fierce an outburst of national spirit was evoked by the uprising of the native races of Hindostan in 1857. Very similar, though it is to be hoped less ferocious, was the feeling of Englishmen in 1775 towards their rebellious brethren in America. There were exceptions, however, at the earlier as well as at the later date. The celebrated Admiral Keppel begged not to be employed in the colonies. The Recorder of London put on a full suit of mourning on hearing the news, and, being asked if he had lost a relative or friend, replied, "Yes; many brothers at Lexington and Concord." Lord Effingham, who had been a military officer since youth, threw up his profession to avoid the misery of fighting against his brethren, in the justice of whose cause he believed; and Lord Chatham, at a somewhat later date, withdrew his eldest son from the army of Canada, where he had been serving as aide-de-camp to the Governor. But the chief seat of disaffection towards the policy of the King and the Cabinet —which must also be described as the policy of Parliament, and probably of the majority of the nation—was the City of London. The citizens had been in opposition for some years, and had recently elected John Wilkes to the chief magistracy: indeed, a certain habit of antagonism to the Crown is one of the traditions of the great English municipality. On the 24th of June, the citizens of London voted an address to the sovereign, praying for the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of Ministers, as they had prayed once before. The King refused to receive this address on the throne, and it was therefore never presented, the City chiefs insisting, with a pertinacity which was scarcely decent, that it ought to be so received. When, in August, a

* Gralrame, Book XI., chap. 4.

Royal proclamation was issued for the suppression of rebellion and sedition in America, and for the prevention of traitorous correspondence with that country, Wilkes would not allow the mace to be carried before the authorities whose duty it was to read the proclamation in front of the Royal Exchange, nor the usual forms of respect to be observed. At the close of the reading, a hiss was raised among the crowd; but it is a matter of some doubt whether the expression of feeling should be charged on the citizens generally, or simply on Wilkes's own partisans. However this may be, it is certain that loyal addresses, promising support against the insurgents, flowed in from every part of the kingdom—even from the great seats of industry and commerce, such as Manchester and Liverpool.*

None the less was the situation embarrassing and difficult in the highest degree. Lord North, with the humanity for which he was always distinguished, hesitated about taking active measures against the rebels, and desired to resign, but was compelled by the King to remain at the head of the Government. George himself knew not what to do, yet was still determined to prosecute the war with vigour. The chief trouble was to procure troops sufficient to operate in so large a country against an enemy so numerous. At one time the King thought of subsidising Russia, and thus obtaining the assistance of a Muscovite army to suppress the aspirations and fetter the liberty of Anglo-Americans. But, as this arrangement could not be carried out with sufficient celerity, it was for awhile abandoned (though we shall see it revived further on), and regard was mainly had to such elements of coercion as were supposed to exist in America itself. The Highlanders in North Carolina might, it was thought, be induced to fight against the native Americans. In Virginia, the red man and the negro were to be armed against the whites; and muskets, cannon, powder, and ball were sent out in large quantities to Dunmore for distribution by him. The Indians of Canada were asked for help: and thus the aborigines of North America, whose ancestors had been deprived of their inheritance by the superior energy of European races, found themselves solicited as allies by two antagonistic branches of the nation from which they had chiefly suffered. While these matters were being considered, Richard Penn brought over from Pennsylvania the petition from Congress to the King, to which the Americans had given the title of "the Olive Branch:" and on the 1st of September he delivered it for presentation to Lord Dartmouth. Three days later, he was informed by letter that no answer would be given. The Congress was an illegal assembly, held against the sovereign's express injunction; it had sanctioned and directed the taking up of arms against his Majesty; and its existence, in the opinion of the King and his Ministers, could not be recognised. The refusal of this address removed the last chance of a pacific settlement; but we can hardly wonder at the fact. The insubordination of the Americans had long rendered an accommodation difficult: their resort to civil war at Lexington and Concord had made it impossible.

CHAPTER XIX.

Disorganised Condition of the Colonial Army before Boston—Designs of the Commanders—Bunker's Hill and Breed's Hill—A Perilous Expedition—Seizure of Breed's Hill by the Patriots, and Formation of a Redoubt—The Position cannonaded by the British—Prescott's Arrangements—Dangerous Situation of the Americans—Advance of the English Troops—Rapid Strengthening of the American Position—The Scene of the Encounter—Disposition of the Troops—Burning of the Village of Charleston—Burgoyne's Description of the Struggle—Repulse of the First British Attack on Breed's Hill—Failure of the Simultaneous Attack on the Spur of the Redoubt—Renewal of both Attacks, and Second Repulse of the British—Terrible Slaughter of the Assailants—Failure of Ammunition on both Sides—Arrival of Reinforcements under Clinton—Combined Attack on Three Sides of the Position—Defeat of the Americans—Gage on the Lessons of the Battle—Contradictory Accounts of the Engagement—Death of Major Pitcairn—Results of the Action as regards the English and the Americans.

SEVERAL weeks before the day on which the King intimated, through Lord Dartmouth, that the second petition of Congress could not be received, an event had happened which made amicable arrangements all the more improbable. The armed collisions at Lexington and Concord had been followed by an action of a much more serious character, the effect of which was necessarily to

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 53.

inflame the passions of both sides to fever-heat, and to preclude the idea of any other settlement than that which could be won at the sword's point. The great events of April 19th, however, had not been immediately followed by any military measures of importance on either side. Gage was waiting for his reinforcements, and the Americans were far too disorganised to risk any offensive movement. It was even a matter of doubt with thoughtful observers whether they would be able to maintain their position. The colonial army before Boston was distracted by the conflicting directions of the Committee of Safety and of the council of war. The number of men in arms was considerably less as a matter-of-fact than it appeared on paper. Commands were given to all who raised companies or regiments, without any reference to their fitness to discharge such duties; and the result was not unfrequently seen in fraudulent muster-rolls, in officers who had all the worst characteristics of Falstaff without his wit, and in levies such as those with whom Falstaff himself was ashamed to be seen marching through Coventry. The men left their ranks whenever it pleased them, and often did not care to return. It was an abuse of language to talk of an encampment, for there were but few tents, and several of the soldiers were lodged in private houses. Of ammunition there was so little that fears of its speedily running out were not unreasonably entertained; and the request which had been sent to other colonies for assistance in this respect had not resulted in any great addition to the stock. To all these causes of weakness were to be added the want of money, and the lack of any commanding officer with genius sufficient to turn to the best account whatever elements of heroism, endurance, and military capacity may have existed in the army. That such elements were really there, was proved by subsequent events; but, in the spring months of 1775, the baser and weaker qualities of the popular muster were more apparent than the nobler and stronger, and lovers of their country felt uneasy at the sight of so much insubordination and feebleness.

As the weeks wore on, it became increasingly evident to the ruling authorities among the patriots that it was a matter of absolute necessity to take possession of certain heights in the neighbourhood of Charleston and to the north of Boston, of which the two principal elevations were called Bunker's Hill and Breed's Hill. It was therefore determined that these eminences should be occupied, and that a strong redoubt should be raised on Bunker's Hill. Some of the proposed works were forthwith begun; but, before the project could be fully carried out, it became known that a similar design was entertained by the English commanders, who had determined to extend their lines from Dorchester, in the south, to Charleston, in the north. The contemplated operations were to take place on the 18th of June, and were to be facilitated by a vigorous cannonade from Boston Neck. If the enemy was to be anticipated, it was high time for the Americans to make their move; and Ward was accordingly ordered to fortify Dorchester Heights, and to establish a post on Bunker's Hill. To understand the ensuing battle with clearness, it should be borne in mind that the city of Boston stands on a small peninsula in the harbour of the same name; that north of the city stands the suburb of Charleston, separated from the capital by a narrow arm of the sea, and built on another small peninsula, which at the farther or north-western end is connected with the continent by a strip of land; that both Breed's Hill and Bunker's Hill are within this second peninsula; and that the former of those hills is the one nearest to Boston, while the latter is more contiguous to the mainland.

The determination to seize on the position was taken by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety on the 15th of June, and Ward at once made arrangements for effecting the desired object. The immediate conduct of the enterprise was assigned to Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, who had desired to be placed at the head of this dangerous expedition. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 16th, a detachment of the colonial forces, consisting of about a thousand men, not in uniform, and armed for the most part merely with fowling-pieces unprovided with bayonets, started from Cambridge, after having been previously paraded on the common, where one of the chaplains to the army—Langdon, the President of Harvard College—had prayed with them and for them. Silently and solemnly, in the gathering dusk of a summer's night, they began their march; but, by some mistake, Prescott had received orders to occupy Breed's Hill, though the idea of the Committee of Safety was to take possession of Bunker's Hill. The detachment was accompanied by waggons filled with entrenching tools; and when Prescott and his men, after traversing Charleston Neck, unmolested and undiscovered, attained the high ground to which they had been directing their course, the engineer and field-officers began, by the uncertain light of the stars, to make a redoubt of some eight rods square. The position is so elevated as to overlook the whole of Boston; but this advantage to a force

operating against that city is counteracted by the hill being within easy range of cannon-shot from those who hold the town. It was midnight before the first sod was turned up; yet by dawn the redoubt had risen to a considerable height. The work had been performed in such perfect silence that not the slightest intimation of what was going on had reached the numerous ships of war and transports that lay in the waters around the peninsula. Prescott had set a watch to patrol the shore, and from time to time had himself gone down to the water's edge, to be personally assured that the operations of his men were undetected. But all was well, and it was only the early light of morning that revealed to the English the presence of the Americans on Breed's Hill.

The discovery was first made by the *Lively* sloop-of-war, which speedily opened fire on the redoubt. Boston was roused from its sleep by the cannonade, and a battery of heavy guns was soon mounted on Copp's Hill, immediately opposite, at a distance of not more than twelve hundred yards. The insurgents, though in part protected by what they had already reared, were still in a great degree exposed, and the enterprise required careful management to prevent an utter failure. Richard Gridley, the chief engineer, had left, not caring to abide the fire of the British; and Prescott had to do what he could by himself. He made every endeavour to strengthen his lines; but the fire of the English was so powerful that little progress could be effected. With admirable coolness and valour, he mounted the parapet, and walked to and fro, giving directions to his men, who, animated by his example, worked on with steady resolution. The courage of Prescott was well-known and splendidly sustained. He had resolved never to be taken alive; and when Gage, who was watching the movement through a telescope from Boston, asked Willard, Prescott's brother-in-law, and a man of loyal principles, whether the commander on Breed's Hill would fight, Willard replied, "Ay,—to the last drop of his blood!" Under this vigorous command, the redoubt progressed with rapidity, and by nine o'clock in the morning had become sufficiently strong to make an attack simply in front unadvisable. By that time, Prescott had partly constructed a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt in a northerly direction towards the bottom of Breed's Hill, beyond which was a slough and a stretch of open grass-land, intersected by fences and sparely dotted with trees, which extended to the banks of the river Mystic. It was determined by the British commanders to attack the enemy towards the rear of his entrenchments, and on the flank, at the same time that the redoubt was assaulted in front.

The 17th of June, 1775, must always remain one of the most memorable days in American History. It was the day of the Battle of Bunker's Hill—the day on which the first general action was fought between the colonists and the troops of the mother country. That action illustrated in vivid colours the obstinate bravery of both branches of the English race, for on both sides it was conducted under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The regulars had to fight unsheltered against an enemy who stood behind entrenchments. On the other hand, the Americans were not disciplined soldiers in any sense of the word. They were ill-armed, ill-directed (except by their immediate chief and a few others), and unsupplied with necessaries. Their stock of powder was insufficient; they had only the food which they had carried with them; and for a long while no succour was sent from the main body. The day was extremely hot; the men were exhausted with their night's work at the trenches; and a strong force of British regulars was now advancing to attack their position. Some quitted their posts, and evaded the struggle; but Prescott was not the less determined to stand his ground. He sent messengers to the head-quarters at Cambridge, earnestly demanding reinforcements. The second of these messengers met Putnam, who, on arriving at the redoubt, required that the trenching tools should be sent off to Bunker's Hill, where he proposed to throw up works of defence. Owing to numerous desertions, however, and to the varied complications of the fight, Bunker's Hill was not completely fortified, and in fact that eminence had very little to do with the events of the day, though, by a strange misappropriation, its name has been given to the battle which ensued.

The English troops were in motion by a little after noonday. Under protection of a hot and sustained fire from the *Glasgow* sloop-of-war, and from two floating batteries which had been moored close by, they passed in boats and barges over the piece of water intervening between the Long Wharf of Boston and Moulton's Point, on the east side of Charleston. Their number was about two thousand, and they were under the command of Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot. The place of landing was not far from the mouth of the river Mystic, and the object of the attacking force was to outflank the Americans, to cut off their retreat by gradually closing round them, and thus to capture the whole. The provincials were

by this time greatly fatigued. Prescott had no artificial protections in his rear; and his flank, on the side which the English were approaching, was guarded only by that prolongation of the redoubt in a northerly direction which he had begun to construct, and which, being still unfinished, possessed no great strength. If Howe had advanced at once, he would probably have carried the position very speedily; but, seeing that the Americans calmly awaited the assault, he thought it prudent to draw up his men on the first rising ground, and send back for reinforcements. Taking advantage of the delay, Prescott fortified his camp with promptitude and ability. Behind the breastwork, at a distance of about two hundred yards, was a low stone wall, surmounted by a fence of posts connected by two lines of horizontal rails, which extended towards the Mystic for a distance of rather more than three hundred yards. On the inner side of this line was a ditch; and the most was made of these elements of defence. The Connecticut forces, under Knowlton, were ordered forward by Prescott, and, with two field-pieces, they marched towards the fence. This they strengthened by piling up a quantity of newly-mown hay between the rails, and hastily erecting a second rail-fence parallel with the first, and filling up with more hay the space between the two. Nearly a hundred yards, however, were left without any protection but such as the natural difficulties of the ground, which could not be regarded as very considerable, were capable of affording.

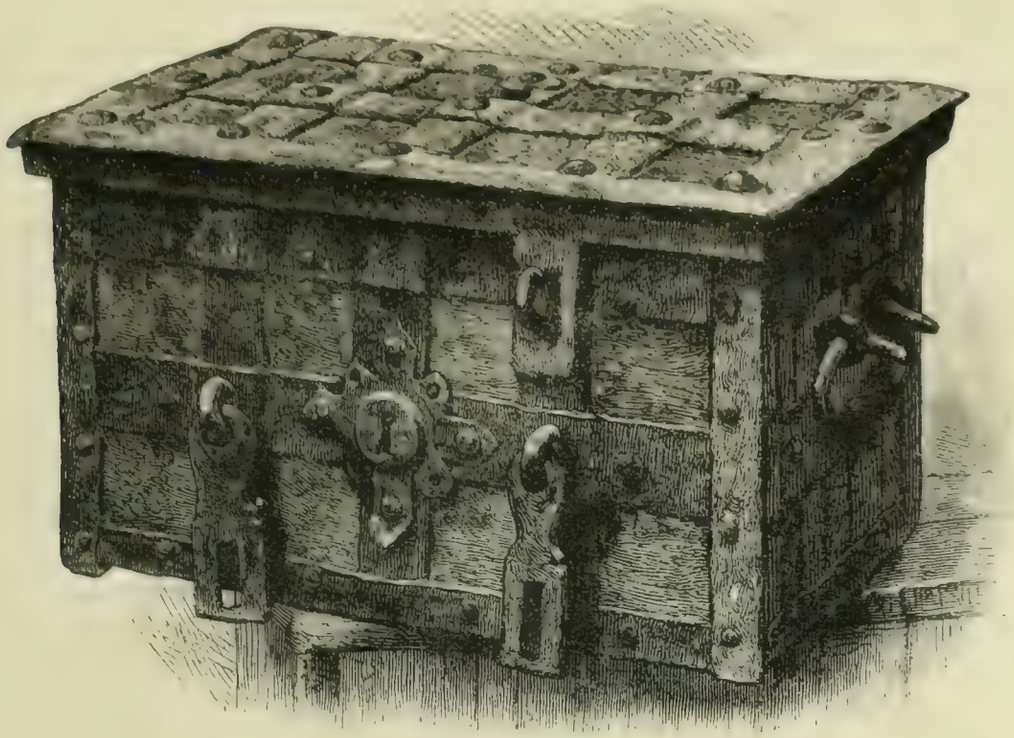


THE MONUMENT ON BUNKER'S HILL.

Towards the English attack was the slope of a bank, declining to the water; and at the foot of Breed's Hill was the slough already mentioned.

Prescott's position was most serious, and so it appeared to the Committee of Safety and to General Ward, to whom appeals were sent for reinforcements. Ward was opposed to risking a battle, and it was urged by others that the expenditure of powder might be ruinous. There were in truth not more than sixty-three half-barrels of powder in store, and it was feared that the consumption of this by cannon might leave the patriots with scarcely any for future operations. Ward at first determined not to despatch reinforcements from his camp, fearing that if he did so the main attack of the British would be made on Cambridge itself; but he sent some New Hampshire regiments to the support of Prescott, and later in the day he made a contribution from head-quarters, when he found that the English had really no design on Cambridge. Several officers voluntarily joined the scene of action; among them, the veteran Seth Pomroy, who had fought at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745, and Joseph Warren, one of the Committee of Safety, who refused to accept a command, but solicited and obtained a post of danger. There were also several free negroes mingled with the whites. On the arrival of fresh regiments, the conduct of the defence was pursued with greater briskness. A breastwork of stones was thrown up close to the brink of the Mystic, and three ranks of men, with others lying down on the grass, were posted behind it. This was done by order of Colonel John Stark, of the New Hampshire levies, who fought quite independently of Prescott, and gave his particular attention to the protection of the flank. At the same time, Putnam was endeavouring, though unsuccessfully, to erect works on Bunker's Hill, where he considered that there should be a great concentration of troops. He also frequently went over to the foot of Breed's Hill, and at other times was at Cambridge, urging the necessity of reinforcements. His restless energy formed a line of connection between the several points of danger or defence.

Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon the Royal troops advanced to the assault. They were formed into two lines, and marched under cover of a heavy fire of cannon and howitzers. Howe was in command of the right wing, Pigot of the left; and it was arranged that the former should attack the American lines in flank, while the latter assailed the southern front of the redoubt. The regiments moved slowly, in order that the artillery should produce full effect on the works; and in a little while Pigot found that his left flank was being severely galled by a number of American riflemen posted in houses in the village of Charleston, which lay below the position of the insurgents. Howe therefore sent over orders to Clinton and Burgoyne, who remained on the Boston peninsula, to set fire to the village, which was effected by a discharge of shells from Copp's Hill. The flames were aided by



WASHINGTON'S TREASURE-CHEST. (*From a Photograph.*)

a party of men who landed on the opposite peninsula for that purpose. Fire and smoke soon rose in large volumes into the burning and brilliant midsummer day; but a sudden shifting of the wind prevented the dun vapours from obscuring the movements of the attacking force, as had been hoped. The buildings in Charleston, some five hundred in number, were all constructed of wood, and the blaze of their ignition flared far and wide over the neighbourhood and the surrounding country, attracting crowds of spectators, who assembled on the hills, on the roofs of the houses in Boston, on the tops of the church-towers, and on the masts of the shipping, to watch the grand but terrible spectacle. General Burgoyne, writing an account of the action to a friend, described with considerable force the effect of this impressive feature of the engagement. "The enemy," he wrote, "all in anxious suspense; the roar of cannon, mortars, and musketry, the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together, to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the objects above described, to fill the eye; and the reflection that perhaps a defeat was a final loss to the British Empire in America, to fill the mind,—made the whole a picture and a complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness."* The setting fire to towns and villages is always one of the least justifiable operations of warfare. The justification on the present occasion was the alleged circumstance of Charleston being turned into a cover for offensive operations; but the act has ever since been regarded by the Americans as a barbarous outrage.

The military dispositions of General Howe were commended by Burgoyne as "soldier-like and perfect." He was well seconded by his men, but they had no light task before them. The troops under Pigot ascended the rising ground towards the redoubt steadily and in good order. They had to wade through grass reaching to the knees, and frequently to surmount walls and fences. The fire of their small arms did not produce much effect, as they aimed too high and began too soon; and Prescott ordered his men to reserve their return volley until he should give the word. When he thought the British near enough, he exclaimed "Fire!"—and, with a simultaneous report, the leaden death smote the front rank of the advancing force, stretching many in mortal agony on the turf, and bringing the rest to a stand. It was not long, however, before the soldiers rallied; but the Americans fired again and again, loading under cover, and springing up on the wall of the redoubt to deliver their shots. These rapid volleys were replied to by the regulars with great spirit, and a fierce combat went on for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. The Americans were determined to sustain the reputation for courage which they had won at Concord, and to disprove the idle and ungenerous taunts as to their cowardice which had been uttered in Parliament by Lord Sandwich, Colonel Grant, and others. They recollected those taunts with bitterness, and to the commanding officer of one of the English regiments some of the opposing ranks exclaimed, "Colonel Abercrombie, are the Yankees cowards?" It is unquestionable that great courage and resolution were exhibited on both sides; but the situation was now worse for the English than for the Americans. The latter were to some extent under cover; the former, without any protection whatever, had to attack a redoubt and its supplementary works, and that under very trying conditions. For some reason which it is impossible to divine, the soldiers were encumbered with three days' provisions, and carried their knapsacks on their backs. They were overburdened, fatigued, exhausted by the hot sun, and mown down by a close, continuous, and well-delivered fire. After awhile, the line wavered and gave way. Another moment, and the whole mass staggered in disorderly heaps down the side of the hill, and crowded tumultuously on the shore, close to the landing-place.

Meanwhile, the column under Howe was attacking the spur of the redoubt that ran north towards the Mystic, and presented its face to the east. Having arrived within eighty or a hundred yards of the rail-fence, the troops deployed into line with great coolness and precision. The Americans under the command of Stark and Knowlton reserved their fire with the same quiet self-restraint that their fellows at the chief redoubt had shown. Resting their guns on the rail in front of them, they discharged, at the proper moment, a heavy volley, from which the British, as at the other position, recoiled in disorder until they reached such shelter as they could find. In about a quarter of an hour, the detachment under Pigot was again ready to advance against the south face of the redoubt. The men had been rallied by their officers, who were seen, by spectators on the opposite shore, pushing them forward at the sword's point, and using passionate gestures. They advanced the second time with some reluctance, but, getting within musket-shot, pressed on with renewed energy and spirit. The American volley, delivered this time at still closer quarters than before, was afterwards described by

* General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25th, 1775—a letter first printed in the newspapers of the day.

Prescott as like a continuous stream of fire; and it produced a terrible effect on the British. Again they wavered and broke. Their officers exposed themselves with reckless daring, and even struck the soldiers to drive them on; but they could no longer be got forward. The bottom of the hill was once more sought in headlong flight; yet the wall of the redoubt had been very nearly gained. Some of the dead and dying lay within a few yards of it; others a little farther off on the now crimsoned slope.

A second advance was also made against the flank by Howe's division. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry marched close up to the fence, but were unable to carry it. Some of the companies, it is said, lost three-fourths, some even as many as nine-tenths, of their numbers, as soon as they presented themselves. In several instances, not more than three or four men were left in a company, so terrible was the fire. The dead, as Colonel Stark testified, lay as thick as sheep within a fold. So many of the English officers were killed, that for awhile Howe was left nearly alone; yet the struggle was still maintained. The guns of the ships in harbour, and the artillery of the batteries planted on the opposite shore, continued to ply with vigour; but towards the end of the action the field-pieces were reduced to silence for want of proper ammunition. Some ball sent over from Boston during the course of the battle proved to be too large for the calibre of the guns; and the infantry were thus left to do their work without the aid which field artillery would have afforded them. On the other hand, the ammunition of the Americans also was very nearly exhausted after the defeat of the second attack. The Committee of Safety insisted that every shot ought to kill a man, and that a lavish supply of powder would only tempt the men to neglect accuracy of aim, and thus throw away their fire. They had therefore omitted to furnish fresh supplies, and, although there had been no waste, the stock was now almost at an end. The colonial forces had but few bayonets among them, and the chances of a third assault looked unpromising for the Americans. The powder in some artillery-cartridges was distributed, and strict injunctions were given not to waste a grain of it. Prescott hoped that, if the English could be repulsed a third time, their discomfiture would be final and complete; but no such fortune was in store. Howe was resolved not to be beaten, and he made a fresh disposition of his forces, so as to deliver a simultaneous attack on three sides of the American position. He was enabled to do this by an unexpected arrival of reinforcements. Clinton, having observed from Copp's Hill the very critical posture of affairs, had, on his own authority, alone, started for the scene of action at the head of two battalions, including a body of marines. The whole force was now divided between the south, the east, and the north sides of the entrenchment, and the three divisions, disencumbered of their knapsacks, moved forward more swiftly to the supreme effort.

The insurgents had retired to the inner part of the fort, the outer lines being raked by the batteries. Once again they waited with calm self possession the near approach of the enemy; then, as before, a terrific fire leaped forth with that concentration and regularity which made the Americans of those days the best marksmen in the world, and which they derived from their habits of open-air sport, and from the practice of shooting at marks. But this time, after a momentary pause, the British, instead of giving way, sprang forward, without any return volley, to the outer wall. The American fire grew less and less, and presently almost ceased. On the southern side of the redoubt, the front rank of the assailing force scaled the parapet with a rush. Many were shot down; amongst them, Major Pitcairn, the officer associated with Lexington, who fell mortally wounded. But the regulars, now that they had surmounted the breastwork, rushed on with an impetuosity which nothing could check. Driven to desperation, and devoid of ammunition, the colonists clubbed their muskets, and struck wildly at the foe, who steadily pressed on, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. At nearly four o'clock, the Americans fled from the position they had so long and gallantly defended, and, in disorderly masses, made in the direction of Bunker's Hill. "Nothing," wrote a young officer of marines, who was present on the occasion, in a letter to his brother, "could be more shocking than the carnage that followed the storming of this work. We tumbled over the dead to get at the living, who were crowding out of the gorge of the redoubt in order to form under the defences which they had prepared to cover their retreat." Prescott was the last to leave the fort: but the example of his daring was insufficient to amend the fortunes of the day. Though his coat and waistcoat were rent with bayonet-thrusts, which he parried with his sword, he got off unhurt. The British had burst in at the north-eastern angle of the fort, as well as at the south; and for a few minutes the redoubt was a mob of raging combatants, wildly intermingled. But the provincials after a time fought their way out, and escaped under a cloud of dust which their trampling feet beat up from the parched and pulverised soil. Their re-

great was further aided by the obstinacy with which the Connecticut and New Hampshire companies, under Knowlton and Stark, held the outlying defences in the direction of the Mystic. As soon as the main body had left Breed's Hill, these auxiliaries also retired. Utterly worn out by the events of the day—by their two unsuccessful attempts to carry the enemy's entrenchments, and their final success—the English troops could do no more than make a show of pursuit; but the fugitives suffered severely, in passing Charleston Neck, from the cross-fire of two floating batteries, and of the *Gloucester* man-of-war. Of six pieces of artillery which they possessed, the insurgents were not able to carry off more than one. Their personal loss, however, was but slight, considering the length and vehemence of the contest. It is set down by American writers at a hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded. Among the killed was Joseph Warren, one of the most active and distinguished of the patriots of that time. He was among the last in the trenches, and fell as the retreat began; but his name is cherished in grateful memory by his countrymen, as that of a man who gave all his varied faculties, and finally life itself, to the service of his native land, and to the cause which he believed to be just.*

The cost of the battle on the side of the English was very serious. More than a third of the forces engaged were slain or disabled. The killed were above two hundred and twenty in number; the wounded, more than eight hundred and twenty. Gage, in his report of the event to Lord Dartmouth, made some striking observations, that must have opened the eyes of English statesmen to the serious nature of the task they had undertaken. He wrote:—"The success, which was very necessary in our present condition, cost us dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. We have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be, and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with uncommon zeal and enthusiasm. They entrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, which it is not impossible for them to annoy. The conquest of this country is not easy; you have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance, as they do now. I think it my duty to let your lordship know the true situation of affairs." Had the Government been equally well-informed at an earlier period, they might have shown a greater inclination towards a pacific policy.

The Americans have sometimes claimed the Battle of Bunker's Hill as a victory, but certainly without justice. They have also indulged in some overstatements as to the number of the English engaged, and some understatements as to the proportions of their own army; though probably these perversions are not greater than what is frequently observable where national feeling comes very strongly into play. Attempts have been made to show that the British forces greatly outnumbered those of the colonists—that the latter were to be counted by hundreds, and the former by thousands. It is probable, however, that, by the time they had received all their reinforcements, the Americans mustered about four thousand; while it does not seem likely the Royal troops were ever above three thousand, if so many. Another point with respect to which some qualifications are needed, is the conduct of the American officers. That some of these behaved with unsurpassed courage, is certain; but we have the most unimpeachable testimony that there were many very serious exceptions. Washington, who joined the camp shortly afterwards, stated, in a confidential letter to the President of Congress, that complaints were made to him of the cowardice of some of the officers, but that, although there were several strong circumstances and a very general opinion against them, none were condemned, except a Captain Callender, of the artillery, who was immediately cashiered, but who, on subsequent occasions, as a private, displayed the most desperate and persistent valour. It is added by Washington, however, that the conduct of the men generally, and of several of the officers, was admirable. The retreat seems to have been no worse than such movements commonly are; it was better than some in which disciplined troops have been concerned. The fugitives were met by Putnam on the northern side of Bunker's Hill. He had been endeavouring to collect further reinforcements, and now assumed the command of the discomfited regiments. Uniting them with a detachment of fresh troops, he encamped for the night on Prospect Hill.

Of the numerous British officers killed on that memorable day, not one was more sincerely lamented than Major Pitcairn. As he fell, his son, Lieutenant Pitcairn, was standing by his side. Their eyes met for a moment, but the wounded man, with

* Bancroft's and Grahame's Histories of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Jesse's Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George III. Some accounts of the action are rather confused.

a look of eager affection, expired without speaking a word. "My father is killed," cried the youth, as he knelt down by the side of the body; "I have lost my father!" The soldiers slackened fire for more than a minute. "We have all lost a father," exclaimed many of them.* Such are the incidents which in some degree redeem the moral corruption and physical horror of war. It is not likely that a man so much beloved by his own soldiers could have behaved at Lexington with the brutality attributed to him by some American writers.

The English forces entrenched themselves, on the night of June 17th, at the summit of Breed's Hill, lying down on the ground they had conquered, and which had been occupied in the morning by their enemies. They had achieved a victory, but it was one of a very barren nature. The peninsula of Charleston was, indeed, recovered by the Royalists; but the colonial forces were strongly posted beyond, and maintained an effective blockade. Had this success been followed up with vigour and at once, it might have resulted in a scattering of the insurgents before they had time to organise themselves. But a strange apathy possessed the counsels of British officers, and the golden opportunity was allowed to slip by. Before the affair of Bunker's Hill, the English soldiers had complained that they were kept on Boston Neck, twisting their pig tails and powdering their hair, while the Americans were gathering in their front and on their flanks like clouds. The same indolence prevailed after the battle, and led to most unfortunate results. The Americans gained more from Bunker's Hill than their opponents. They acquired self-confidence and self-reliance. They convinced their adversaries that they could fight; and to the nations of Europe they presented the spectacle of an united people, resolved to establish their independence at whatever cost of bloodshed. Franklin, on hearing of the event, wrote to his friends in England that Great Britain had lost her colonies for ever. Washington formed sanguine anticipations from the action; and Artemas Ward, in a general order, confidently prophesied that America would be victorious in the great struggle, and triumph over the enemies of freedom. But, before the accomplishment of the end proposed, a long and miserable path had to be traversed, thick with the graves of many virtuous men, and rife with evil memories.

CHAPTER XX.

Appointment of Four Major-Generals by the Continental Congress—Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Horatio Gates: their Characters and Antecedents—Appointment of Eight Brigadiers—Washington at New York—Plan of Accommodation proposed by the New York Congress—Statement of Grievances by the Continental Congress—Addresses to the People of Great Britain and Ireland—Proceedings of Washington on joining the Camp before Boston—His Opinion of the New England Soldiers—Their General Appearance, Discipline, and Equipment—Negotiations between Lee and Burgoyne—Massachusetts creates a New Government—Washington's Report on the State of the Army—Franklin's Fresh Proposals for a Confederation—Hesitation of Congress—Difficulties of Washington—Daniel Morgan and the Western Riflemen—Treatment of Prisoners—The American Lines advanced nearer to Boston—Difficulties of the Time—Position of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, towards the General Cause of the Colonies.

At the very time that the forces of New England were withstanding British troops in the vicinity of Boston, the Continental Congress was engaged in nominating four Major-Generals to act under Washington in command of the regiments that were to be raised by the whole of the provinces. The first of these was Artemas Ward, who, considering his age, infirmities, and very moderate capacity, must have been appointed more out of compliment than any other feeling. The second was Charles Lee, an officer in the Royal army, who had quitted England in consequence of being denied preferment on account of certain writings of his which had given offence to the military authorities. He had seen active service, not only in America, but in Portugal, Poland, and Turkey. Possessed of abilities and knowledge, he was nevertheless an unfortunate selection on the part of the patriots, for, while professing great enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, he appears to have cherished a secret contempt for the Americans, and to have been influenced less by regard for his adopted country than by pique against those by whom he had been injured in his native land. Lee was a man of ambitious desires and jealous disposition, gloomy and irritable, and too prone to aristocratic and despotic ideas in

* Moore's Diary of the American Revolution.

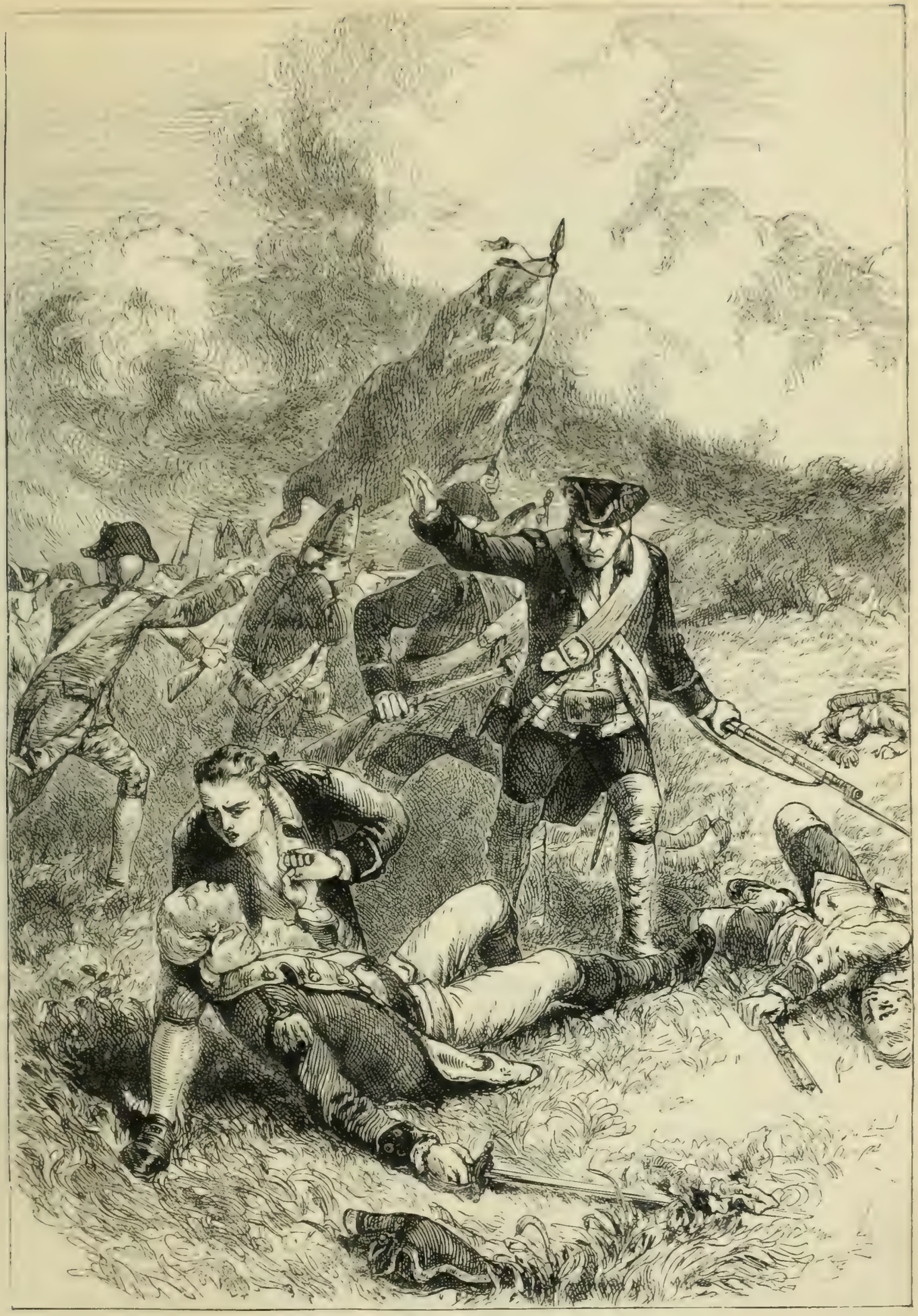
politics to work harmoniously with the democratic institutions then rapidly taking shape in America. In religion, he was a free-thinker, and therefore incapable of sympathy with the several forms of religious fervour with which the colonies still abounded. Self-interest was a leading principle in his nature; and before he would consent to accept the post which was offered him (his aspirations pointing to the chief command), he exacted a promise of indemnity for renouncing his half-pay.

The third Major-General was Philip Schuyler, of New York—a man of great consideration in that province, of high character, and of unquestionable patriotism, yet in some respects unsuited to military command. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, was the fourth of these general officers. His calling was that of a tavern-keeper, and, although he had led an adventurous life as a Ranger, and was a man of courage, he was too ignorant and headstrong to assume anything like an important part. Another of the commanders was Horatio Gates, a godson of Horace Walpole, who was made an Adjutant-general with the rank of Brigadier. He, like Lee, had served in the English army, and possessed the advantages of technical knowledge. He had been one of Braddock's officers, and was wounded in the unfortunate expedition against Fort Duquesne; had afterwards acted under Monckton at the siege of Martinique, and had more recently been stationed in Nova Scotia. His name became conspicuous in the War of Independence, and it seemed at one time as if he might be a rival to Washington. The eight Brigadiers whom Congress elected about the same time were (excluding Gates, as not being strictly of that category) Seth Pomroy, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster, of Connecticut; William Heath, of Massachusetts; Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Thomas, of Massachusetts; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island: all, with one exception, men of New England birth, and, for the most part, ill-fitted for the duties with which they were charged. Pomroy, perceiving that his capacity was doubted in the camp before Boston, declined to accept his commission; the others undertook the responsibilities with which they were invested. It is worthy of remark that, among the officers about to contend with the power of Great Britain, two were Englishmen—Lee and Gates—while Montgomery was a native of the north of Ireland. The last-named, like the other two, had served under the Royal standards, and could boast high qualities as a soldier.



WASHINGTON'S BOOK-MARK.

Washington quitted Philadelphia on the 23rd of June, 1775; on the afternoon of the 25th, which was Sunday, he was escorted into New York with a good deal of military parade, and in the midst of a large concourse of people. Late in the evening of the same day, Tryon, the newly-appointed Royal Governor, landed from the harbour, and was received with a general coldness and indifference. Next day, the Provincial Congress of New York discussed the state of affairs. The delegates, in an address to Washington, expressed their strong desire for an accommodation with the mother country, and trusted that the General-in-Chief would cheerfully return to his position as a private citizen as soon as matters had been satisfactorily settled. Speaking for himself and his companions-in-arms, Washington replied that they had not laid aside the citizen in assuming the soldier, but that, nevertheless, the sword having been drawn, all thoughts of private life must be postponed until the establishment of American liberty on firm and solid foundations. The New York Congress, however, was not indisposed to make a strong effort in the direction of peace. The members of that body produced a plan of accommodation, in which, while demanding the repeal of oppressive Acts of Parliament, the undisturbed exercise by the colonies of the powers of internal legislation and taxation, and the free enjoyment of the rights of conscience, they conceded to Great Britain the power to regulate the trade of the whole Empire, and promised to aid in the general defence, on proper requisitions being made. This plan was transmitted to the delegates who represented New York in the Continental Congress, and they were instructed to use every effort to com-



DEATH OF MAJOR PITCAIRN.

promise the unhappy quarrel which had broken out. New York was ill-prepared for war, and its material interests inclined a large proportion of the citizens to desire a restoration of old ties.

The larger body sitting at Philadelphia was less urgent in this respect. It was thinking more of the grievances under which the country was suffering, and of the best way of putting its case before the world. A document was agreed to on the 6th of July, in which the wrongs of America were recapitulated; and Lord North's conciliatory proposals were condemned, as insidiously designed to divide the colonies. The affairs at Lexington and Concord,—the alleged embodying of Canadians, Indians, and insurgent slaves to serve against the provincials,—the seizure of ships, the intercepting of provisions, and other acts of hostility,—were also mentioned; and the document (which, like that of June 12th, was the production of Jefferson) concluded with a direct and unequivocal declaration of an intention to oppose the Royal Government to the utmost extremity. "We are reduced," said the members of Congress, "to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Our cause is just, our union is perfect, our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. Before God and the world we declare that the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will employ for the preservation of our liberties; being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves." It was denied by the delegates that they had raised armies with a design of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. Necessity, they observed, had not yet driven them to that desperate measure. They had taken up arms to protect their property against violence actually offered; and they would not lay them down until hostilities should cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed should be removed.

In addition to this document, and to the second petition to the King already mentioned, Congress voted an address to the people of Great Britain, who were addressed in affectionate language as "Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren." After another statement of the wrongs of America, it was asked if the descendants of Englishmen could tamely submit to such injuries. "No!" exclaimed the delegates of the United Colonies, answering their own question, "we never will. While we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts: these are inconsiderable objects—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury which, from that period, you will want,—the luxury of being free. Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does this sedition consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, show us a period in your history in which you have not been equally seditious. We are reproached with harbouring the project of independence; but what have we done that can warrant this reproach? Abused, insulted, and contemned, we have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne, and we have applied to your justice for relief. What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity, our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will or the power to assist us. Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign Powers who are the rivals of your grandeur? Have we taken advantage of the weakness of your troops, and hastened to destroy them before they were reinforced? Have not we permitted them to receive the succours we could have intercepted?" After reminding the English people that the extinction of liberty in America would prepare the way for its destruction in the old country also, the address proceeded:—"A cloud hangs over your head and ours. Ere this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us. Let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness be obliterated) once more repeat these appellations which are ever grateful to our ears; let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic."

It is impossible to believe in the sincerity of these expressions; but they may have seemed justifiable to the members of Congress as a means of securing the good-will of the people of England, and separating the nation from its rulers. To speak of Englishmen as their "gallant and virtuous ancestors,"—to address them as "friends, brethren, and countrymen,"—was the most likely

way to strengthen the kindly regards of those in the old country who had taken up the cause of the colonists, and to give them a fair ground for continuing their disinterested advocacy with decency and reason. Yet, at the very moment that the members of Congress uttered these honeyed words to the people of England and Scotland, they issued an address to the people of Ireland, which was little else than a covert incentive to that country to rise in revolt against the race by which it had been subjected. They dwelt much on the oppression of the Irish people; hinted at the opportunities of redress which were then opening; and added that the innocent and cruelly ill-treated Americans naturally desired the sympathy and good-will of a humane and virtuous people, who had themselves suffered under the rod of the same oppressor. The two-fold intention of this address was to create a diversion in Ireland in favour of the colonists, and at the same time to conciliate the support of the numerous Irish emigrants in America. In one respect the delegates fell into a curious error. They expressed to the Irish great amazement and sorrow at finding the name of Howe in the catalogue of their enemies; as if the Howes had been an Irish family.* They were apparently misled by the fact that an Irish peerage had been conferred on the grandfather of the existing generation. The Howes were an old English stock, and the mother of the three brothers associated with America was a German lady.

On the 2nd of July, Washington reached the camp before Boston, where his great organising genius was sorely needed to give something like form and consistency to the chaotic mass of raw material of which the patriotic army consisted. The separate corps raised by the provinces were governed by distinct rules, so far as they could be said to be governed by any rules at all. The men had entered for varying terms of service, and the longest was but short. Even the army of the United Colonies was only to be enlisted until the end of the year. Amongst the New Englanders there was an entire absence of the feeling of professional troops—a total want of order and discipline. Nobody even knew how many men there were in the field, and the soldiers came and went as they liked. One of the first acts of Washington was to direct that a return of the state of the army should be made. The Commander-in-Chief thought but poorly of the New England levies from a scientific point of view, and never sympathised with, or perhaps very clearly understood, the character of the people in that part of America. It is curious to note how completely the northern and southern colonies had divided into two distinct nationalities—a circumstance which, in our own times, conspired with other causes to bring about the civil war of 1861-5. In various communications written about this period, Washington spoke of the Connecticut troops as pervaded by a dirty and mercenary spirit, and as being guilty of scandalous conduct. He complained of the dearth of public spirit and want of virtue; spoke of stock jobbing and fertility in low arts for the obtaining of advantages; and prayed God that he might never witness the like again. And, in a letter dated the 10th of February in the following year, he remarked that, notwithstanding all the public virtue ascribed to the people of Massachusetts, he had never come across any nation that paid greater adoration to money than they did. As, however, Washington's experience of nations can scarcely be described as very wide, his opinion in this respect may not be of the highest value. It is worth citation only as illustrating the diversity of character existing between Virginia and New England—the child of Monarchy and the child of Republicanism. All the more intense must have been the feeling of antagonism to Great Britain, which could bind together, "into a mass irrefragably firm," the discordant elements of American colonial life.

The two opposing armies were now encamped very near one another. The Royal forces occupied not only Boston, but the whole of Charleston peninsula, their sentries extending a short distance beyond the Neck. Redoubts and batteries were scattered about, and between six and seven thousand highly-disciplined and seasoned troops stood prepared for any further action. The colonial army was posted in a semi-circle from the west end of Dorchester to Malden, a distance of nine miles. The centre of the line was at Cambridge, where Ward commanded; and all about the little towns, and country ways, and steep passes between hill and hill, were defensive works, contrived with no small tact. The men were not dressed after any uniform pattern, and, with a few exceptions, did not present a very soldier-like spectacle. Some were lodged in tents; others in extemporised huts, made of boards, sailcloth, turf, brushwood, reeds, or anything that came to hand; others, again, in regular dwelling-houses.† In these hurried musters there was a great deal of excellent material; but it

* Mr. Bancroft has proceeded on the same false assumption.

† Letter of the Rev. William Emerson, printed by Mr. Sparks in the Appendix to Vol. III. of his edition of the Writings of Washington.

needed education and the stern rigours of command. Despite his rather contemptuous opinion of New England virtue, Washington admitted that the men gathered about Boston were active, zealous, and courageous. But he perceived a degree of insubordination which made him uneasy, and he could not but be sensible that the officers, for the most part, were quite inadequate to their duties. For the correction of their repeated wrong-doings, the Commander-in-Chief was obliged to hold frequent courts-martial, and to make many examples. It was with difficulty that he could enforce a proper degree of respect for the officers, and of obedience to their orders; for, as both the privates and their military superiors came from the same class, the former saw no reason why they should not, at all seasons and under all circumstances, be on a footing of equality. The result was that each did what seemed to himself most advisable, and concerted action became almost impossible. A species of despotism was necessary among these unregulated masses of men; and, with a firm hand, a wise head, and a cheerful disposition, Washington soon effected an important change. Whenever he considered it necessary, he did not scruple to administer the lash. The men were kept at labour even on Sundays, strengthening the lines, and fortifying weak places. These engineering works were in part planned and executed by Henry Knox, of Boston, who had been appointed to the command of a battalion of artillery, and who in time introduced so much improvement into the American ordnance that some of the best judges in Europe expressed their admiration of his genius. The largest number of effectives then under the command of Washington was fourteen thousand five hundred. Of these, many were very inferior soldiers; but, altogether, the force, when to some extent organised, promised not ill for the future of the revolted provinces.

At this period, Lee mixed himself up with certain negotiations which appear to have excited against him a degree of suspicion on the part of the patriots. In answer to a note which he had addressed to Burgoyne from Philadelphia in June, the latter invited Lee to an interview within the British lines, for the purpose of mutual explanations with a view to the restoration of peace. In this communication, which was sent in July, Burgoyne said he *knew* that Great Britain was ready to open her arms upon the first overture of accommodation. Without asking advice of a council of war, Lee requested the Massachusetts Congress to depute one of their body to be a witness of what should pass; but the delegates declined to sanction the meeting, and Lee thereupon publicly declined to accept the invitation which had been conveyed to him, but transmitted to Burgoyne a secret missive, in which he declared that the Americans had the certainty of being supported by France and Spain. Although this statement may have been imprudent, and Lee was apparently not authorised in making it, there is surely very insufficient ground for charging him with anything like a treacherous intention. He seems throughout the war to have been unable entirely to divest himself of his character of an Englishman (though inclined at times to an excess of violence), and he probably hoped, up to a rather late period, to bring about a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, in which he would himself occupy the position of an armed mediator. But his subsequent efforts in the cause of American independence are not such as to warrant the supposition that he was a traitor to the people whose sword he had consented to hold, though his conduct may in some respects have been blamable. Doubtless his position was equivocal; but he had thrown in his lot with the Americans, and with them he remained to the close of his life.

Frequent skirmishes occurred from time to time, but nothing of importance during the remainder of July. In the field of politics, however, Massachusetts was exhibiting all her old energy. The people chose a House of Representatives, and the Provincial Congress dissolved itself. By the 21st of July, the Massachusetts Government was permanently constituted, and an annual Council of twenty-eight was elected by the Legislature, which was itself to be re-elected every year. The executive powers of the province were confided to this Council, and a share in the work of legislation was also conferred on it. Forty thousand pounds were assessed on polls and estates, and a further sum was raised on bills of public credit for small amounts. The support of the army before Boston was for the present left to voluntary contributions, and the system, irregular though it was, seems at first to have worked fairly. The farmers of the surrounding country sent in supplies unsolicited, and the men were well fed, though there was absolutely no commissariat. It was evident, however, that this method could not go on for ever, or even for long. The whole conduct of the forces was an affair of chance, and chance will never operate favourably as a continuous rule. Washington saw how much was needed to convert the armed mob of provincials into a regular army, capable of meeting the trained regiments of Great Britain. He sent in a report to the Continental Congress, in which the defects of the several levies were pointed out

with no sparing hand. Similar complaints were made by Schuyler with respect to the northern army at Ticonderoga. Sentinels, he alleged, would sleep on their posts; privates would treat their officers as if they were on terms of exact equality; and discipline was entirely disregarded. The Congressional delegates read these reports, and trembled for the result of a war. They still clung to the hope of peace—not, indeed, out of any real loyalty, or any actual desire for perpetuating the connection between the two countries, but from fear of provoking too far the wrath of a monarch who had at his command many battalions of professional fighting-men, with abundant supplies, and all the resources of a wealthy nation. Accordingly, no steps were taken to increase the patriot hosts, nor was much even attempted towards the improvement of those bodies which were already in the field.

Franklin, who was by this time back at Philadelphia, was again directing his attention to the more effective confederation of the colonies. Reverting in some measure to his Albany scheme of 1754, he submitted to Congress a plan for uniting the colonies in one nation. Each colony was to have its own Parliament, and the right to amend its own laws and constitution whenever it pleased; and the Federal Government was to attend to affairs of national importance, and to govern the waste lands. Congress was to consist of but one legislative body, to be chosen annually, and one of its committees was to wield the executive power. To this Union, not only the English provinces in North America were invited to accede, but even Ireland, which was regarded as a colony. The Confederation was put forward as a temporary arrangement; but it was intimated that it would become perpetual if Great Britain still refused to satisfy the demands of the Americans. This daring scheme, which plainly had for one of its chief objects the excitement of a rebellion in Ireland, was for a time set aside by Congress, whose councils were characterised by not a little nervous timidity. Some members of Congress, however, were far in advance of the collective sentiment. John Adams, in particular, was for at once establishing a constitution and a general government. His views on this subject were expounded in a set of letters to New England, and were intercepted by the Royalists, who published them as evidence of the extreme designs of some among the malcontents. Like all deliberative bodies, Congress contained a number of men of very divergent views, and it is probable that certain of its numbers were really desirous of seeing a friendly termination to the dispute. But the majority were doubtless restrained by a reasonable fear of what might ensue on an unsuccessful rebellion. When Congress adjourned on the 1st of August, nothing had been settled in principle; yet, as the reader is aware, a great many steps had been taken which made it all the less likely that the quarrel would be compromised—all the more probable that a violent separation would take place.

The want of a strong central Government threw additional burdens upon Washington. He was desperately in need of money; for, although Congress had voted him five hundred thousand dollars, to pay the soldiers and meet the other expenses of the time, it was in paper currency, and the persons who were to sign the bills were in no hurry to discharge that duty. An equally serious matter was the failure of powder, of which there was so little that the provincials could not at that date have fought a general action. Washington therefore sent urgent messages to the other New England colonies, to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Bermudas, from which he obtained such supplies as they were able to furnish; and it is said that some was even procured from the British forts on the coasts of Africa, in exchange for rum. Powder-mills also were erected at Philadelphia and New York. Of the enthusiasm of the country, Washington had no reason to complain. His riflemen numbered more than Congress itself had authorised; and among them was one Daniel Morgan, the captain of a Virginian company, though himself a native of New Jersey, who afterwards obtained great fame as a leading hero of the revolutionary struggle. Morgan was a man of extremely humble origin, who, despite the poverty of his early years, had contrived to teach himself many things, and to acquire a knowledge of the theory and practice of war. During Braddock's expedition, he had acted as a waggoner, and in 1774 he was with Dunmore in his operations against the Indians on the Ohio. He was now at the head of a company of ninety-six backwoodsmen, whom he had raised in ten days. His unusual height, for he measured more than six feet, made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the army; and his courage, energy, and intelligence were soon manifest in the field. The backwoodsmen from the western settlements were among the best troops of the colonists. Many of them had marched a distance of eight hundred miles with remarkable quickness, and their presence in camp added greatly to the picturesqueness, as well as strength, of the American army. They were painted, and to some extent dressed,

after the fashion of savages: each man carried at his side a rifle, a hatchet, a small axe, and a hunter's knife. With the external aspect of Indians, they had much of the Indian nature; could subsist on the game they killed, run with astonishing celerity, and sleep at night beneath a tree, wrapped up in the blankets which they carried with them. They were the sharpshooters of the patriotic army, and the flight of their bullets carried death with it to a distance of three hundred yards.*



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Gage did not feel easy in Boston, even after the arrival of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne with reinforcements. Nearly seven thousand of the rebellious Bostonians still remained within the city, and it was found necessary to keep a strict watch on these. They were confined to their houses after ten o'clock at night, and were of course regarded with disfavour in all the transactions of life. The treatment of the prisoners taken in the late actions was believed to be harsh, and it provoked a remonstrance from Washington. On the 11th of August, he addressed a letter to General Gage, informing him that he should regulate his conduct towards British prisoners of war by that which the Americans experienced. The English commander replied that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, but without distinction of officers and privates, because he could acknowledge no rank that was not derived from the King. He also retorted the charge of cruelty on the Americans, and threatened terrible consequences of any further barbarities inflicted on the Royalists. To this communication Washington rejoined:—"I have taken time, sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find

* Bancroft.

the intelligence you have received has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow citizens and brethren; but even those execrable parricides, whose counsel and aid have deluged this country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people.

perceive that, however valid these commissions may have been to *him*, they could not possibly be so regarded by the representative of the King. An inability to see the adversary's case from the adversary's point of view, is a failing from which great minds are as little exempt as small ones.

The investment of Boston proceeded with rigour



KING GEORGE III.

You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power." Towards the close of his epistle Washington observed that "a mind of true magnanimity" would comprehend and respect his doctrine of the all-sufficiency of commissions conferred by rebels on rebels. It is strange he did not

while these discussions were going forward. Gage was afraid to attempt any active operations, and even felt doubtful as to the safety of his position. Washington, rendered all the more confident by the hesitation of his opponent, pushed his lines still nearer Boston. On the night of the 26th of August, he took possession of Ploughed Hill, a little to the north-west of Charleston Neck; and on the 28th he offered battle to the English, but the challenge was declined. He did not entirely

confine his attention, however, to the neighbourhood of Boston, but, recognising the advisability of a diversion, and not approving of a suggested plan for the invasion of Nova Scotia, he determined to send an expedition against Canada from Ticonderoga, and to attempt the surprise of Quebec, in order to facilitate an attack on Montreal. Active operations of some kind in some direction were becoming necessary; for the spirit of the troops before Boston did not improve with time. With the approach of autumn, the want of fuel, of warm clothes, and of sufficient shelter, began to prey upon the minds of the soldiers, and a reduction of the daily allowances of food, which the want of means rendered imperative, almost led to a mutiny. A council of war in September unanimously dissuaded Washington from an attack on Boston; and, fretting at the chains which bound him, he remained at his post on the defensive, waiting until a more favourable state of affairs should enable him to begin a campaign. His letters of this period bear testimony to the endless vexations to which he was now subjected. His labours were incessant; his responsibilities terrible; the jealousies of his companions pertinacious, and difficult to be allayed.

In the middle and some of the southern provinces, the revolution progressed with greater slowness than in New England and elsewhere. New Jersey was kept in check by the adroit management of its Governor, William Franklin, the son of Benjamin, who was careful not to offend either party, and who professed to sympathise with most of the patriotic requirements, while deprecating any conduct that had the character of disloyalty. The younger Franklin had, two years before, been described by his father, in a letter to him, as "a thorough Government man." With this disposition the philosopher did not quarrel at the time; but when William continued to adhere to the Royal cause throughout the war, Benjamin made his loyalty a ground of dissension, and even refused an overture of reconciliation from the son. In 1775, however, their divergence was not so great as it afterwards became, and William Franklin pursued his way without parental admonitions or reproofs. The Provincial Congress made preparations for war, yet at the same time expressed an earnest desire for the re-establishment of harmony with Great Britain. Pennsylvania occupied a similar position of hesitation and compromise. The Penn family, who had ceased to be Quakers, and were now members of the Church of England, were men of liberal and generous views; but their interests, as well, probably, as their natural inclinations, disposed them to a conciliatory policy. The Quakers, moreover, as the reader has been informed, were strongly averse to the War of Independence, except in particular instances. Some of them, indeed, supported the popular cause even to the extent of drawing the sword. General Mifflin and General Greene were both Quakers, and the ranks of the army were not devoid of members of the Society of Friends. But as a rule they ranged themselves on the side of the English, and on several occasions even congratulated the Royal troops on their victories. As a natural consequence, they became objects of general suspicion and abhorrence; and even at the period of which we are now treating, Pennsylvania was regarded as but half-friendly to the ideas which found so much passionate expression in the General Congress assembled in the Pennsylvanian capital. The Assembly appointed a Committee of Safety, but took no very decided measures. Delaware, on the contrary, went heartily with the patriots; so did Maryland, where the infant proprietary—an illegitimate child of the dissolute Lord Baltimore, recently deceased—was represented by Robert Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor. Eden held aloof from partizanship, and refrained from obstructing the popular leaders. A Convention, which met at Annapolis in the month of July, resolved to oppose the Imperial Government by force, and took measures to raise an army and to provide funds. Virginia and New England were the two chief leaders in the national movement; but the other colonies also, even to Georgia, grouped themselves, with more or less of fervour, beneath the revolutionary flag.

CHAPTER XXI.

Proceedings of Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Establishment of a Provisional Government—Military Measures—The Convention on Independence—Views of Thomas Jefferson—State of Affairs in Georgia and in South Carolina—Composition of Society in the latter Province—Employment of Indians by both sides—Commencement of Civil War in South Carolina—Progress of Disaffection in North Carolina—Proposal to arm the Scotch Settlers on behalf of the King—Acts of the North Carolinian Provincial Congress—Effect in England of the News of Bunker's Hill—Employment of Hanoverian Troops—Position of France with reference to the American Revolt—Mission of M. de Bonvouloir to America—Jealousy of New England felt in the Continental Congress—Plans for improving the Colonial Army—Burning of Falmouth (Maine) by the English—Opening of the British Parliament, October 26th—The King's Speech—Debates in the Lords and Commons—Defection and Retirement from Office of the Duke of Grafton—Divers Ministerial Changes.

Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, lost no opportunity of getting on the worst possible terms with the people whom he was called upon to rule. From the *Fowey* man-of-war, whither he had fled as a place of refuge from the violence he feared, he conducted his operations against the province and its inhabitants. The Assembly invited him to return; but to this he would not consent, unless they previously accepted the conciliatory propositions of Lord North, which they emphatically declined to do. Dunmore, finding it necessary to meet the members, in order to give his assent to bills that had been passed during the session then about to close, required their presence on board the *Fowey*. Fearing they might be detained as hostages, they refused, and shortly afterwards voted that the proposal was a high breach of the rights and privileges of the House. They then dissolved; a Provisional Government was established, and Dunmore had no resource but in actual violence. He cherished a belief that he could induce the loyally-disposed to take arms against the rebels, and could obtain the alliance of the negro slaves, by holding up before their eyes a hope of freedom if they sided with the King. It is certain that the blacks were generally attached to the idea of monarchy, and not well inclined to the species of aristocratical republicanism from which they suffered. Yet, when the attempt to rouse them was actually made, some months later, it failed, from causes which we shall shortly see. For the present, matters had not proceeded so far; and the Convention which assembled at Richmond on the 17th of July, 1775, could conduct its deliberations without fear of a servile insurrection. The members of that body provided for the military wants of the colony by raising two regiments of regular troops in fifteen companies, and by directing that sixteen regiments of minute-men should hold themselves in readiness for actual service. Patrick Henry was appointed to the command of the first regiment of regulars; and, the military position of the colony being thus settled, the Convention proceeded to the arrangement of its civil affairs. Francis Lee was elected as the Delegate for the ensuing year to the Continental Congress, and a Committee of Safety was formed, with Edmund Pendleton for its head.

Pendleton was a man of loyal inclinations, who declared that a redress of grievances, not a revolution of government, was what he desired. The tendencies of Virginia were less extreme than those of Massachusetts; although even in the more southern colony a feeling of antagonism to the old country was widely diffused. On the present occasion, the members of the Convention declared, before God and the world, that they bore faith and true allegiance to his Majesty George III., their only lawful and rightful King, and would, so long as it might be in their power, defend him and his Government, as founded on the laws and well-known principles of the constitution; but that they were also determined to guard their lives and properties, and to maintain their just rights and privileges, even at the extremest hazards. This declaration, whatever its sincerity in the mouths of some, expressed the views of one of the most illustrious of Virginian patriots. Jefferson was disinclined to separation. He thought it better that his country should remain a Dependency of the British Crown than become a distinct Republic. In a letter to John Randolph, dated August 25th, 1775, he said he "would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation." But he would on no account submit to the claims of the British Parliament; and in another letter to the same gentleman, written on the 29th of November, he passionately exclaimed: "By the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is

will alone which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King."* That the will to separate was wanting, may have been true of several; but it was not true of all.

It has been seen that Georgia was the last of the thirteen Provinces to join the Confederation; but by July the amount of discontent in that colony was so serious, that the Governor, Sir James Wright, represented to the English Ministry the urgent need of conciliatory measures. There was not an hour, he said, to be lost: the state of affairs would not admit of the least delay. He even asked leave to return to England, that he might give personal explanations of the dangers by which the Royal authority was threatened in that part of America. The management of Wright, however, was so able and so liberal that no outbreaks of a very alarming character occurred, although a tendency to insubordination appeared every now and then, and a revolutionary Government was formed by a local Congress. South Carolina did not get on so well under the rule of Lord William Campbell. That nobleman met his first Legislature on the 10th of July, two days after receipt of news of the battle of Bunker's Hill; and the intelligence confirmed him in his resolution to oppose the popular party. The summer passed without anything decisive being done on either side; but the feeling of mutual distrust was extreme. The population of South Carolina was very heterogeneous; it included several Germans, with many settlers from different parts of Great Britain; and it was split into two main and rather antagonistic divisions—the planters along the coast, and the agriculturists of the interior. The former made a kind of oligarchy—a favoured body, which retained in its own hands the powers of Government and the privileges of election; the latter were the political outcasts of the province. Although the planters were, for the most part, members of the Church of England, their loyalty was questionable, because they did not like the prospect of their exclusive powers being curtailed by the action of the English Government. On the other hand, the working farmers and labourers of the country districts were open to the influence of Royalist agents, because they had nothing to endear them to the existing political condition. Before the summer was over, some armed struggles for the possession of forts had taken place, but without any important result, and, as the autumn approached, a species of truce was agreed to.

* The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by H. A. Washington. Published at Washington, 1853. Vol. I., pp. 201—3.

The rumour that Indians were to be employed by the Governor added to the perplexities and apprehensions of the time. An agent, named Stuart, was sent to induce the red men to give their warlike services to the King; and to this person Gage wrote a letter from Boston, exhorting him to use his utmost exertions with the aborigines, so that they might distress the rebellious colonists in all possible ways. "No terms," said Gage, "are now to be kept with them"—meaning the insurgents. "They have brought down all the savages they could against us here, who, with their riflemen, are continually firing upon our advanced sentries. In short, no time should be lost to distress a set of people so wantonly rebellious. Supply the Indians with what they want, be the expense what it will, as every exertion must now be made on the side of Government." This resort to savage allies was a disgraceful feature of the Civil War; but the discredit attaches to English and Americans alike. Both combatants were desirous of strengthening their forces by the wild tribes of the forest; and neither appears to have regarded very much, excepting in so far as its own sufferings were concerned, the wickedness of thus arming remorseless barbarians against civilised men. Gage may possibly have confounded the painted and bedizened sharp-shooters of the western settlements with actual savages; but it is well known that, in a thick wood situated near the mouth of the river Charles, a small body of Stockbridge Indians were stationed in aid of the patriotic forces, and that they were armed, not only with their native bows and arrows, but with muskets.† It is also an unquestionable truth that the Americans endeavoured, even before the outbreak of actual hostilities, to obtain the assistance of the Indians in the western parts of New York.

Stuart, encouraged in his labours by the emphatic words of Gage, began an active canvass among the Upper and Lower Creeks, the Chickasaws, and other tribes. The leading men of those communities were promised abundance of trade, and many honours, if they would support the King's cause. Ammunition was distributed to them, and they were requested to hold themselves in readiness to act on a concerted plan. The knowledge of these facts added greatly to the exasperation of the South Carolinian planters, and inclined them all the more to acts of rebellion. They boarded ships off their coasts, and abstracted more than twenty thousand pounds of gunpowder. Arms were obtained from Hispaniola, and from the West

† The fact is stated by Mr. Bancroft himself.

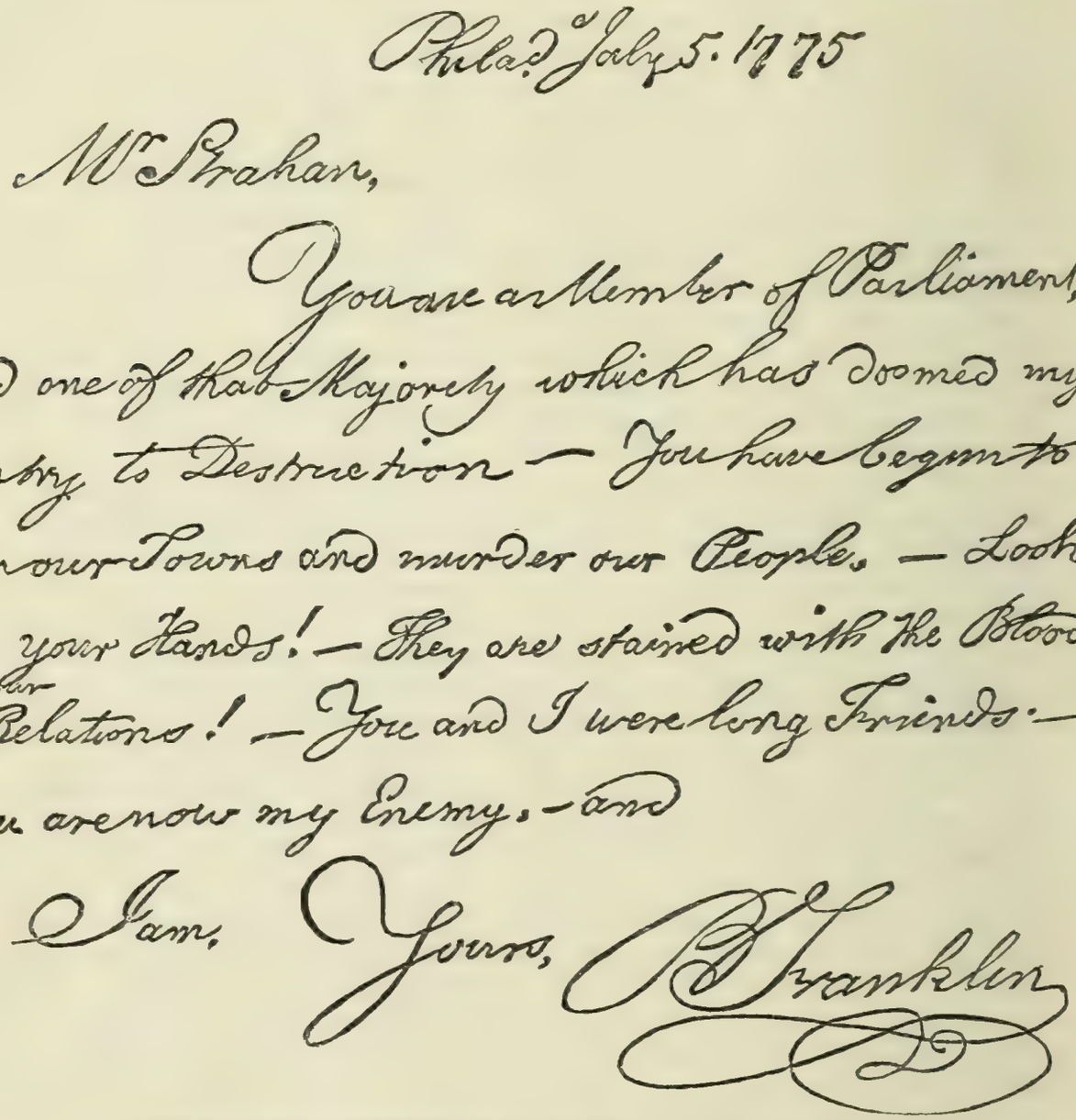
India islands belonging to France and Holland. A free negro, suspected of an intention of piloting British ships up to Charleston — an intention, however, which to the last he denied — was hanged without remorse. The ferocity of the southern nature was made painfully apparent in this act, and it is to be feared that the Governor had only too much reason to represent the colony as in a state of anarchy. The loyal were everywhere disarmed, and it was proposed to arrest Lord William Campbell himself. This was overruled by a majority of the Committee of Safety; but other daring acts were sanctioned. William Moultrie, colonel of the second regiment of provincial troops, was ordered to take possession of Fort Johnson on James Island. The Governor received information of the design, and accordingly despatched a party to throw the guns and carriages from the platform. He next dissolved the Assembly, and fled on board the *Tamar* man-of-war, about the middle of September. The fort was then seized by the insurgents, and military preparations went on with great energy. The Royal arsenal was ransacked; new gun-carriages were constructed; and a patriotic flag was devised and manufactured. South Carolina was in full rebellion,—or at least the planters were.

The Governor of North Carolina looked on these events with an uneasiness which he endeavoured to conceal by threats. He and Lord William Campbell represented in the most vivid colours the terrible consequences which would assuredly ensue on the rebellious conduct of the Carolinians; but the malcontents were not deterred. North Carolina was as little inclined to uphold the Royal Government as its southern namesake. Martin, the Governor, thought it prudent to send his family to New York, and himself to retire to Fort Johnston, on the river called Cape Fear. He had formerly been a Lieutenant-Colonel in the English army, and he now solicited to be restored to that position, promising that, if provided with artillery and ammunition, a couple of regiments, and a sufficiency of money, he would bring to his standard the Scotch Highlanders settled in that part of America, raise the people of the upper country, suppress the rebellion in both Carolinas, and hold Virginia and the neighbouring colonies in check. Some approaches were at once made towards organising the Highlanders, who consisted of the greater part of the regiment which had served in America during the last war with France, now turned into peaceful settlers; of members of several clans in the north-west of Scotland; and of humble folks from the isles of Rasay and Skye. Amongst them was the celebrated Flora Macdonald, associated in the minds of most readers with the exciting escape of the Second Pretender in 1746. Her husband, Allan Macdonald, who, with his wife and children, had emigrated to Cumberland county, North Carolina, in 1774, undertook, at the request of Martin, to raise a battalion of his countrymen, of which he was himself to be the Major. But the project soon became generally known, and the malcontent colonists took every precaution to counteract the measures of their opponents.

A summons to elect a new local Congress was issued to the people of North Carolina on the 10th of July by Samuel Johnston, a native of Scotland, to whom had been confided, by the last Congress of the province, the power to make such an order when he thought fit. Governor Martin became alarmed, and, like Dunmore of Virginia, and Campbell of South Carolina, sought refuge on board an armed vessel. This facile desertion of duty had already called forth a sharp reproof from Lord Dartmouth; but the despatch containing it had only just been penned, and Martin knew nothing of its existence. The new Provincial Congress came together at Hillsborough on the 21st of August. It consisted of nearly two hundred members, and Johnston was elected President. A proclamation which Martin had issued, warning the people against the Convention, as tending to rebellion, was voted a false and seditious libel, and it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. The usual professions of loyalty to the King were not wanting; but these asseverations were little better than a form to save appearances. Where the King's representative is defied and insulted, it is evident that the King himself cannot be held in much regard. The determination to resist Parliamentary taxation was plainly asserted, and it was resolved that the people of the province, singly and collectively, were bound by the Continental and Provincial Congresses, as elective bodies created by the people themselves. The fact of the Highlanders having been solicited to give their support to the Royal cause had by this time been divulged by one of that nationality; and they were strongly urged, by a committee on the subject, including several Scotchmen, rather to render assistance to the promotion of liberty and colonial right. The province having provided for the military necessities of the time, and authorised an emission of paper money—the usual resource of American communities in times of pressure—Congress proceeded to consider matters of more general and less immediate consequence. Franklin's plan for a Confederacy was discussed, and nearly confirmed, but, on the advice of Johnston, was ulti-

mately set aside, as being not eligible at that time, nor at any time advisable without consultation with the other Provincial Congresses. An address to the inhabitants of the British Empire, disavowing the desire of independence, consenting to the continuance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, and asking to be restored to the state existing previous to 1763, completed the doings of the Congress of North Carolina.

America and England were differently affected by the news of the great fight near Bunker's Hill; and it is curious that the greatest satisfaction was on the side which experienced defeat. The colonists saw in that engagement nothing but a proof that they were capable of resisting for hours, and at one time with an apparent probability of success, some of the best soldiers in the world. The English recognised in their victory the beginning of a rebellion which promised to be formidable. Still, it was not doubted, except by a few, that the insurrection would ultimately be put down, and the King in particular was full of confidence. The conduct of Gage, however, was viewed with disapproval, and he was superseded, though under the courteous pretence that it was advisable to consult him on the plans for the next campaign. The chief command of the forces in the old colonies was given to Howe, while that of the army in Canada was assigned to Carleton. To obtain a sufficient supply of soldiers was the great difficulty. Money was forthcoming in abundance; arms were to be had to any amount; but men were scarce. The King turned his thoughts to Hanover as a likely recruiting ground; but it was not then intended that Germans should be employed in America. The Hanoverian legion was to consist of five battalions, amounting to 2,350 men,


Philad.a July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction — You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends: — You are now my Enemy. — and

I am, Yours, B Franklin

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO MR. STRAHAN.

TEUCRO DUCE NIL DESPERANDOM.

First Battalion of PENNSYLVANIA LOYALISTS, commanded by His Excellency Sir WILLIAM HOWE, K B.

ALL INTREPID ABLE-BODIED

HEROES,

WHO are willing to ſerve His MAJESTY KING GEORGE the Third, in Defence of their Country, Laws and Conſtitution, againſt the arbitrary Uſurpations of a tyrannical Congreſs, have now not only an Opportunity of manifeſting their Spirit, by aſſiſting in reducing to Obedience their too-long deluded Countrymen, but alſo of acquiring the polite Accompliſhments of a Soldier, by ſerving only two Years, or during the preſent Rebellion in America.

Such ſpirited Fellows, who are willing to engage, will be rewarded at the End of the War, beſides their Laurels, with 50 Acres of Land, where every gallant Hero may retire. . . . . .

Each Volunteer will receive, as a Bounty, FIVE DOLLARS, beſides Arms, Cloathing and Accoutrements, and every other Requiſite proper to accommodate a Gentleman Soldier, by applying to Lieutenant Colonel ALLEN, or at Captain KEARNY's Rendezvous, at PATRICK TONRY's, three Doors above Market-ſtreet, in Second-ſtreet.

FAC-SIMILE OF A PROCLAMATION BY SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

who were to garrison Gibraltar and Minorca, so as to allow of an equal number of English troops being sent to the seat of war in the New World. It was the desire of George to have twenty thousand soldiers in America by the following spring; but Barrington, the Secretary-at-War, disbelieved the possibility of so many being concentrated there, and begged the Colonial Secretary to hold out no such expectation—a request which Lord Dartmouth did not heed. The obstinate resolution of the King over-ruled, or rather bore down by sheer weight and pertinacity, the scruples and doubts of the timid, the conscientious, or the tender-hearted, among his Ministers.

At that time, the Southern Secretary was Lord Rochford; and on the 28th of July he had an interview with De Guines, the French Ambassador at London, in which, alluding to the colonial troubles, he observed that, in the opinion of many persons belonging to both political parties, the best way to terminate the war with America would be to declare war against France; because, in that case, America, dreading the recovery of Canada by the French, would abandon her quarrel with the parent State. The same remarks were made by Rochford to the Spanish Minister; but they had no other effect than to put both Powers on their guard. Indeed, it is difficult to see what object the English Secretary could have had in disseminating such statements. France, being more particularly concerned in the case supposed, was especially zealous in obtaining information as to what was going on in Anglo-America. A French gentleman, M. De Bonvouloir, who had passed some time in Philadelphia, New York, Massachusetts, and other parts of the colonies, and who had recently returned to Europe with startling accounts of the progress of insurrectionary principles, was sent back to the western continent as agent of the French Government. His business was to be the collection of facts bearing on the actual state of affairs in the provinces, and the removal from the minds of Americans of that jealousy of the French which it was feared would be sedulously instilled into them. The mission of Bonvouloir was fraught with most important issues. It laid the foundation for French interference in the quarrel between England and her possessions—a result probably anticipated by the astute Ministers of Louis XVI. It may even be regarded as the remote commencement of that revolution which, in less than twenty years, convulsed France to her centre, and cost Louis himself both his throne and his head. Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, writing to De Guines about this appointment, said:—"Canada is for them [the Americans] the object of distrust. They must be made to understand that we do not think of it at all; that, far from envying them the liberty and independence which they labour to secure, we admire the nobleness and grandeur of their efforts, have no interest to injure them, and shall with pleasure see happy circumstances place them at liberty to frequent our ports. The facilities they will find there for their commerce will soon prove to them our esteem." De Bonvouloir made the most of his opportunities, as we shall hereafter see.

The Continental Congress re-assembled on the 13th of September; but the spirit of hesitation which had perplexed its counsels before, still continued in an unabated degree. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, who had drafted the second petition to the King, exercised a great influence over the deliberations of the Federal body and his love of moderation was carried, in the opinion of the more extreme, to the point of timidity. John Adams, though himself less revolutionary than some, regarded Dickinson with great disfavour, and, in the intercepted letters, scoffed at his "piddling genius." The Pennsylvanian was so deeply offended at this, when he came to know it, that he refused thenceforth to recognise Adams, and was confirmed in his loyalist inclinations. It is a proof of the divisions then existing in the American body politic, and perpetuated to our own times, that great jealousy of New England was expressed by many members of Congress. The people of Massachusetts and the adjoining colonies were regarded as a set of designing men, devoted entirely to selfish ends. These opinions, however, were not universally accepted by the representatives of the middle and southern provinces; and, in many respects, New England principles prevailed, though, of course, with modifications. An attempt on the part of some of the southern members to procure the dismissal of all the negroes in the army of the Federation, was defeated by the adverse votes of communities less inclined to the institution of compulsory servitude, and to the restrictions which it almost inevitably carries with it.

Minor questions were compelled to give way to the overwhelming necessity of improving the military position of the country. A letter from Washington revealed the desperate condition of the army before Boston. Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison were accordingly appointed as a committee of Congress to visit the camp, and concert with the authorities there on the best means of remedying the abuses which too clearly existed. Gage quitted America on the 10th of October, and the patriots

were now face to face with his more energetic successor, General Howe. That officer was at liberty, according to instructions sent out by the English Ministry, to transfer the scene of war to New York; and, indeed, it was considered at home that that would be the better course to pursue. But the season was now far advanced; there was an insufficiency of transports; and it appeared to Howe wiser to remain during the winter months at Boston. Five days after the departure of Gage, Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison arrived at the camp. A conference with the New England commissioners at once followed, and it was agreed that a new army, of about twenty-three thousand men, should be enlisted without delay, and subjected to more stringent rules than those which then existed. The change was not resolved on an hour too soon. The antagonistic forces were beginning to recover from the depression consequent on Lexington and Concord, and to take the initiative. Great indignation was caused at this period by the destruction of the port of Falmouth (now Portland), in the State of Maine, situated about a hundred miles to the north of Boston. An officer of the English navy, Lieutenant Mowat, who was in command of two vessels, with a small detachment of troops on board, charged with the destruction of shipping along the coast, had been taken prisoner by the insurgents, and detained for a few hours at that town. To revenge himself for this indignity, Mowat afterwards sailed to the offending place in a ship of sixteen guns, accompanied by three other vessels, and, on the morning of the 16th of October, fired on the dwellings of the people. The houses were soon in flames; the destruction was aided by marines who landed with combustibles; most of the vessels in the harbour were burnt; and, in the end, the town was reduced to little more than a heap of ruins. The act was a piece of wanton barbarity, for which it would be impossible to allege even an excuse. Washington was greatly incensed when he heard of it; and the disinclination of New England to seek a pacific solution of existing troubles was increased by an outrage which seemed to patriotic minds to leave no alternative between fighting and submission to slavery. It appears, however, on the incontrovertible evidence of documents preserved in the English State Paper Office, that no instructions tending to such an act of barbarity had been given by the Ministers of George III., and that, on hearing of it, they expressed surprise and displeasure. A few days before this event, Congress had taken steps towards the creation of a navy, by ordering the construction of four armed vessels. Although the delegates showed so much hesitation in verbally declaring a state of hostility to Great Britain, the military and naval preparations of the Federation permit of no doubt as to the intention of the majority, unless in the event of concessions which no one could have seriously believed would be made.

Opinion in England became still more generally in favour of coercion after the news of Bunker's Hill. It was resolved by the King and the Ministry to open Parliament with a very decided expression of the national resolve to put down American rebellion at any cost. The two Houses met on the 26th of October, and the Speech from the Throne, which was unusually long, and which had been composed with more than ordinary care, contained an extensive reference to the colonial question, undoubtedly the most important topic of the day. His Majesty remarked that those who had too long successfully laboured to inflame his people in America by gross misrepresentation, and to infuse into their minds a set of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, had openly avowed their revolt. They had raised troops, were collecting a naval force, had seized the public revenue, and had assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The King expressed his belief that many of the people still retained their loyalty, but added that the torrent of violence had been so strong as to compel their acquiescence till a sufficient force should appear to support them. His Majesty then proceeded:—"The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intention and theirs. They only meant to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the parent State, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your last session that a rebellion existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay, yet even that province we wished to reclaim, rather than subdue. The resolutions of Parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to cases of criminal combination among subjects not then in arms. I have acted with the same temper—anxious to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced that to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member

of any civil society in the known world. The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the success of such a plan. The object is too important—the spirit of the British nation too high—the resources with which God hath blessed her too numerous—to give up so many colonies, which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at such expense of blood and treasure."

It was necessary (continued the Royal Speech) to put a stop to these disorders, and therefore his Majesty had greatly increased his naval establishment, and augmented his land forces. He had sent Hanoverian troops to some of his European possessions, to replace British regiments which were required in America. Most friendly offers of foreign assistance had been received; and, should they result in any definite arrangements, the treaties would be laid before Parliament. Towards the end of the Speech, the King declared his readiness to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; for which purpose he designed to give authority to certain persons on the spot to receive the submission of any repentant colony, and to grant general or particular pardons or indemnities in such manner and to such persons as they should think fit. He concluded by informing both Houses that he saw no impediment to his measures from the hostility of foreign Powers, since they had expressed their friendly assurances. This was doubtless intended to relieve public anxiety with respect to France. The case of the mother country could not have been more succinctly set forth than in this message. Of course, like all other partisan statements, it only revealed half the truth; but it put with considerable force a good many considerations of an important kind, the truth of which cannot be fairly disputed. It was evident to all but a few, whose liberal views and sense of justice towards America might have been more successful had they been less allied with faction, that the colonies had entered on a state of rebellion in prosecution of a long-cherished desire of independence, and that their professions of loyalty were scarcely more than diplomatic. The rebellion may have been provoked; the desire of independence may have been natural; but it was not to be expected that England herself would acknowledge this. Her case was not wholly bad. She had sinned, but she had also been sinned against. She had annulled some of her despotic acts; she had shown a disposition to annul others. She had offered conciliation, and it had been refused, because it did not go the length of a humiliating surrender of all Imperial control over the colonies. While she had been making no preparations for war, the provinces had been arming; and the collision of April 19th, with all that had since taken place, had put it beyond a doubt that New England at least, and, by a species of magnetic influence, the other colonies as well, had passed by their own acts beyond the stage of negotiation, and were challenging the decision of brute force.

An amendment to the Address in answer to the Speech was moved in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish. Its object was to condemn the conduct of Ministers in resorting to warlike operations against the Americans, and it led to a violent debate, in which Fox, General Conway, and Colonel Barré spoke on the side of the Opposition; but it was defeated by 278 votes against 108, and the original question was carried without a division. In the Lords, a similar amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and, in the debate which ensued, the Duke of Grafton, who held the office of Privy Seal, surprised the House by condemning the whole policy of his colleagues during the preceding twelve months, and by declaring that Ministers had deceived him by withholding information and misrepresenting facts. He affirmed that nothing less than a repeal of all the American Acts which had passed since 1763 could restore peace and happiness between the opponents, or prevent the most fatal consequences to England. The views thus expressed by the Duke had been formed by him some time before. He had written to Lord North on the 31st of August, urging the necessity of a reconciliation with America, and suggesting that hostile operations should be suspended until it was known whether the colonies would negotiate. The Premier took seven weeks to consider his reply. The answer is dated from Downing Street, October 20th, 1775, and a draft of the King's Speech was enclosed in it. The members of the Government, Lord North stated, were ready to agree with any province in America upon the footing of the resolution of the House of Commons of the 27th of February; but the leaders of the rebellion had plainly declared themselves not satisfied with those conditions, and manifestly aimed at a total independence. Ministers were therefore resolved to break down opposition by force. In the debate in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham's amendment was supported by Lord Shelburne and the Bishop of Peterborough, also by some other peers; but it could not find more than 29 votes in its

favour, while 69 were ranged against it. The original motion was then affirmed by 76 to 33. Considerable opposition to employment of foreign troops in Gibraltar and Minorca was manifested in both Houses, and Lord North was compelled to promise a reconsideration of the matter, which, however, was ultimately allowed to proceed without further hindrance.

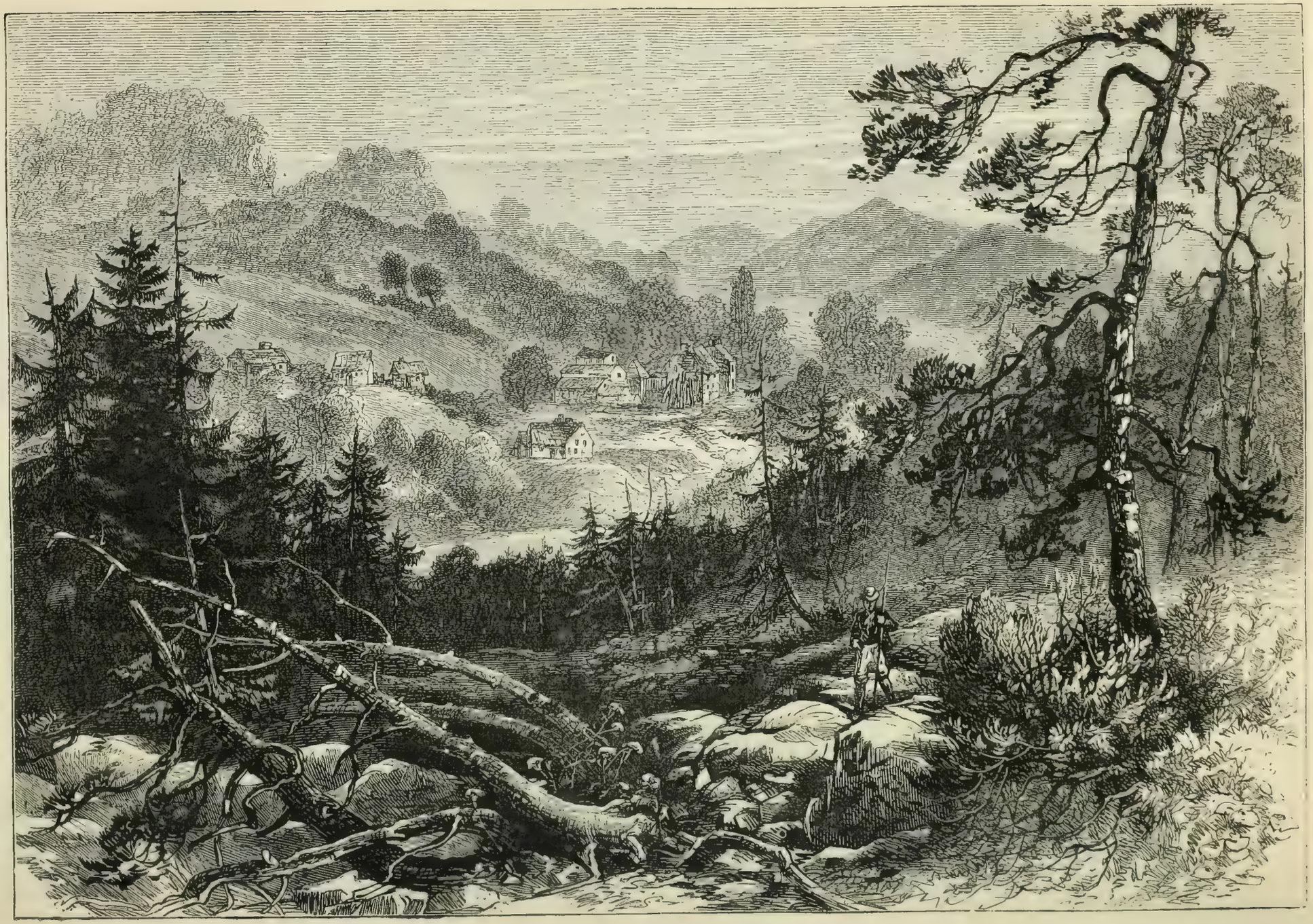
The defection of the Duke of Grafton was followed by his retirement from office. At his final interview with the King, he bluntly stated that Ministers were deluded themselves, and were deluding his Majesty. "The King," he writes in his Memoirs, "vouchsafed to debate the business much at large. He informed me that a large body of German troops was to join our forces, and appeared astonished when I answered correctly that his Majesty would find too late that twice that number would only increase the disgrace, and never effect his purpose." The Earl of Dartmouth succeeded the Duke of Grafton as Lord Privy Seal, and was himself followed in the Colonial Administration by Lord George Germaine. Lord Rochford, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which had charge of the chief foreign affairs, resigned about the same time, and was succeeded by Lord Weymouth; and thus, in November, 1775, the English Government prepared for its grand struggle with the young and fiery commonwealths of America.

CHAPTER XXII.

Effect of the King's Proclamation in America—Increased Movement towards National Independence—Position of Pennsylvania with Reference to the Ideas of the Separatists—Spread of Loyalist Principles in certain Directions—Franklin and Thomas Paine—Proceedings of the Continental Congress—Position of George III. in the Controversy—Rumoured Plot to capture the King—Want of Troops—Negotiations with the Empress Catharine, of Russia—Capricious Conduct of the Empress—Other Attempts to obtain Assistance—The New Ministers, Lord Weymouth and Lord George Germaine—Examination of Richard Penn at the Bar of the House of Lords—Debates and Bills in Parliament—The Prohibitory Act—An Erroneous Anticipation—Opinion in Ireland and in Scotland—Sympathy with England among the Smaller European Monarchies—Political and Military Position of England at the close of 1775—Negotiations for German Auxiliaries.

The King's Proclamation, denouncing the American malcontents as rebels, and requiring all loyal subjects to transmit information of traitorous designs to one of the Secretaries of State, reached the New World a few weeks after its publication in England, which was on the 23rd of August. It was received in New England with anger and derision, and deepened the resolve of all the popular leaders to declare the independence of the country. There was nothing in the Proclamation more than might reasonably have been expected under the circumstances. Though severe, it contained no passage that could be described as cruel or ferocious. But it excited the most fiery indignation in Massachusetts; for it is an invariable characteristic of insurgents and conspirators to claim for themselves the utmost liberty of opposition, and, at the same time, to condemn as an abnormal exhibition of human wickedness any act of retaliation, or even of self-protection, on the part of authority. James Warren, the Speaker of the Massachusetts Legislature, wrote to Samuel Adams, at Philadelphia, that the Proclamation would put an end to petitioning, and that the country would now expect of the Continental Congress a declaration of independence, and treaties with foreign Powers. Joseph Hawley gave it as his opinion that it was time to order an annual election of Congress, and to form a Parliament of two Houses. Washington—who had hired vessels, manned them, and caused the capture of ships laden with stores for the British army—earnestly desired of Congress the establishment of prize courts for the condemnation of whatever might be seized; and the Massachusetts Assembly passed an Act to encourage the fitting-out of armed vessels, and for the creation of such tribunals.

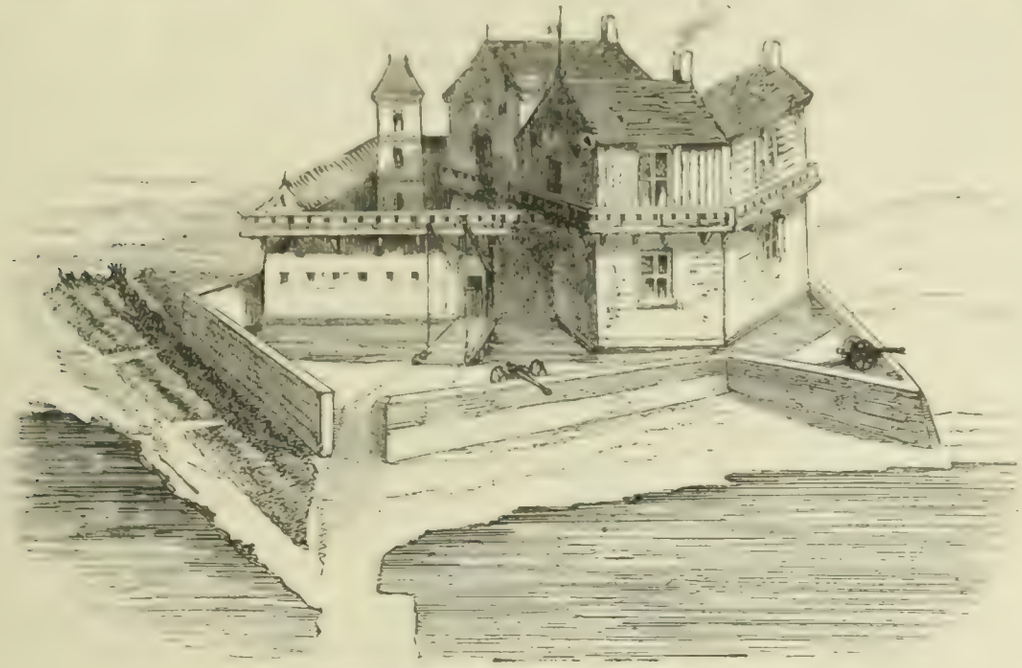
It was the 1st of November when the Proclamation became known to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Abandoning their mood of hesitation, the delegates now resolved to act on the petitions of those provinces which desired to institute Governments of their own. Wentworth, the Governor of New Hampshire, having left his post, the people of that colony requested of Congress that they might be allowed to provide for the administration of their affairs, which had fallen into extreme disorder; and the prayer was granted. South Carolina was permitted to act in the same way. In both cases, the new Governments were



VIEW ON THE FRONTIERS OF CANADA.

to exist only during the continuance of the dispute between Great Britain and her American possessions; but it must by this time have been almost universally perceived that the approaching struggle could eventuate in nothing but the entire independence of America, or its complete subjugation. While Congress was thus adopting revolutionary measures in the capital of Pennsylvania, the Legislature of that colony was still preserving the loyal attitude which it had, for the most part, exhibited throughout the dispute. The Quakers, though no longer omnipotent, were still powerful in the province, and, by coalescing with the proprietary body, they impressed on the policy of the State very many of their own characteristics. The Pennsylvanian Legislature still exacted of its members that they should observe all the usual qualifications, including the promise of allegiance. Franklin had by this time so completely broken with the old country that, rather than make this promise, he declined to take his seat in the provincial Parliament, to which he had been elected by a combination of the Irish and the Presbyterians. In the Continental Congress he was not required to bind himself by any such declaration, and in that body he could represent his Pennsylvanian constituents without outraging either their convictions or his own. On the 4th of November he was again elected to Congress by the Pennsylvanian Legislature, together with eight others, of whom one was too ill to serve, while the rest were all supporters of the Throne, though they were instructed to demand a redress of grievances, and a repeal of the oppressive measures of the British Parliament. These instructions, of course, applied to the whole body of Pennsylvanian delegates, including Franklin, who certainly paid little heed to that part of them which directed the representatives of the province to oppose and utterly reject any propositions tending to a separation from the mother country, or a change in the form of government.

The course thus followed by Pennsylvania had very important results. Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland were induced, by the example thus held out, to place themselves with equal emphasis in opposition to the extreme revolutionists, who were manifestly working for an independent Republic. It was now seen that, however general the demand for a redress of actual grievances, the desire for a dissolution of old ties was not equally strong in all parts of the Confederation. New England, Virginia, and many of the southern provinces, were ripe for independence; New York was coquetting with the same idea; but in other quarters—especially in the Royal and Proprietary Governments—the feeling was far from general. In those localities it was probably less in November than it had been in May, when the second Continental Congress met. Moderate politicians had been startled by the extreme principles professed by some, and were possibly a little alarmed at the consequences of open rebellion. At the same time, the Pennsylvanians were not at all disposed to omit a reasonable and proper degree of preparation for the state of war, which might, after all, become inevitable. The Legislature approved the military association of all whose religious scruples did not stand in the way, and appropriated £80,000,



FIRST HOUSE ERECTED IN QUEBEC.

in provincial paper money, to meet all necessary expenses.

Franklin was greatly angered at the temporising policy of the Quaker colony, and he enlisted on the side of the Separatists a writer who was now beginning to attract attention to himself. This was Thomas Paine, an Englishman settled in America, whose name at the present day is chiefly associated with the boldness of his speculations on religion. Paine was a native of Thetford, in Norfolk, where he was born in January, 1737. His father was a Quaker, who brought up the son to his own business of stay-making. Thomas Paine subsequently became an exciseman; and about 1772 made the acquaintance of Franklin, then in London, by whom he was advised to go to America. Adopting this suggestion, he took up his residence at Philadelphia in 1774, and in the following year was editing the *Philadelphia Magazine*. Several years later, in the days of the French Revolution, Tom Paine, as he is generally designated, by way of burlesquing democratic bluntness, was personally mixed up with that prodigious movement, and scandalised a large proportion of his countrymen by the publication of his two best-known works, "The Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason." The object of the former is to proclaim the principles of democracy; of the latter, to deny the truth and value of the Christian system. Whether he derived these views from his association with Franklin, or whether he developed them entirely from his own reflections, his political ideas were of a character rather to promote his fortunes in America than to injure them, and his views on religion had not been openly declared, perhaps were not fully formed, in 1775.

As the Pennsylvanian Legislature hesitated, the Continental Congress grew more determined and resolute. It appointed a secret committee to import gunpowder, field-pieces, and small arms, and to export provisions or produce to the foreign West Indies, in exchange for those materials of war. It adopted rules for the government of the American navy, which as yet had scarcely any existence, except in design; directed the enlistment of two battalions of marines; authorised the colonists to seize all ships employed as carriers for the British fleet or army; and sanctioned tribunals for the confiscation of their cargoes.* It was proposed by a Maryland delegate—who certainly went far beyond the feelings generally prevalent in his province—that envoys should be sent to France, with conditional instructions; but the motion was rejected. Nevertheless, Harrison, Franklin, Johnson, Dickinson, and Jay, were appointed a secret committee for corresponding with any persons in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world, who might be favourable to the American cause; and funds were appropriated for the payment of agents. These were all acts practically establishing an independent Government, though the absolute Declaration of Independence was still delayed. The leaders of the popular party had already declared that the people are the source and origin of power; and this doctrine grew in favour with all who supported colonial rights. The doctrine is so reasonable, so just, and so beneficent—so essential to anything like a distinct foundation for modern Governments, which can never again plead the mediæval figment of a Divine Right in monarchs—that it is impossible to quarrel with any method of giving it utterance. But it had very little to do with the quarrel between England and her colonies. To introduce it into the discussion was like raising a false issue to conceal the true one. The question was not whether the authentic source of power be in the sovereign or the people; it was not, primarily, whether a Monarchy or a Republic be the better form of government. It was simply a question touching the rights of parent States over their colonies; in what degree they were limited; or whether, indeed, they had any existence at all, or any limits at all. George III., with his notions on the Royal prerogative, may have mixed up with the general elements of the question a strong sense of his own personal authority; but he was really fighting the battle of the Parliament much more than that of the Throne. Essentially, the struggle was between the English State and a number of distant dependencies—a struggle which could only have been avoided by each side abating somewhat of its extreme pretensions. The King, however passionately he may have stood forward as champion on the English side, was only an accident in the war of opposing principles.

It has been seen that the English people, for the most part, supported the Government in its determination to put forth the full power of the country for the suppression of American rebellion. The Opposition, however, gave trouble; and the feeling in some quarters was so strongly pronounced against the Ministerial policy that insurrectionary movements were feared. Wilkes openly declared, at a public banquet, that the King and he were enemies, and that time would show in what direction heads were to fall. A rumour at one time prevailed that seven or eight members of the Opposition would be

* Bancroft.

sent to the Tower; but no such arbitrary and fatal step was taken. An American residing in London, however, was despatched for safe custody to that ancient fortress which is associated with so many dark pages of English history. Stephen Sayre, a merchant from the New World, was suspected of a very daring plot, more in harmony with the days of Charles II. than with those of George III. It was sworn by an officer of the Guards that Mr. Sayre had told him he intended to seize the King at noon-day on his way to open Parliament, to carry him out of the kingdom, occupy the Tower, and constitute a new Government. Although, on the strength of this affidavit, Sayre was committed to the Tower by the Southern Secretary, Lord Rochford, he was set at liberty after five days' detention, the alleged plot being considered too incredible for belief, or too hopeless of success to inspire any alarm. The American afterwards brought an action against Lord Rochford for false imprisonment, and obtained a verdict for £1,000.

A much more serious matter than the Opposition in Parliament, or the plots, real or supposed, of political adventurers, was the difficulty of filling the regiments. Recruiting went on slowly; it was evident that the service was not popular. The Government sought for aid in various directions, and did not consider the small contributions of Holland and the minor German States beneath notice, if only they could be secured. But the great object of hope was Russia. During the summer, the Empress had conveyed to Gunning, the British Minister at her court, some words expressive of unbounded devotion to the King of England and his interests, which Gunning not unnaturally construed into an offer of troops, especially as they were sent in response to a request, on his part, for that species of assistance. These words he reported to his Government; and George wrote to Catharine a letter, in which he said that he accepted the succour which her Majesty had proffered, and would never forget the obligation. Gunning was therefore directed to solicit an audience of the Empress, and to request a force of twenty thousand disciplined infantry, to embark for Canada, where they would be under the orders of the British Commander-in-Chief. So confident were Ministers that this assistance would be rendered, that they wrote off to Howe and Carleton, announcing the speedy arrival of ample reinforcements. They also despatched a courier to the British Minister at Moscow, with the draft of a treaty for taking Russian troops into the pay and service of England. The treaty was to be in force for two years, and a subsidy to the Empress was talked of. But the Northern Sovereign had never really intended what her words certainly appeared to suggest; or, if such had been her meaning at the instant of speaking, she had soon altered her mind. On the 10th of September, in the course of an interview with Gunning, she dilated on the advisability of the English monarch bringing his quarrel with the Americans to an end as speedily as possible, and hinted at conciliation as a very necessary element in the adjustment of the difficulty. After some interviews with the Russian Ministers, Gunning conveyed the autograph letter to her Majesty, who, in reply, sent a message, professing warm friendship to the King of England, but saying that she had great repugnance to her troops being employed in America. Her answer to the King's letter—written by the pen of her secretary, and only signed by herself—contained a specific statement of her refusal to grant the required aid, and bluntly added that it would derogate from her dignity to send a body of troops into another hemisphere, to help in suppressing a rebellion which was not supported by any foreign Power. The pride of Catharine had doubtless been hurt by the proposal to put her soldiers in the position of mercenaries, who were to act at the bidding of a British General. Certainly, Russia had no interest in the matter; but the conduct of the Empress was capricious, if it did not amount to an absolute breach of faith.

George III. was justly offended with the conduct of his fellow-sovereign, and with the manner in which her refusal was expressed. He now looked all the more to the German principalities for help, and again considered the project of rousing the Highlanders of North Carolina, and the loyal portion of the population in the middle and southern provinces. It was determined to send off large reinforcements in December, and to concentrate the army at New York, as a means of securing the central colonies, and guarding the connection with Canada. Lord Barrington, the Secretary-at-War, protested against the idea of these troops marching up the country: he feared the results of such a step in the existing state of America; and he proposed, as a substitute, the starving-out of the colonists by a naval blockade. Such was the military position when the King opened Parliament. The political events which attended the meeting of the two Houses have been related; but the personal character of the new Ministers should receive some attention. Lord Weymouth, the Southern Secretary, had been in office before, and was noted for his qualities as a boon companion, and his devotion

to the bottle. Lord George Germaine, Secretary for the Colonies, was the third son of Lionel, first Duke of Dorset. His family name was Sackville; but in 1770 he assumed the surname of Germaine by Act of Parliament. George II. was his godfather, and he served under that prince at the Battle of Dettingen, where he showed so much courage that the King appointed him one of his aides-de-camp; and at Fontenoy he was wounded while charging at the head of his regiment. He undoubtedly possessed both ability and spirit; yet, by an unaccountable failure of duty on a subsequent occasion, he covered himself with disgrace, and entirely ruined his prospects as a soldier. At the Battle of Minden, which was fought on the 1st of August, 1759, he was in command of the British cavalry, and was three times ordered by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the General-in-Chief, to attack the enemy. The movement was of a bold and unusual character; and Lord George, expressing disbelief in the accuracy of the reported order, refused to charge. The cavalry were afterwards headed by the Marquis of Granby; but the favourable opportunity had passed, and the victory was left incomplete. By many, the former hero of Dettingen and Fontenoy was accused of cowardice; by some, of a mean jealousy of the fame of Prince Ferdinand; though it is possible he was simply the victim of punctilio. He was dismissed from the command of his regiment, and degraded from the rank of General; and a court-martial, which he demanded, and at which he defended himself with remarkable ability and not a little insolence of demeanour, confirmed the sentence of the King. George III., however, was inclined to befriend him; and in December, 1765, he was made one of the Vice-Treasurers for Ireland. His appointment to the Colonial Office, ten years later, was a surprise to most politicians; yet he was a man of excellent business capacity, a good debater, a quick and adroit manager, a person in every respect well adapted to carry on the work of a department responsible to Parliament. Of his moral character very different accounts have been given. By some he has been described as selfish, cold, malignant, and relentless; by others, as humane, charitable, sympathetic, and unaffectedly religious. The truth probably is, that his great mistake in life—whatever his motives may have been—soured his temper, and, to all but intimate friends, imparted to him the manners of a misanthrope; but that, beneath this forbidding exterior, he cherished many kindly and honourable qualities. His name will always be associated with the dark days of the American war; but it is right that the good features of his character should not be allowed to perish in the shadow of his errors.

Although the King had refused to receive the Petition of Congress, that document was not entirely set aside. A copy was laid before the Lords; and, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, it was resolved, after considerable opposition, that Mr. Richard Penn, who had brought the petition from America, should be examined at the bar. The examination, which took place on the 8th of November, was conducted by the Duke himself; and, in the course of his answers, Penn stated that the people of America considered themselves able to resist the arms of Great Britain; that, unless conciliatory measures were immediately adopted, connections with foreign Powers would probably be formed; and that the Americans were inclined to acknowledge the authority of Great Britain in all matters but taxation. The last of these statements was certainly incorrect, though Penn, doubtless, believed in its truth. On the strengthof his evidence, the Duke of Richmond moved that the petition presented sufficient grounds for a reconciliation. He was supported by Lord Shelburne and others; but the motion was negatived by 86 against 33. This futile attempt was followed, on the 15th of November, by a series of resolutions, brought forward by the new convert to Opposition principles, the Duke of Grafton, who required that Ministers should lay before the House an exact account of all their military preparations in and for America, and all the measures they designed to take for the reduction of the colonists. This absurd proposal, which could have had no other object than to serve the cause of the insurgents by disclosing the plans of the Government, was of course discountenanced by the Administration, and the resolutions were negatived without a division. In the course of the debate, Lord Mansfield delivered a speech, in which he showed, by historical facts which could not be gainsaid, that New England had been aiming at independence almost from its infancy.

The 16th of November was signalised by another speech of Burke's in favour of conciliation—a speech which had no greater effect than his former effort in the same direction. In the Bill which he submitted to the House of Commons, and which was rejected by a majority of two to one, he proposed a total renunciation of taxation; the repeal of all obnoxious laws and Acts of Parliament passed since the year 1766; a full amnesty for all offences; and a recognition of Congress, in order to a final adjustment of the existing quarrel. The motion was opposed by ex-Governor Pownall, who argued that the Bill did not go far enough; and, indeed, it is obvious

that it would never have been accepted by the Americans as sufficient. These abortive attempts only prepared the way for a Bill which Lord North introduced on the 20th of November, the object of which was to prohibit all commercial intercourse with America. By this measure, the Boston Port Act and the two Restraining Acts of the previous session were repealed, as no longer applicable. Trade and commerce with the insurgent colonies were absolutely interdicted so long as their rebellion should last. The Bill authorised the commanders of his Majesty's navy to make prize of all American ships and goods, whether on the high seas or in harbour, and of all vessels of other countries engaged in trading with American ports. The prizes thus acquired were to be the property of the captors; and American prisoners taken on such occasions might be pressed for sailors, and sent to serve against their countrymen, on pain of being treated as mutineers. The final clause of the Bill was one of a conciliatory nature. It authorised the King to send to America commissioners, selected by himself, who were to be empowered to inquire into grievances, to grant pardons, and to decide, by their sole judgment, whether the whole or any part of a colony showed a disposition to return to its allegiance. In the event of their so declaring it, the restrictions of the Bill, as applied to that colony, or part of a colony, were at once to cease. Burke, Fox, Conway, and other men of high repute, opposed the measure with great emphasis; and it was sarcastically remarked that, as the practice of general confiscation which the Bill legalised would drive even loyal Americans into rebellion, the statute ought to be designated "An Act for more effectually carrying into Execution the Resolves of Congress." But the majorities in favour of Lord North were overwhelming in both Houses, and the Bill became law before the close of the year. In the Upper House, Ministers were relieved of their most formidable opponent by the severe illness and entire seclusion of the Earl of Chatham.

One remarkable feature in all the debates on American affairs at this time was the assumption, made by both sides alike, that the military success of the colonists would be the ruin of England. The Opposition would have averted this danger by timely concessions, such as they hoped would prevent civil war altogether. The Government were for crushing resistance by sheer force. But both agreed that, if the Americans triumphed in the open field, the sun of England would have set for ever. It was a very natural view to take; but the events of a century have shown its utter falsity. The English Empire is now much larger, grander, and more powerful than it was at the date of the American war. English commerce in 1876, as compared with English commerce in 1776, is as a giant compared with an ordinary man. The chief seat of trade is still at London, though New York is advancing with immense and rapid strides. Our navy is unapproached by that of any other Power. The great manufacturing industries of England and Scotland have almost arisen since the independence of America. We have subjugated India; we hold Canada; we are exploring Africa; we are peopling Australia. The glories of the Peninsula, of Trafalgar, and of Waterloo, belong to this century. Beyond the dark trench of civil war lay a brilliant future; but a hundred years ago there were few prophets to discern its coming.

When England is in difficulties, Ireland is generally agitated by a keen sympathy with the causes of her trouble. It was so in 1775. Ireland was at that time in the enjoyment of a separate Legislature, and many concessions in favour of her commerce and manufactures had recently been made. Yet popular opinion in Ireland was not conciliated by these favours or acts of justice, as it never has been by any similar acts, down to our own times. The English Ministry could at all times confidently reckon on a majority in the Irish Parliament. But it was a majority created by corruption and patronage, and it did not represent the views of Irishmen in general. The minority in the Lower House more truly expressed those views when they opposed the war with all the bitterness of Celtic declamation. The consent of that House was requested to a project for despatching four thousand troops from the Irish establishment to America, and for supplying their places by an equal number of German Protestants. The sending of the troops was voted by a large majority; but not even that subservient Chamber could be induced to sanction the arrival in Ireland of foreign soldiers, professing a religion different from that of the great body of the people. In the course of the debate, the more popular members spoke strongly in favour of the Americans. Scotland also inclined, in some quarters, to a view of the quarrel such as the Americans themselves must have applauded. Adam Smith, the great exponent of political economy, entertained much doubt whether the colonists could ever be made to submit to us, and denounced the prohibitory commercial laws of England as manifest violations of the most sacred rights, and impertinent badges of slavery—as in truth they were. In more than one quarter it was suggested that the wisest course for England to pursue would

be to grant independence to the colonies, and trade with them as separate nations. The King was obliged to content himself, in the midst of all this opposition, by the sympathy of some of the smaller European Powers, particularly of the sovereigns of Denmark and Portugal, the latter of whom publicly declared that the cause of Great Britain in such a quarrel was the cause of all monarchs, and of the very principle of monarchy.

The situation of England in the later months of 1775 was grave, if not alarming. As regards the political world, the King felt secure in his Parliamentary majority; and it is probable that the greater part of the nation supported him in his view of the American quarrel. But the dissentients were numerous, were headed by men of great intellectual power, and were animated by a strong purpose, by fiery enthusiasm, and by a determined will. The military position of the country was worse. Ministers had asked of Parliament, and had obtained, 28,000 sailors for the ensuing year, and 50,000 men for the land service. Yet, considerable as were these armaments, they were insufficient for the requirements of the time. A Bill was introduced for enabling the King to assemble the militia in cases of actual rebellion in any part of the Empire; and, although the measure was opposed, on the ground that it gave the monarch so much additional power as to render him totally independent of the people, and that a pretext of rebellion could always be found in some portion of the British dominions, it was carried. Still, the want of troops was serious. Among the Continental Powers to which George III. turned for assistance was Holland. There had been a Scottish brigade in that country ever since the early part of the seventeenth century; but for several years it had been Scotch in little more than name, being composed of about two thousand men of all nationalities, officered, however, by gentlemen who were Scotch either by birth or descent. These soldiers of fortune, it seemed to the English Ministry, would do very well for sending against the Americans, if the sanction of the States-General could be obtained. That body, however, consented to lend the brigade only on condition that it should never be used out of Europe. George III. would not accept the services of the troops on such terms; and, besides, he had by this time procured assistance from Germany.



BENEDICT ARNOLD.



VIEW OF QUEBEC.

Several German officers had made proposals to the English King to recruit men for him from among the populations of their native country, who had long been in the habit of giving their services in this respect to any Power that would hire them. To the blunt and really honest mind of George, this method of raising troops seemed little better than kidnapping; but his necessities compelled him to adopt it, and a contract was made with a Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colonel for enlisting four thousand soldiers in Germany. Such a mode of recruiting was against the laws of the Empire whose capital was at Vienna; but it was carried out with secrecy and adroitness, and it would seem that the authorities shut their eyes to a good many illegal acts. Some of the petty princes offered their troops; and open negotiations were commenced with the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The transactions with the former (who was a brother-in-law of the English monarch, having married his sister, the Princess Augusta) were conducted with a coolness which, considering that human lives were at stake, is revolting and horrible. In arranging the sums that were to be handed over to the Duke, it was agreed that every soldier killed was to be paid for at the rate of the levy-money, and that three wounded should be reckoned as one killed. A great deal of petty higgling went on as to the amount of the annual subsidy; but at length the whole discreditable business was settled, and a body of troops was placed under the command of Von Riedsel, an officer of good abilities, and handed over to the British Government. Having concluded the detestable bargain, Colonel Faucitt, the English negotiator, proceeded to Cassel, the ruler of which proved even more grasping than the Duke of Brunswick. He exacted the most exorbitant sums; he obtained a double subsidy; he demanded that the men should be paid before they began to march; he insisted that the wounded were to be taken care of in a hospital of his own, for which he was to be paid out of the British Treasury; he required that he should clothe the men himself, as another source of extortionate profit; he caused the date of the treaty to be put back sixteen days, that the payment of the subsidies might commence the sooner; and he stipulated that the subsidies should be continued at least a year after the war was over, and the soldiers had returned to their homes. The negotiations with these princes spread over December, 1775, and the ensuing January, and resulted in a considerable addition to the forces of the British monarch. But the transaction was of a nature from which humanity turns aside with indignation. That Americans might be crushed in their endeavour to obtain independence, unhappy mercenaries were to be transported across the ocean, and to perish in a cause wherein they had not the slightest interest. To obtain these regiments, many unfortunate peasants were kidnapped, and forced to enlist against their will; and the service was so unpopular that desertions from Cassel were numerous, to escape the recruiting-sergeant. Such were the shifts to which a great nation was reduced by the necessities of a quarrel which ought never to have arisen; which, having arisen, ought to have been speedily composed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Policy of the Colonists with regard to Canada—Preparations for Invading the Northern Province—Feelings of the Canadians towards the English—General Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester—Advance of the Anglo-Americans, under Schuyler and Montgomery, into Canada—Hesitation of Schuyler, and his Retirement from Active Command—Vigorous Operations of Montgomery—Unsuccessful Attempt of Ethan Allen to surprise Montreal—Montgomery's Bad Soldiers—Taking of the Forts of Chambly and St. John's by the Americans—Escape of Carleton from Montreal—Surrender of that City—American Expedition against Quebec—Benedict Arnold—A Terrible March—Sufferings of the Troops—Arnold before Quebec—His retreat to Point aux Trembles—March of Montgomery towards the Canadian Capital—Montgomery's Depression as to the American Cause—The Siege of Quebec—Desperate Attempt to take the City by Assault—Attack in the midst of a Snow-storm—Sanguinary Encounter—Defeat of the Americans, and Death of Montgomery.

CANADA, in the early days of the American Revolution, lay open to the influences of both antagonists. It was in military possession of the English; but the Americans were not inclined to let it rest in that state, and considered that it might be made subservient to the general cause. A condition of war brings its own policy with it; yet there are limits to this freedom of action, and good faith should at all times be observed. Whether it was observed by the colonists, in re-

spect of the sometime French province, must be left to the judgment of the reader. On the 1st of June, 1775, the Continental Congress passed a resolution affirming that, as they had nothing more in view than the defence of the Colonies, "no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada." This resolution was, by order of the Congress, translated into French, and distributed along the shores of the St. Lawrence. Nothing could be plainer or more unequivocal than the implied promise which it conveyed; yet, before the month was out, preparations for the invasion of Canada were commenced. On the 27th of June, resolutions were passed, instructing Philip Schuyler to proceed without delay to Ticonderoga, thence to advance on Canada, and to take possession of St. John's and Montreal. These latter resolutions were kept secret, and do not appear in the journals of the Congress; but they have since been printed in America, and are incontestably genuine. An American historian and biographer has endeavoured to vindicate his countrymen in this matter, by arguing that, in the interval between their two resolutions, the delegates had received reports that General Carleton, the military Governor of Canada (afterwards known as the first Lord Dorchester), was preparing operations against themselves.* But the fact of such operations being contemplated was known to the members of Congress some days previous to the resolution of the 1st of June,† and was not considered, at that time, a sufficient justification for hostile proceedings. The real occasion of this change of policy, if not its excuse, was the issue of a proclamation on the 9th of June, in which General Carleton stigmatised the American borderers as rebels and traitors, established martial law, and summoned the French Canadians and the converted Indians to the support of the Royal cause.

Though a conquered province, Canada had been rendered loyal by the Quebec Act, which had excited so much indignation in the people of the English Colonies. That Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, had restored the French system of law to the wide realm watered by the St. Lawrence, had established religious toleration, had opened the doors of office to Catholics, had conciliated the clergy by leaving them in possession of their churches and their revenues, and had created Canadian battalions, in which the nobility of New France could hold commissions on equal terms with English officers. Carleton was known to have been the adviser of that truly liberal measure, and he was now Governor of Quebec. This gentleman, whose benevolent character shines forth conspicuously from a not very inspiriting record, was an Irishman, descended from an old Cumberland family which settled near Enniskillen in the reign of Charles I. He had first gone to Canada in the army of General Wolfe, and had since, in a civil capacity, gained the confidence of the people by his mingled firmness, justice, and suavity. The Quebec Act was opposed by the Anglo-Americans, both for what it did and for what it did not. It gave power to the Catholics, and therefore offended all the extreme Protestants of the old colonies; it made no provision for a representative Assembly, and in this way outraged the democratic instincts of the same communities. But the Canadians themselves were pleased by the recognition of their hereditary faith, and did not feel the absence of representative institutions, to which they had never been accustomed. They were not at all inclined to hearken to the seductive address of the Continental Congress, issued in September, 1774, by which they were solicited to join the malcontent colonies in their resistance to the English Crown and Parliament. It was now resolved by the insurgents to seize forcibly on Canada, and compel its population to aid the progress of rebellion, and to contribute to the downfall of British power.

Following out the instructions which he had received from Congress, Schuyler caused a number of boats to be built at Ticonderoga for the transport of his troops into the dominion of Quebec. He sent an emissary across the border, to collect information as to the state of the country and the disposition of the people; and this agent, on his return about the middle of August, 1775, reported that the inhabitants were friendly, that the regular troops in the country were not above seven hundred, and that the militia, which were of British origin, refused to serve under French officers. The account thus given was far too sanguine; but in some matters it was correct, and it encouraged Schuyler to push on his preparations with great energy. He now had for his second in command the enthusiastic and daring Irishman, Richard Montgomery, formerly an officer in the British army, from which he had retired in anger at being refused promotion. Settling in New York, he became thoroughly imbued with American ideas, and rejoiced at any opportunity of injuring the country by which he believed he had been wronged. From the quiet life of a farmer he was roused by the outbreak of hostilities between

* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, Vol. III., note to p. 41.

† Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 53.

America and England, and, as we have seen, he accepted a command in the patriotic army. On his arrival at Ticonderoga, he was left for a time at the head of the forces there, Schuyler taking the opportunity to depart for Saratoga, that he might enter into negotiations with the Indians. This caused some delay in the starting of the expedition; but at length Montgomery, fearing that the neighbouring waters might be occupied by English vessels if he stayed too long, determined to advance on his own authority at the head of a thousand or twelve hundred men. By the 3rd of September he had arrived at Isle La Motte, on Lake Champlain, and on the following day he was joined by Schuyler, with whom he proceeded farther into the country. On the 6th the two commanders were at St. John's, and, in marching towards the castle, had a trifling encounter with a party of Indians. Whether the courage of Schuyler gave way at sight of the enemy, or whether he was really out of health, as he alleged, certain it is that at this point his firmness entirely disappeared. Deceived, and perhaps not unwillingly deceived, by some false information which had been brought to his camp, he proposed to a council of war to retreat to Isle aux Noix, which he had occupied two or three days before. The suggestion was readily adopted, and the backward movement was at once performed. Some of the soldiers were of a piece with their commander. A party of five hundred, sent out on the 11th, behaved so badly as to incur reproach; and Montgomery, seeing the necessity of a more vigorous rule, induced Schuyler to abandon the active command, and embark for Ticonderoga, leaving the chief direction in the hands of his subordinate.

St. John's was now invested with vigour. Montgomery received frequent additions to his forces, and Schuyler, proving himself a good commissariat officer, however bad a general, kept them well supplied with food. A siege could not be actively prosecuted for want of powder; but the fortress was surrounded, and effectually cut off from succour. One of the officers under Montgomery was the wild, melodramatic hero of the attack on Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen, a part of whose military costume was a red worsted cap. This worthy was despatched to Chambly, to raise a corps of Canadians, and, having recruited a certain number of men, he was persuaded by them, or persuaded himself, to attempt the surprise of Montreal, which he appears to have thought would be as easy a feat as that which, by a happy stroke, he had been able to accomplish on the morning of the 10th of May. Accordingly, at the head of eighty Canadians and thirty Anglo-Americans, he started on the night of the 24th of September from Longueil, and proceeded to Long Point. Some reinforcements which he expected were not forthcoming; retreat was by this time impossible; and Allen had no alternative but to withstand as well as he could the attack which was speedily made upon him. Some five hundred men, consisting of regulars, Canadians, Indians, and English civilians, assaulted his position, which he defended with considerable gallantry for an hour and three quarters. He was then compelled to surrender, with all of his men who could not escape. Heavily ironed, he was sent to England, where he was imprisoned in Pendennis Castle for a short time, and then carried back to America, while the others, shackled together in pairs, were sent to labour in transports on the St. Lawrence, that they might learn for the future not to attempt the impossible.

The easy defeat of Allen must have tended to cheer the spirits of Carleton, who had been taking a very gloomy view of the state of affairs. The British troops under his orders were a mere handful, and he wrote to the commanders at Boston that Canada was on the eve of being over-run and subdued. Each side, indeed, distrusted itself. Schuyler complained bitterly of the Connecticut troops, and told Congress that, if Job had been a general in his situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. To Montgomery, the New Englanders seemed the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They speedily got homesick, and absconded, leaving the regiments terribly reduced in numbers. The men would not obey their officers, were jealous of one another, and were perpetually suspecting treachery. "The privates," wrote Montgomery, "are all generals, but not soldiers," and he once exclaimed, in bitterness of heart, "Oh, fortunate husbandmen! would I were at my plough again!" The weather, as the autumn deepened, became cold and wet; the ground was spongy, dank, and malarious; and the soldiers suffered much from illness. The privates insisted on over-ruling the decisions of their commanders whenever they disapproved of them. They were so turbulent as to give constant trouble to their officers, and so much inclined to shirk toil and discomfort as to render the work of a siege very difficult. Though Washington had earnestly warned the troops against such practices, acts of plundering were frequent; and it was difficult to inflict punishment on an army so devoted to equality, and the boundless freedom of the individual.

Carleton endeavoured to augment his forces by enlisting Canadians and Indians; but the former deserted with as much readiness as their opponents,

the New Englanders, and the latter proved spiritless and weak. The savages would probably have been excited to vigorous action, had Carleton consented to let them loose on the rebel provinces; but this he refused, because of the atrocities which he knew would be committed. The Indians of the Six Nations wished to make an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but the proposal was rejected. Carleton was therefore compelled to remain on the defensive; and the Americans, turning his inaction to their own advantage, laid siege to the fort of Chambly, which, after an attack of about six and thirty hours' duration, surrendered on the 18th of October. Seventeen cannon and six tons of powder fell to the lot of the Americans, and enabled them to proceed against St. John's with more effect. Carleton endeavoured to raise the siege; but his force was driven back in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, and his subordinate, Colonel Allan Maclean, with whom he had been trying to form a junction, retired to Quebec. The fort of St. John's surrendered on the 3rd of November, and the garrison of six hundred marched out with the honours of war. The situation appeared to Carleton so desperate that he determined to abandon Montreal; and on the 11th of November he embarked, with about a hundred regulars and Canadians, on board some small vessels in the port, and set sail for Quebec. Finding that his passage of the river was likely to be disputed by a number of rebel troops, he disguised himself, on the night of the 16th, in the dress of a fisherman, entered a whale-boat, and was paddled with muffled oars down the island-studded current to the capital of the province, which he reached on the 19th. The day after he had left Montreal, that city surrendered without opposition to Montgomery, who straightway issued a proclamation to the Canadians, urging them to elect representatives to the Continental Congress, and unite themselves with the Federation of the South.

The chief struggle was to take place before Quebec, against which city Washington directed a large force under the command of Benedict Arnold—a name destined in time to be execrated by Americans as that of a traitor to their cause. He had in former times been a trader, but had now taken to the sword, for which he had some natural aptitude, being courageous, enterprising, and intelligent. The army placed under his command consisted of ten companies of New England infantry, one of riflemen from Virginia, and two from Pennsylvania, amounting altogether to about eleven hundred men. This force left the camp before Boston on the evening of the 13th of September, and pushed on northwards with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground permitted. Their route, as soon as they had got into Maine, lay through a woody and almost desert country, and, for a portion of the way up the Kennebec. This river they ascended in small boats, working against the current, which flowed with such extraordinary force as frequently to compel the men to wade up to their waists in water, hauling their boats after them, or carrying them on their backs round cataracts, over crags, and across morasses. Arnold wrote to Washington that you might have mistaken his troops for amphibious animals. On quitting the Kennebec, the road lay through dense and gloomy forests, where the companies would probably have been lost, had not an exploring party of seven men, who had been sent in advance, indicated the proper route by "blazing" the trees (that is to say, cutting white marks on them by the removal of the bark), and lopping the bushes. Then again they came to a region of swamps, overgrown with brambles and white moss, into which the soldiers often sank knee-deep. This dismal country is that which extends between the Kennebec and the Dead River. The latter stream was reached by Arnold on the 13th of October, a month after the starting of the expedition, and by the main body of the army two days later. Following its course, they traversed a distance of eighty-three miles, passing seventeen falls, and having to encounter a series of ponds, choked with the trunks of trees. Thus, after many more days of toil, they reached the carrying-place to the Chaudière. But the labours and sufferings of the troops were not yet over; and the men were now disheartened by hearing of the defection of Roger Enos, the second in command, who had returned to Cambridge, together with his three companies, forming the rear-guard of the army.

Notwithstanding this depressing intelligence, the main body struggled on, though sickness had now set in, and many deserted their colours. November was close at hand; winter had already begun; the cold was intense, and the men were ill-prepared to meet it. Their clothes had become so torn by the briary woods through which they had passed that they were almost naked; some went barefoot for many days. Tempests of icy rain whistled about them, and at night they had no other covering than branches of evergreens. Each division had taken with it food for forty-five days; but this had now run out. During the latter part of the march, several dogs were killed and eaten, and leather, soaked in water, was not disdained

as a last resource in the agonies of famine. Many of the unfortunate soldiers died of cold and hunger, and no prospect of relief was in sight. In descending the Chaudière, which courses rapidly through a rocky channel, three of the boats were upset, and a quantity of ammunition and stores was lost. On the 2nd of November, those weary and starving men, it is related, went almost mad with delight at seeing some French Canadians driving before them five oxen; and on the 4th they descried a house, which was the first they had seen for thirty-one days. They had by this time advanced into a cultivated and inhabited country, and the extremity of their sufferings was at an end. Their emergence from the wilderness astonished the Canadians, who had long regarded that dreary tract of country as impenetrable. With reanimated spirits they marched on towards Quebec; but their approach was already known in the city, and preparations were being made for their reception. Some of Arnold's communications to the Canadians, which were to have been distributed by friendly Indians, had been intercepted, and Cramahé, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, lost no time in strengthening the walls and augmenting the defences. The capital of Canada was therefore, by the second week of November, in a good position to meet the attack which was shortly to be expected.

Point Levi, lying on the St. Lawrence, south of the Isle of Orleans, and opposite to Quebec, was reached by Arnold on the 10th of November; but he was unable to cross at once, as all the boats had been removed. He therefore set to work collecting canoes and making ladders; and on the 13th, at nine o'clock in the evening, he began his embarkation. Not more than thirty canoes were in his possession, and it was found necessary to cross the river three times to carry over the bulk of the army. The darkness of night favoured the operation, and Arnold and his men arrived undiscovered at Wolfe's Cove. A hundred and fifty soldiers had been left at Point Levi, and the number who now stood beneath the Heights of Abraham was barely six hundred effectives, or seven hundred in all. Success, under the circumstances of the case, was



CARLETON'S FLIGHT.

hopeless. The men were exhausted with their long and toilsome march; they had no cannon; their muskets were damaged, and their powder and cartridges in bad condition. Nevertheless, they determined to make the attempt. Ascending the steep and jagged path by which Wolfe had gained the elevated plateau in 1759, they found themselves by morning on the plain which stretches towards Quebec. In the course of the day, two or three hundred men went up close to the fortifications, and huzzahed; but their shouts did not produce that effect upon the walls which the trumpets of Joshua, and the cries of his people, produced upon the walls of Jericho. Then Arnold sent a flag to demand the surrender of the place; but the flag was not received, and the city evinced no desire to capitulate to a mob of ragged and half-starved men. Arnold, after making an assault on one of the gates of the city, in which he was repulsed with loss, and finding that his troops had no more than five rounds of ammunition to each man, retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and between that city and Montreal.

The defences of Quebec were excellent, but the number of soldiers within the walls was few. A small reinforcement, however, had arrived on the 12th of November, when Colonel Allan Maclean, who had fallen back from Fort Chambly, entered the city at the head of a hundred and seventy men, levied chiefly among the Highlanders settled in Canada. Two ships of war were in the harbour, and the crews of merchant-vessels were detained to aid in the defence. The arrival of General Carleton on the 19th had a good effect on the spirits of the garrison. One of his earliest acts was to order all who would not join in the defence to quit the city within four days—a necessary precaution, since, although the majority of the people were in favour of the Government, several malcontents were disposed to welcome the approach of the invader. The Governor had now under his command nearly one thousand eight hundred men, of whom, however, not



WOLFE'S COVE.

many more than three hundred were regular soldiers. With these were combined four hundred and eighty-five seamen and marines, several militia-men, and a number of civilians hastily pressed for the service. Montgomery was organising his own legions for an attack on this force, if he could tempt it out into the open country, or on its stronghold, if he could not. It was a desperate enterprise, for he had no siege-guns, and his men were very far from being disciplined troops. Several of his hasty levies had by this time deserted him, yielding to that feeling of home-sickness which was so commonly found among these small farmers and comfortable husbandmen. Moreover, the engagements of the New Englanders terminated on the last day of the year; it was certain that they would not voluntarily remain any longer; and it was therefore imperative to act at once, if anything was to be even attempted. Resolving to dare the utmost, Montgomery, on the 26th of November, left Montreal with three armed schooners, carrying artillery and three hundred troops. Before quitting the city, he made a public declaration that, on his return, he would call a convention of the Canadian people. He was never to return.

A junction with Arnold, at Point aux Trembles, was effected on the 3rd of December, and on the 5th the united force, consisting of nearly a hundred Anglo-Americans, and about two hundred Canadian volunteers, appeared before Quebec. To Montgomery it seemed possible to carry the place by storm, though he knew that the loss of life must necessarily be great. The Lower Town was not so strongly defended as the Upper : it was there, if anywhere, that the fortifications were vulnerable. Still, the attempt was terribly hazardous, and it is probable that something akin to despair possessed the heart of Montgomery at this period. It was perhaps hardly to be expected that he should feel any regard for, or sympathy with, England, for he was English neither by birth nor by blood. But he may have had misgivings as to the wisdom or policy of forsaking his old allegiance, and he was by this time doubtful of the cause he had espoused. Even before starting from home to join the army, he had expressed himself in a very melancholy way about the madness of the world. He soon grew weary of the American service, and, ere he marched from Montreal, intimated that he should resign his commission at the end of the campaign. The insubordination of his soldiers disgusted him; and he had little faith in a revolution which, as yet, seemed incapable of that highest of civic virtues,—the due subjection of the individual to the commonwealth.

More as a matter of form than anything else, Montgomery sent a flag of truce to the city, with a demand for its surrender; but Carleton fired on the flag, and refused to enter into any negotiations with rebels. On the 6th of December, the American commander addressed a wild and menacing letter to his adversary, of which the latter, feeling secure behind his works, took no notice, nor of others which followed it. A battery was then begun on the Heights of Abraham, near the gate of St. John. Montgomery, in writing to General Wooster, said that he expected no other advantage from his artillery than to amuse the enemy, and blind him as to the real design. In default of earth, which could not be obtained, owing to the severe frost, the gabions and fascines were filled with snow, on which large quantities of water were poured, so that in a moment a solid mass of ice was produced. The siege, however, was a mere delusion. The shot thrown by the artillery was too light to effect a breach, or do any material damage, though the batteries were not more than seven hundred yards from the walls; and the guns, which were all of small calibre, were dismounted and injured by the return-fire of the besieged. Disease of the lungs and small-pox thinned the ranks of Montgomery's army, and the season fought against them with weapons more deadly even than those which Carleton could command. If that officer could only be drawn out into the open field, he might, perchance, be beaten; but he was too well acquainted with what had happened to Montcalm, when he rashly quitted the city and encountered the forces of Wolfe, to repeat that fatal error. It was evident, therefore, that nothing remained but the forlorn hope of an escalade. A council of war, held on the evening of the 16th, decided, by a large majority, that an assault should be made as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed.

Dissensions showed themselves in some quarters as the time for the attack drew on, and for a moment a mutiny was feared; but Montgomery restored order by his firmness and spirit. He feared, however, a more formidable outbreak of the same feeling after the close of the year, when he would no longer have a right to the men's services; and he therefore hurried on the attack. Still, it could not be attempted without a further delay; and in the meanwhile a deserter carried information to the garrison, who took elaborate precautions against surprise. The weather became every day more terrible in its severity. On the 30th, a heavy snow-storm set in; and Montgomery, considering that the obscurity of the atmosphere would favour the contemplated movement, and knowing that only one

more day of compulsory service remained, gave orders for the troops to be ready for the assault at two o'clock on the following morning. It is said that the New Englanders had long been opposed to so desperate an enterprise, and that they would not consent until promised the reward of sacking the town, if they could win it. However this may be, it is undeniable that in the earlier days of the siege Montgomery found a great deal of insubordination among his troops; but that, nevertheless, when the final effort was at length made, the men behaved with the utmost courage and resolution. In order that they might recognise one another, each soldier was to wear in his cap a piece of white paper; and some of them inscribed this placard with the words, "Liberty or Death!" A dispassionate observer does not perceive in what way liberty was concerned in the business, since the Canadians, with a very few exceptions, were not at all well inclined to receive the invaders. But an army must have some species of rallying-cry, and this did as well as another. The forces were divided into two columns, the chief of which was led by Montgomery himself, while the second was under the command of Arnold. But each of these bodies was subdivided, and sent towards various quarters, so that the garrison might be simultaneously alarmed along the whole line of their defences. Two false demonstrations, on the south-west and nearer the south, were to distract the attention of the British and Canadian troops, while the real attacks, which were to be on the Lower Town, were delivered by Montgomery from the south-east, and by Arnold from the north-east.

Forming his small party of three hundred men into Indian file, the chief commander led them to Wolfe's Cove, and proceeded two miles along the shore, by a rocky path, slippery with frozen snow. A north-eastern blast drove in their faces the sharp and lacerating hail of those inclement regions; and the men, half-blinded by the storm, had the greatest trouble to save themselves from falling on the rugged and icy way. It had been agreed that the signal for commencing the attack should be the firing of a rocket from Cape Diamond by one of the parties engaged in the false movements. This intimation was unfortunately given more than half an hour too soon, and Montgomery was compelled to hurry his advance. With a few companions, including the celebrated Aaron Burr, one of his aides-de-camp, he arrived at the first barrier, while the greater number of the troops were still behind. He now found himself in a narrow defile, sloping precipitously towards the river on one side, and on the other shut in by a scarped rock and overhanging cliff. The passage was intercepted by a log house, loopholed for musketry, and by a battery of two three pounders; and the position was held by a party of English and Canadians, including some sailors, and numbering altogether forty seven men. It was by this time daybreak on the 31st of December, 1775, and the main body of the attacking force was seen marching up from Wolfe's Cove. A panic seized the guard, who for a moment drew back; but their firmness was speedily restored, and with lighted matches they awaited, behind their guns, the onslaught of the enemy. At the head of sixty men, Montgomery, exclaiming that Quebec was theirs, sprang quickly forward. It was the last act of his life. The English guns were served by nine seamen, and were discharged when Montgomery was within fifty yards of their mouths. The commander at once fell dead, together with one of his aides-de-camp, and eleven others. Montgomery was wounded in three places, and his fall expedited the inevitable defeat of the enterprise. The man who fired the gun by which Montgomery perished is said to have been a New Englander; and he would relate, in after years, that the British party were in full retreat at the time, and that he fired the gun at random, before turning to join his comrades—an improbable narration, not in harmony with more authentic accounts.

A feeling of dismay spread through the American ranks at the death of their leader, thus occurring at the very outset of the assault. The captain of one of the companies was desirous of pushing forward; but he was ill-supported, and unable to make his will prevail. The arms of several of the men were wet, and, in the opinion of some of the officers, nothing more could be attempted with fatigued and disheartened troops. Fireballs were now being thrown by the English, and their baleful glare enabled the musketeers in the blockhouse to fire with murderous precision. A retreat was therefore ordered, and this was quietly and happily effected; though, had the garrison chosen to pursue, it is probable that hardly a man would have escaped. The defenders of the city, however, were required in the city itself, for a vigorous assault was being carried on in another direction. Arnold's division advanced along the river St. Charles, the path by the side of which was narrowed by masses of ice, thrown up by the stream. The men of the attacking force could only move forward in single file, holding down their heads, to protect their faces from the piercing wind and lashing drift of hail and snow, and covering their muskets with their coats. They were met by a heavy fire from the walls; but, pressing on, they carried the first barricade after

an hour's fighting. Arnold was presently struck in the leg by a musket-ball, and carried to the rear in great agony. The troops were now headed by Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, whose self-devotion and military virtues were admirably displayed on this occasion, as on others; and it was under his directions that the battery was taken, and its defenders seized. The Americans had surmounted the barricade by ladders, and, on reaching the other side, found themselves in a perilous position. The place was in darkness, and the cold so extreme that the men were covered with icicles, and their muskets rendered unavailable by the driving snow. Morgan knew nothing of the town, and was in doubt as to what he should do, especially as the enthusiasm of his men was rapidly diminishing. In a little while, however, he was joined by Christopher Greene of Rhode Island, Timothy Bigelow of Massachusetts, and Return J. Meigs of Connecticut (all of them commanders in Arnold's column), and by the men belonging to their companies. The re-united force struggled on to the next barrier, and the scaling ladders were at once reared; but the menacing aspect of a large body of troops on the other side, standing with levelled bayonets, made the assailants pause. Many of the American officers were shot down, for the English fire came not merely from the soldiers on the further side of the barricade, but from houses on both sides of the narrow street. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Americans maintained the fight for four hours and a half; but at length the courage of several gave way, and they escaped over the shoal-ice of the St. Charles. Towards daylight, those who remained, and who constituted the larger number, got into some stone houses, from which they poured a telling fire into their adversary's ranks, and were at the same time protected themselves. But all was in vain. The defeat of Montgomery's division left the whole of Carleton's army free to oppose that of Arnold, for it was by this time evident that the other attacks were feints. An unexpected sally from the Palace Gate, in the rear of the assailants, overpowered the small but resolute band, and compelled a large number to surrender. The remainder, inspired by the reckless courage of Morgan, still fought on, in the hope of cutting their way out; but the feat was impossible, and at ten o'clock in the morning they laid down their arms.*

Thus ended an attempt of culpable rashness, undertaken for the promotion of ends wholly unjust, and devoid even of the most specious recommendation. Montgomery was an able soldier, and a man of kindly disposition. Beloved in America, he found some panegyrists in the English Parliament itself. But his traitorous desertion of the flag which he had at one time served—a desertion prompted by motives of individual pique—leaves a stain upon his memory which his virtues cannot altogether efface; nor was there anything in his great exploit, beyond valour and daring, to entitle it to a cosmopolitan fame. The only agreeable feature in the whole invasion of Canada is the benevolence of Carleton towards his enemies. He buried Montgomery with the honours of war; he treated his prisoners with humanity. At a later period, when the American retreat had commenced, the woods were, by his orders, searched for lurking fugitives, that they might be taken to the general hospital, and relieved at the public charge. All who would come forward voluntarily were promised that, on the restoration of their health, they should be allowed to return to their respective provinces. To those who were in extreme want, Carleton sent £100; and by soothing words he did his utmost to soften the hardness of defeat. Any contrary tendencies on the part of his officers he gently reproved. "Since we have tried in vain," he said, "to make the Americans acknowledge us as brothers, let us send them away disposed to regard us as first cousins." It would have been happy for both nations if such a feeling had been more generally diffused.

* Bancroft's History of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Jesse's Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.; Impartial History of the War in America (1780); Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer (one of Greene's battalion), as edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Edwin Martin Stone (Providence, U.S., 1867).—The Journals of the expedition are very numerous, including one by Arnold; and some account of all the chief narratives is given by Mr. Stone.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Proceedings of the Continental Congress—Creation of a Navy and of a Marine Department—Opening of Negotiations with Foreign Powers—Insubordination in the Army before Boston—Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Collisions with the People—Issue of a Proclamation by the Governor promising Freedom to the Slaves—Counter Measures of the Virginian Authorities—The Scotch in Virginia—Action at the Great Bridge, near Norfolk—Discomfiture of the British—Surrender of Norfolk to the Americans—Burning of the Town by Lord Dunmore (Jan. 1st, 1776)—Effect of the Act in augmenting the Opposition of the Virginians—Failure of the Governor's Projects for rousing the Indians and Backwoodsmen—Departure of Dunmore for the North—The New Continental Army—Thomas Paine's Essay in Favour of a Declaration of Independence—Summary of, and Extracts from, the Disquisition—Division of Opinion in Various Parts of the Federation—Efforts of Franklin to hurry on Independence—Revolution in Georgia—Proceedings in the Virginian Convention.

MONTGOMERY'S temporary success in the invasion of Canada, and the really heroic achievement of Arnold and his companions in penetrating through the deserts of Maine into the northern province, confirmed the determination of the more resolute to complete their independence of Great Britain, and probably influenced in the same direction some who had previously been waverers. Yet Congress, as a matter of form and prudence, continued to make a pretence of loyalty to the King, and the central provinces still evinced, with a less questionable sincerity, a desire for reconciliation with the mother country. Royalist agents sought to induce New York to detach itself from the Federation, but signally failed in the attempt, and effected no other result than to induce the convention of that province to take a more decided stand on revolutionary principles. In December, the Continental Congress determined to build thirteen ships of war, and to establish a naval department, which was to be administered by a marine committee, consisting of one member from each colony. This was another and very important step towards the creation of a national Government, totally distinct from that of the parent State. Still another was the opening of negotiations with foreign Powers. To this end, the Congressional committee of secret correspondence authorised their countryman, Arthur Lee, then in London, to ascertain the disposition of the chief Governments of continental Europe; and Dumas, a Swiss settled in Holland, and a friend of Franklin, to whom he had written in high praise of the Americans and their objects, was also charged with duties of a similar character. Towards the end of the year, De Bonvouloir, the emissary of Vergennes, arrived in Philadelphia, and had several conferences with Franklin and the other members of the secret committee. The result of these interviews was that the Frenchman gave the committee to understand, without making an exact promise to that effect, that his King would aid them on certain conditions; and that the committee made it very clear to the Frenchman that they would be glad of such aid in the furtherance of their designs, though they still kept up the farce of pretending that they were even yet indisposed to sever their connection with England and with the English Crown. De Bonvouloir wrote home to the Ministry a report of what he had seen and heard, which tended to make still more probable the alliance that both parties desired.

It was a period of danger for the colonists and their cause. The forces before Boston were wanting in all the necessaries of a military body; the term of service of the men had nearly reached its date, and for the most part they seemed not very eager to renew it; the lack of money was in itself an evil of the most desperate character; the soldiers complained of not receiving their wages with regularity, and grumbled at being paid (when they were paid at all) in a rapidly-depreciating paper currency; it was found necessary to reduce the allowances of food; and altogether the army seemed tumbling into ruin. Several of the Connecticut levies, whose enlistment expired before the end of December, departed for their homes in spite of earnest entreaties and exhortations that they would stay a little longer, if it were only ten days. Trumbull, the Governor of their province, told Washington that they were acting in accordance with "the genius and spirit" of New Englanders, whose pulses always beat high for liberty; and he gave no countenance to the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, that he should punish the offenders. No doubt they could not have been legally punished; but their conduct was very generally disapproved in Connecticut, and efforts were made to supply the places of the seceders. A large number of men were enlisted in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and preparations for the service of the coming year were made by Washington, as far as the difficulties of his position permitted. Yet his heart often sank within him at the prospects of the war, and, in a letter to Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, written on the 28th of November, 1775, he observed:—"I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen. After the last of this month, our

lines will be so weakened that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy the little subordination I have been labouring to establish, and run me into one evil whilst I am endeavouring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment, or any subordinate department, would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps the honour." And in the same letter he speaks of the absurdity and partiality of the people by whom he was surrounded, and of the trouble and vexation he had had in the new arrangement of officers. He had been obliged to yield to "the humour and whimsies" of his subordinates, or he would have got no army at all. The officers of one Government would not serve in the regiments of another, and every one seemed to claim the right of placing himself where he pleased.*

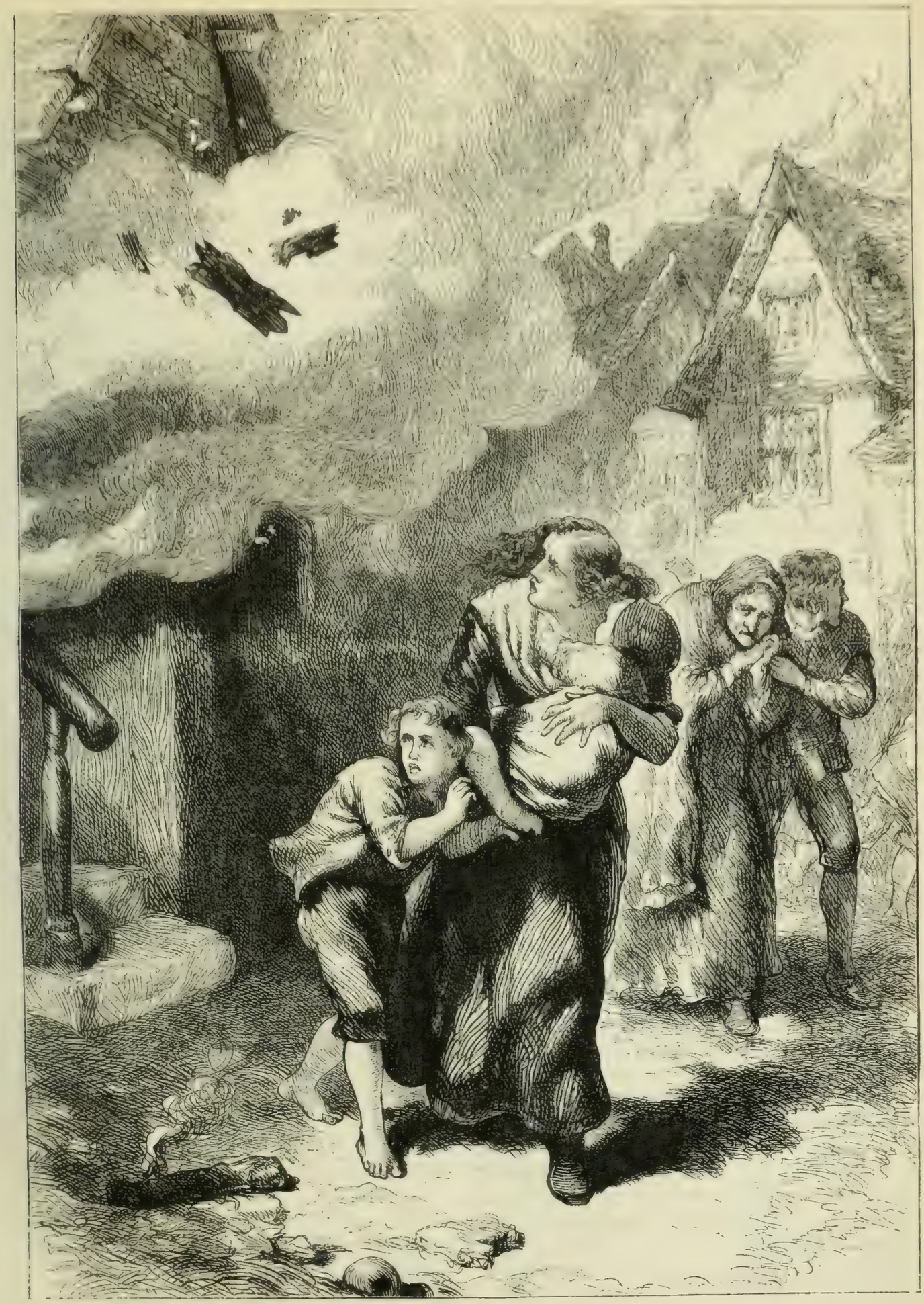
While the great Virginian thus protected the north, and menaced the British army in the capital of Massachusetts, his native State suffered much from the tyranny of Lord Dunmore. That nobleman sailed about the coasts in a small fleet, by the aid of which he was enabled to inflict vengeance on the towns which lay within his reach. At Norfolk, on the 30th of September, he seized the printing materials of a newspaper belonging to one John Holt, and, together with two compositors, took them on board his vessel, that he might publish a loyal *Gazette* whenever he pleased. Shortly afterwards, the people of Hampton moved his wrath by taking the swivels and other stores from an armed sloop which had been driven on shore, capturing some of



PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON QUEBEC IN 1775. (*From Thayer's "Journal of the Invasion of Canada."*)

A, A, A. American forces under Arnold.
B. Bastion of La Glacière.
C. ,, St. Louis.
D. ,, St. Ursula.
E. Bastion of St. John.
F. ,, La Potasse.
G. Palace Gate
H. Governor's House.
K. Lower Town.
L. Place where Montgomery began his attack.
M. Where Arnold was wounded.
N. American battery.

* The Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks. Vol. III.



INCIDENT IN THE BURNING OF NORFOLK.

the men, and setting the ship on fire. Such an act unquestionably called for punishment; but Dunmore contemplated a degree of punishment which was quite unjustifiable. Not content with blockading the port, he sent some of his tenders into Hampton Roads to destroy the town. The little force, however, was so vigorously received, on two successive days (the 26th and 27th of October), that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of a few of their men, and one of the tenders. In this way did actual hostilities begin in Virginia; and they were soon followed up. On the 14th of November, Dunmore had a skirmish with some militia-men who were lying in ambuscade near the Great Bridge which crosses the river Elizabeth, about ten miles from Norfolk. The provincials were defeated, and fled in panic. The Governor then gave orders for the building of a fort not far from the scene of the encounter, and straightway issued a proclamation, which he had signed on the 7th, and which had for its main object the rousing of the slaves to action on the side of the King. This proclamation established martial law throughout the province; required every person capable of bearing arms to resort to the Royal Standard, under penalty of forfeiture of life and property; and declared freedom to all indented servants and negroes appertaining to rebels, if they would assist in reducing the colony to obedience. The enfranchisement of slaves is in itself an act of humanity and wisdom; but it is always necessary to consider the proper time for so serious a revolution, and the fittest means by which the change can be brought about in a gentle and orderly manner. Dunmore selected an inopportune season, and adopted a method the most likely to excite ferocious passions, and lead to a sanguinary war of races.

The proclamation expressed an actual purpose, not a mere threat. The Governor proceeded to raise various regiments of white and black soldiers, and to the latter he gave the title of "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment." Several of the men whom he thus proposed to arm were Africans, not merely by blood, but also by birth; they might therefore be expected to be animated by savage instincts and barbarian desires. No wonder that the Virginians were enraged and alarmed at a menace which was for them full of nameless horror. They quickened their military preparations at the prospect of danger, and, on the invitation of the Continental Congress, instituted a Government of their own. It was very necessary to take some direct action with regard to the slaves, and this was done by representing to them that it was the English who had forced slavery on the country; that the Virginians had vainly struggled against it and that the existing race of masters had, for the most part, done their utmost to render the condition of the blacks as tolerable as it might be. A promise was held out, not only that no further negroes should be imported, but that those already in bondage should be set free. In a little while, the fears excited by Lord Dunmore's policy calmed down, for it was found that the dreaded consequences did not ensue. The proclamation was not, indeed, entirely a failure, but its effects were unequal to what had been anticipated. Many hundreds, both of blacks and whites, flocked to the standard of the Governor; and several of the loyally-disposed publicly abjured the Congress and its acts, together with all local conventions and committees of an insurrectionary character. But the negroes thus enlisted formed only a small proportion of the whole mass of bondsmen in the province, and their conduct was not marked by that enmity to their masters which was very naturally feared.

Among the whites most eager to show their good inclinations towards the Crown were certain Scotchmen, settled in Virginia, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. These had in August presented a petition to the Virginian Convention, praying that they might not be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen, and promising strict neutrality in case the province should be invaded by British troops. The Convention replied to this petition by recommending the colony in general to treat with kindness all the inhabitants of the country who did not declare themselves enemies of the American cause. But many of the petitioners having shortly afterwards exhibited a decided leaning towards the Royal side, the recommendation in their favour was revoked. These Scotchmen were now embodied as the militia of Norfolk, and were considered to present so formidable a front that the Americans determined to take their place. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, the forces under the command of William Woodford, colonel of the second Virginian regiment, marched to the Great Bridge, and threw up a breastwork opposite the British fort. Some attempts to get to the rear of the King's troops having failed, the two armies continued for several days to confront one another without any active operations. At length, Dunmore, who was in Norfolk at the time, resolved to make an attempt to drive off his antagonists. On the evening of the 8th of December, he sent forward two hundred men, consisting of regular troops, sailors, militia, and negroes. The only

approach to the Virginians was over a causeway, terminating in the breastwork which the insurgents had erected; and along this path, in the early morning of the 9th, the assailants rushed towards the enemy, under the leadership of Captain Fordyce. They were received with so hot a fire that, for an instant, they wavered; but Fordyce, with splendid daring and self-possession, rallied them and pressed on, when he was struck with numerous rifle-balls, and fell dead at the barricade. The negroes and militia hung back from supporting the regulars, and the latter, after doing the utmost that was possible, retired under cover of the artillery at the fort, after a contest of fourteen minutes, with a loss, in killed and wounded, of more than sixty. These heavy casualties were in part owing to some of the Virginians being posted in a position which enabled them to take the advancing British in flank. The provincials suffered scarcely at all—an immunity for which they had to thank their well-contrived defences. The wounded amongst the English forces were very humanely treated, with the exception of the loyal Americans, who were made to feel the popular anger at what was regarded as their treachery.

On the following night, the Royal troops evacuated the fort, and retreated to Norfolk, where so much consternation prevailed that large numbers of persons, including runaway negroes, forsook the town, and crowded, to the injury of health, on board the vessels in the river Elizabeth. Dunmore was among the first to seek shelter on ship-board from the rage of the insurgents; and the town of Norfolk, thus abandoned by many of its defenders, surrendered on the 14th of December. The Governor sent a flag on shore, to inquire if he and the fleet might be supplied with fresh provisions. The request was refused, and Dunmore, after consulting with the captain of the *Liverpool*, a ship of war then in the river, came to the conclusion—one certainly warranted by the facts—that Norfolk was in actual rebellion. The old year ended in the midst of preparations for a terrible vengeance, and on the 1st of January, 1776, the ships under the orders of Lord Dunmore ranged themselves in front of the town, and began a violent cannonade with sixty pieces of cannon. As night drew on, boats' companies landed from the ships, and spread the flames along the river. The houses were principally built of pine-wood, and the fire spread rapidly. In a *Gazette* which he afterwards issued from his ship, the Governor alleged that it was his intention only to destroy that part of the city which was next the water, but that the rebels themselves completed the destruction of the place by setting fire to the back streets, which, as the wind did not blow that way, would otherwise have escaped. The story seems very improbable, and in any case it is certain that for several hours Lord Dunmore and his officers wreaked their fury on the unfortunate town. The cannonade did not entirely cease until two o'clock on the following morning, and the flames raged for three days, destroying by far the greater part of what until then had been a flourishing seat of trade. During the progress of the bombardment, the British made several attempts to land with cannon, but were always driven back by the Americans. A few persons were wounded in endeavouring to escape through the blazing streets in the midst of a constant shower of balls; but not so many as might have been expected under such disastrous circumstances.

Dunmore himself seems afterwards to have been ashamed of the cruel and wholly unjustifiable act which he had ordered. The statement made in his *Gazette* was evidently intended to mitigate the very general indignation which he knew would be excited against him; but it failed in its effect. The destruction of Norfolk was execrated as a piece of wanton barbarity, and Washington drew from the event a hope that it would render still more determined the resolution of the whole country to dissolve all connection with a people who seemed lost to every sense of virtue, and to those feelings which distinguish the civilised man from the savage. It was very natural on the part of Washington to identify the act of Dunmore with the general policy of England. Falmouth, in Maine, had already been burnt by Lieutenant Mowat, and a rumour had obtained currency that the British Government had given orders for the burning of all towns which could be reached by the navy. But it is now well known that no such orders were issued, and that, as we have already related, Mowat was reproved for his outbreak of ferocity. Dunmore acted on his own sense of what was necessary for the assertion of his power, and must be visited with the whole blame of his angry and brutal mistake. It was not long ere he discovered that, so far from subduing the malcontents, he had made their opposition all the more extreme and bitter; for they soon, by way of retaliation, proceeded to burn the houses and plantations of the loyal. He was at the same time mortified by the utter failure of his projects for raising a force of Indians and backwoodsmen in the western territories. For this purpose he had in the late autumn employed a Pennsylvanian

named Connolly, who was to collect a force on the western frontier, to penetrate through Virginia, and to meet the Governor at Alexandria, on the Potomac, in April. Connolly, however, was arrested in Maryland, not long after he had started on his expedition; his papers were seized, and, the plot being thus discovered, nothing further could be done. Disheartened by the collapse of all his schemes, Dunmore now saw that his only chance of safety was in flight. Early in 1776, therefore (having first sent his manumitted slaves to the West Indies), he sailed, with the force under his command, towards the north, where he joined the army under General Howe.

By the 1st of January, 1776, Washington had, by extraordinary exertions, got together a new Continental army in front of Boston—an army of less than ten thousand men, ill-appointed, and not well-disciplined. Like that which it supplanted, it contained some free negroes, though it was not without great trouble that Washington extorted permission to enlist them—so strong was the feeling against these unhappy people entertained by some of the chief assertors of liberty. With the new year an emblematical banner was unfurled over the troops. It displayed thirteen alternate red and white stripes (indicative of the thirteen united colonies), and, in the corner, the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground. The desire for complete independence was expressed with a more undisguised frankness, and Washington openly declared his opinion that it was a necessity of the time. Nothing conduced more to the general acceptance of this view than an essay published at Philadelphia by the Englishman, Thomas Paine. That remarkable writer had derived from his friend and companion, Franklin, or from some natural qualities of his own, aided by study of the best models, the art of clear and forcible statement, and of reasoning such as the most unlettered can understand. He now put into form his ideas of the relation of America to England, and showed the result to Franklin, to Samuel Adams, and to other colonial politicians. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, gave the treatise the name of "Common Sense," and it was printed by the direction of the Pennsylvanian Legislature, which presented the author with £500 for his performance.

The argument started with the assumption that government by kings had been introduced by heathen nations, in opposition to the will of God, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel. Hereditary succession had aggravated the evil. England, since the Conquest, had had few good monarchs, and many bad ones. Far from preserving nations from civil wars, monarchy was frequently the occasion of those struggles, as the history of England proved. Coming to the more particular features of the case, Paine boldly asserted that the period of debate between England and America had closed, and that arms must now decide the contest. The appeal had been the choice of the King, and the continent had accepted the challenge. Great Britain, said Paine, had only protected America from enemies on her own account. America, he contended, would have flourished as much, and probably more, had no European Power had anything to do with governing her. France and Spain had been the enemies of Americans solely as the subjects of Great Britain; and they would probably never again be the enemies of that people, if the connection were at an end. Paine then went on to argue that Europe, not England, was the parent country of America. The New World had been the asylum of the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. "Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province," continued the writer, "are of English descent. The phrase of 'parent' or 'mother country,' applied to England only, is false, selfish, narrow, and ungenerous; but, admitting that we were all of English descent, Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name." He challenged the warmest advocate of reconciliation to show a single advantage that the continent could reap by being connected with Great Britain. It was the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she could not do while retaining her dependence on England; and the distance of the two countries from one another was a further argument in favour of separation. Following out this train of thought, Paine wrote:—

"It is repugnant to reason and the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain do not think so. The authority of Great Britain, sooner or later, must have an end, and the event cannot be far off. The business of this continent, from its rapid progress to maturity, will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed, with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a Power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us. There is something absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island: in no instance hath Nature made the satellite larger than the primary planet. They belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself. Everything short of independence is leaving the sword to our

children, and shrinking back at a time when going a little further would render this continent the glory of the earth. Admitting that matters were now made up, the King will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits his purpose. We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America as by submitting to laws made for us in England. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related. The best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age. Emigrants of property will not come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread. . . . . Nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence. It is unreasonable to suppose that France or Spain will give us assistance, if we mean only to use that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach. While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eyes of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. A manifesto, published and despatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and declaring that we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her, at the same time assuring all such courts of our desire of entering into trade with them, would produce more good effects to this continent than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain."

However disputable some of Paine's arguments may have been, they were admirably calculated to produce a powerful effect in America, and to influence in the desired direction many who might still be inclined, from whatever cause, to hang back. Some, however, were a little alarmed at the boldness of the proposals, and Wilson, of Pennsylvania, moved in Congress for the appointment of a committee, to explain to their constituents and to the world the present intentions of the colonial representatives respecting independence. In opposition to this suggestion, Samuel Adams insisted that Congress had already been explicit enough: but Wilson carried his motion. Samuel Adams and Franklin afterwards consulted privately on the subject, and came to the conclusion that a confederation of some kind, even if only a partial confederation, must be speedily established. Both contemplated the possibility of the New England States forming a separate Government of their own, but opinion was not unanimous even in the north. Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, disavowed any intention of separating from the old country; and the Council of Massachusetts dissented, on the alleged ground of precipitancy, from the determination of the more popular branch of the Legislature to solicit instructions from the several towns on the great question of the day. Maryland, on the 11th of January, passed a vote bearing testimony to the equity of the English constitution, forbidding all military operations except for protection, and instructing their delegates in Congress not to assent to any proposition for independence, foreign alliance, or confederation. In Philadelphia there was talk of commissioners coming from England with full powers for granting measures of redress, restoring the charter of Massachusetts, and arranging matters of taxation.* Franklin endeavoured to hasten the discussion of a plan for a Federation, but could not succeed in fixing a day. Yet military preparations went on with unabated zeal. Congress was timid about taking so extreme a step as a declaration of independence, but was none the less advancing cautiously towards that end.

Revolutionary ideas made great progress in Georgia with the new year. A party of volunteers, raised on the 18th of January, seized Sir James Wright, the liberal and intelligent Governor of the colony, and confined him in his own house. The Royal Government was at once at an end, its officers imprisoned or put to flight. Wright afterwards escaped, and ultimately got to the *Scarborough* man-of-war, where he reported that Georgia was in full insurrection. On the 20th of January, the Virginian Convention gave its opinion in favour of opening the ports of America to all persons willing to trade with them, excepting the people of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies. Its delegates in the General Congress were also instructed to endeavour to get such a measure adopted, as soon as exportation from North America should be allowed. The state of war was perfect; independence was all but complete. The United Colonies wanted but little to convert them into the United States.

* Bancroft.

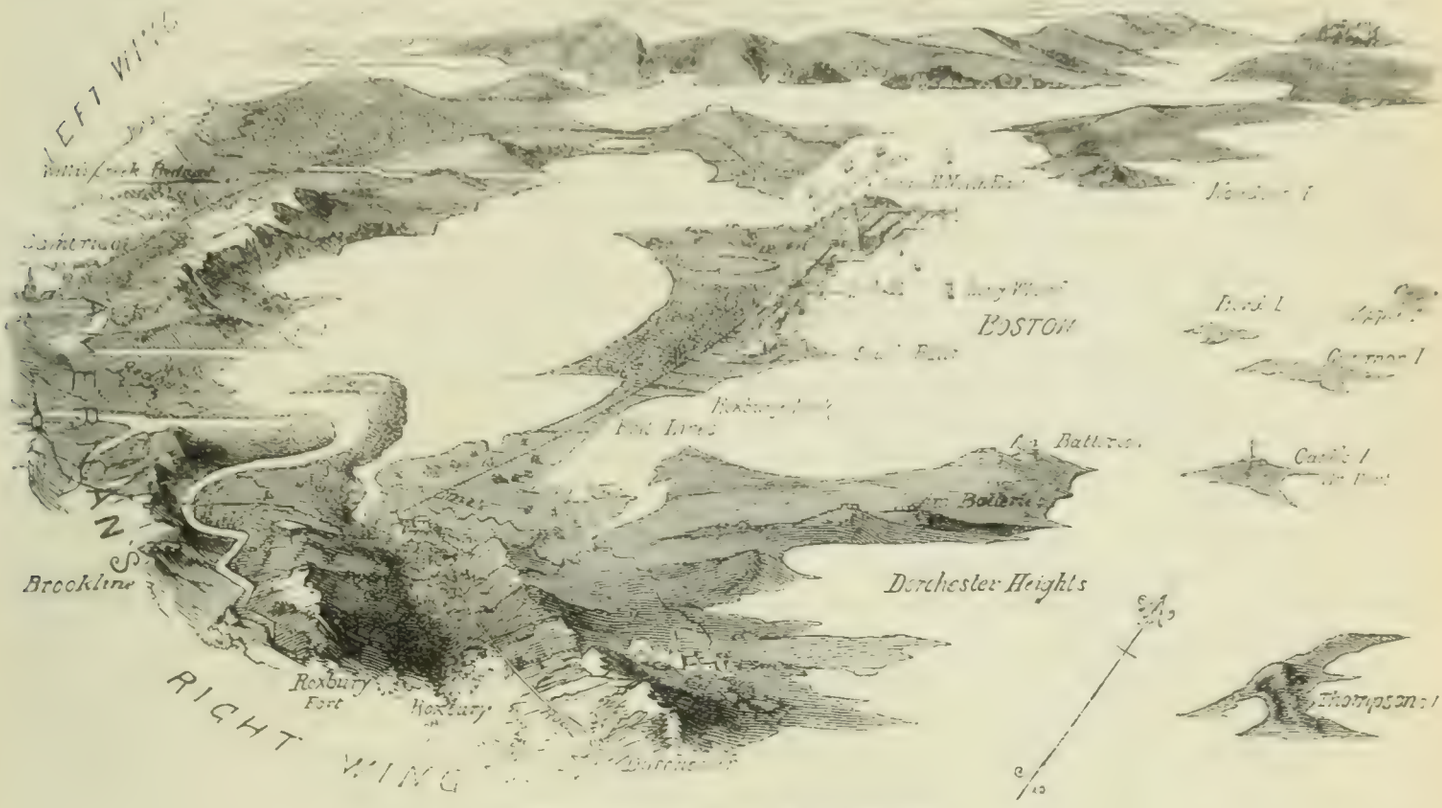
CHAPTER XXV.

The Contracts for German Troops—Opinion in the British Parliament—The Highlanders in the Mohawk Valley, and in North Carolina, reduced by the Patriotic Party—Divided State of Opinion in New York—Attempts of Isaac Sears—Disarming of the Royalist Sympathisers—Determination of Washington to send an Expedition into New York Province—Questionable Character of the Act—Arbitrary Conduct of General Lee—Arrival at New York of Lee and of Clinton—Consternation in the City—Construction of Fortifications, and Withdrawal of the English Ships into the Bay—Popularity of Lee—Condition of the English and American Armies in and before Boston—Occupation of Dorchester Heights by Washington, and Erection of a Strong Line of Fortifications—Howe prevented by a Storm from attacking the Position—The Safety of the British imperilled—Evacuation of Boston—Defective State of the Transports—Insufficient Arrangements of Howe—Treatment of Loyal Americans by their Countrymen—Entrance of Washington into Boston—His bad Troops—What he had accomplished—Honours paid to him by the Massachusetts Legislature.

THE German troops, obtained for service in America by the agents of George III., numbered seventeen thousand men. Of these mercenaries, the Landgrave of Hesse furnished twelve thousand, while the Duke of Brunswick and other petty sovereigns supplied five thousand. A more cold-blooded contract was never signed. To England it was discreditable; to the German Powers concerned it was disgraceful. For so much money, a number of rational beings, leaving behind them, in many instances, wives, families, and parents, were driven to the slaughter in a cause which to them had either no interest at all, or an interest the very reverse of what they were sent to support; and this was done simply that a number of disreputable princes might put the price of blood into their pockets. Frederick the Great of Prussia—not a very scrupulous man where anything was to be attained—spoke with just indignation of the abominable traffic; and it is related that, whenever any of these miserable hirelings had occasion to pass through his territory, he levied on them the usual toll for cattle, since, as he observed, they had been sold as such. A similar feeling was entertained by many in England. When the treaties were debated in Parliament, on the 29th of February, 1776, several speakers gave expression, on various grounds, to a sentiment of extreme dissatisfaction at the bargain which had been struck. Some condemned it as scandalously immoral; others as financially extravagant; others again as impolitic, seeing that the American Congress had now been set the example of applying to foreign Powers. It was objected that the King of England had assured the dominions of the contracting rulers against foreign attacks during the period that their troops would be employed in America; and to some of the Opposition it appeared not improbable that the Germans, on arriving in the colonies, would be induced to accept lands, and would then turn their arms against the Government which had engaged them. Despite these criticisms, the treaties were ratified by large majorities in both Houses. In the Commons, a motion put forward by Colonel Barré was carried, for an address to his Majesty to equip the German troops with British manufactures; and, in the Lords, the Duke of Richmond moved an address to countermand all foreign troops, and to forego hostilities—a proposal which was of course negatived. The debate in the Upper Chamber was signalised by a speech from Earl Temple, who, dissenting in this respect from the well-known views of his brother-in-law and former colleague, Lord Chatham, described the conduct of the Opposition as factious, and of a nature to encourage rebellion in America.

Reinforcements of some kind were certainly needed, and Howe looked for them with impatience. He desired to shift his quarters to New York; he wished to send out two expeditions, one for the reduction of the Carolinas, another for the relief of Quebec; but for a long time he could attempt little, owing to want of troops. The insurgents had the country very nearly at their mercy, for there was no British army in the field to oppose them. The New York militia, in the course of January, overpowered the Highlanders of the Mohawk Valley, who had taken up arms on behalf of the Crown. Much was expected from these scattered bodies of Highlanders, but very little was accomplished. Martin, the Governor of North Carolina, endeavoured to raise the Scotchmen of that province, together with certain riotously-disposed men called Regulators, from their attempting to regulate the administration of justice in the remote settlements after a summary fashion of their own; and by the help of this combined force, it was hoped that the country might be re-conquered for the King. But the attempt ended in a damaging failure. At the close of February, the loyal troops, if such they can be called, were dispersed, after a sanguinary fight at a nearly-demolished bridge over Moore's Creek, in which the Americans on the one side, and the Highlanders on the other, behaved

with conspicuous gallantry, resolution, and daring. The most numerous supporters of the British connection were still to be found in the province of New York, the eastern counties of which contained a very considerable party opposed to the designs of the revolutionists. The proximity of a powerful fleet gave confidence to the loyal; yet in the capital itself the patriotic leaders made their influence felt, and, while advising a policy of moderation as far as words were concerned, lost no opportunity of collecting warlike stores, and in every way preparing for the day of battle. Ships were despatched to St. Eustatia to purchase powder, and they were not intercepted by the British squadron, the commanders of which seem to have thought it wiser to refrain from active hostilities while there was yet a chance of compromise, and while they were still too weak to undertake any decisive operations.



PLAN OF THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON.

The doubtful position of New York gave great offence to some eager spirits, one of whom, named Isaac Sears, recruited a party of horsemen in Connecticut, and rifled the office of a printer in the city of New York who was known to be a supporter of Tory views. The act was of course very generally denounced as a gross infringement of provincial rights; and even men who were far from being loyally inclined, condemned such an invasion of one colony by another. Sears then went to the camp at Cambridge, where he represented that New York was in great danger from the Tories, and that Connecticut volunteers were ready to march thither, and disarm all who desired submission to the parent State. Before the design could be carried out, the New York Convention, acting on a similar feeling of what was necessary, had requested the Continental Congress to authorise the colonial committees to deprive of their weapons all who were suspected of favouring the Royal cause. This was done in the final days of January, and those who had given offence, by voting against sending deputies to the New York Congress, were similarly treated, with the entire concurrence of the New York authorities. It is evident from these facts that a good deal of terrorism was brought to bear on the loyal section of the people; that the expression of opinion was not free; and that the right of voting itself could only be exercised on the side of the dominant party of revolutionists. But the matter really went much farther; for, early in January, Sears had persuaded General Lee that the Connecticut men should be despatched to New York, and Lee had gained the consent of Washington to this outrageous piece of interference. Washington, whose own inclinations were not generally of a despotic character, was moved to sanction the scheme, partly by the report that Clinton was about to leave Boston on an expedition against New York, and partly by the arguments of John Adams, who pronounced the suggestions of Sears to be practicable,

expedient, and just. Moreover, the American Commander-in-Chief was unaware that measures for effecting the same object had already been adopted, at the instance of New York itself.

Lee was so much in love with the plan that he obtained the conduct of it, and set forth with injunctions from Washington to be ruled in all things by the intentions of Congress, and to communicate with the New York Committee of Safety. To the latter body Washington himself wrote, alleging that the object of General Lee's expedition was "to put the city of New York in the best posture of defence" (against the contemplated attack of the British) "which the season and circumstances would admit of." In his instructions to Lee, however, allusion is also made to the dissentients of Long Island and other parts of the province of New York, who were to be disarmed, and, if necessary, "otherwise secured."* It would seem, therefore, that Washington only partially informed the local Committee of Safety of what he proposed to do, and that the act of political coercion which he contemplated was withheld from their knowledge. As Commander-in-Chief of all the Federal forces, Washington would no doubt have been quite justified in detaching a part of his army for the purely military purpose of defending an important city against the designs of the enemy. But he did more than this. Being unable, as he states in his communication to the Committee of Safety of New York, to spare troops from the camp at Cambridge, he commissioned an officer to raise volunteers in the provinces adjacent to New York; and one duty which these volunteers were to perform was the punishment of certain New York citizens who held obnoxious opinions. It is easy to say that the coercion of these citizens was a necessary part of the military operations, or at least a measure of precaution on military grounds. Excuses may always be made for the most arbitrary proceedings; but an act trenching so seriously on the rights of the individual should have proceeded from some authority within the colony concerned, or from the General Congress, where all the colonies were represented.

Entering Connecticut, Lee obtained the services of two regiments, counting nearly fifteen hundred men. Sears was with him, and he bestowed on this political fanatic the post of Assistant Adjutant-General, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. To the Committee of Safety of New York, Lee sent no communication announcing his approach, though Washington had instructed him to do so. When the fact of his advance at the head of a large body of troops became known to the rulers of the province, they felt highly indignant at an interference which seemed to have no basis of right or of legality. A messenger was despatched to Lee, requesting him not to allow the Connecticut men to pass the frontier until the purpose of their coming should be explained. Lee returned a high-flown answer, in which he declared that, if the English ships of war should make a pretext of his presence to fire upon the town, he would hang a hundred of the Royalist party. It was evident that Lee and the New York authorities would not harmonise, though they professed to be seeking the same ends. Both appealed to the Continental Congress, and that body sent commissioners with powers of direction. These envoys consulted with the New York Committee on the 1st of February, and the local authorities were satisfied with the assurance that the troops would be under the control of Congress. Such was the posture of affairs when, on the 4th of February, Clinton, with his troops, arrived in the harbour, and Lee entered the city. The two opponents were face to face, and New York was to abide the shock.

The city was now occupied by volunteers from Connecticut and New Jersey, and at the same time a transport, with the British soldiers on board, came up to the dock. A panic seized on the people; women and children were removed to a distance, and for some days the roads were covered with waggons conveying household goods. Much distress was occasioned to the poor, and even to the rich, by this flight in the midst of winter; but it was thought better to encounter the hardship of seeking new homes than to brave the risks of a bombardment. There was no disposition at present, however, to push matters to extremes. Clinton declared that his division would not be followed by any more troops, and that he was on his way to North Carolina. Lee was checked in his violent tendencies by the supervision of the commissioners sent by the Continental Congress, and of the New York Committee. Active operations were waived on both sides; but the Americans, under the direction of Lee, constructed a number of fortifications which, it was hoped, would be sufficient to secure the capital from any attack that might ultimately be made. The ships of war removed into the bay, and Lee, gathering increased confidence from his apparent success, recommended a refusal of all terms of accommodation, unless the whole Ministry were condignly punished, and the King beheaded, or at least dethroned. Nothing could have been

* Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. III., pp. 230—232.

more idle and empty than such language; but it conspired with his position of seeming superiority at New York to make him for a time the demi-god of the revolutionary party. Washington, Franklin, and John Adams, all wrote to the sometime English officer in terms of the highest praise, importing that it would be a good thing for the country if he could be at New York, at Cambridge, in Canada, and in Virginia, at the same moment. That being impossible, it was at length determined by the General Congress to give him the command of all the Continental forces south of the Potomac. He left New York about the middle of March, after alienating the more moderate by his arbitrary arrests of suspected persons, and by his imposition of a test-oath which constituted a glaring violation of private rights.

As winter wore on, the difficulties of Washington increased; for his army was still raw and undisciplined, his resources grew less with the augmenting demands on them, and the distracted counsels of his subordinates were more than ever bewildering and vexatious. He had by this time obtained some guns and a stock of powder, and he would have advanced over the ice to Boston, or would have approached it in boats, if he could have gained the co-operation of his officers, and could have relied on the constancy of his men; but, finding that his project was not supported, he was obliged to content himself with watching the enemy, and maturing plans for the future. The regiments to which he was opposed remained securely behind their entrenchments, wiling away the tedious season by private theatricals, balls, and whatever diversions they could originate in a city which was not remarkable for the means of entertainment. The English commanders were expecting reinforcements, and contemplating a removal to New York when they should have received them. But Washington was resolved to furnish his opponents with employment of a serious character; and he now conceived the design of occupying Dorchester Heights, a line of hills stretching along a peninsula to the south of Boston, the possession of which would give him the command of the city, and to some extent of the harbour. He hoped, moreover, in this way to bring on a general action, by compelling the enemy to attempt his expulsion from a position of so important a nature; and it was part of his design to take advantage of the struggle to cross with a portion of his forces from the Cambridge side of the river Charles, and attack Boston itself. The effectives of the American army in the north now amounted to upwards of fourteen thousand men, reckoning only those who were regarded as regular troops; and, in addition to these, Washington had called into active service about 15 thousand of the Massachusetts militia. The available forces under Howe could not count as many as eight thousand. They had the advantage over their adversaries in point of discipline, but in some respects were even worse off. Their numbers were being frequently reduced by small pox; their supplies of food were insufficient, notwithstanding that they had command of the sea; even the sick and wounded were often, from sheer compulsion, left without fresh meat and vegetables; and fuel was so scarce that it was found necessary to pull down houses, that the timber might be used for firing. Boston was literally a trap to the English forces confined there, and Howe was anxious for the moment when he could quit a locality so unpropitious to the commencement of an active campaign, and gain the more loyal province of New York, whence operations could be conducted with a much greater prospect of success.

The execution of his plan was hastened by the movements of Washington. Choosing a day which he considered favourable, by its associations, to the highest development of the patriotic spirit, the American commander determined to commence his proceedings on the 5th of March, the anniversary of what was popularly, but falsely, called "the Boston Massacre." On the nights of March 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, however, he preceded the main attempt by a heavy bombardment of the British lines, intended as a means of diverting attention from his real object. During the last of those nights, under cover of darkness, and of the cannonade which was vigorously kept up from several points, and as warmly replied to by the English, though without any great effect on either side, Washington moved towards the high ground which he proposed to occupy. His dispositions had been made with great skill, and every man beforehand was thoroughly instructed in his work. The troops were accompanied by carts with trenching tools, and bundles of screwed hay were sent over the frozen marshes, to be used in the construction of works of defence in default of earth, which could not be obtained owing to the frozen state of the ground. The unceasing roar of the great guns discharged by both combatants, and the whizzing of shells as they cut their way through the dark and frozen air, effectually drowned the noise of Washington's troops moving from the vicinity of Cambridge to that of Dorchester. This great advantage was obtained at a cost, to the Americans, of two men, and of the bursting of five mortars. Having gained the Heights, the provincials worked with unflinching

assiduity under the light of a full moon, and the teams of bullock-waggons went to and fro, bringing up fresh supplies for the works. At three o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the first working party was relieved; and by dawn, when at length the bombardment ceased, a formidable line of fortifications was apparent to the astonished eyes of General Howe and his army. On each of the two hills where Washington had taken his station, strong redoubts had been run up; the foot of the ridge was protected by an abattis of felled trees; and at the top were several barrels filled with earth and stones, which, in case of an attack, were to be rolled down on the advancing lines.

The Americans had worked well, and had erected in a surprisingly short space of time an admirable extemporary defence. But, as magnified by the mists of morning, it looked more serious than it really was, and for a moment something like dismay pervaded the British camp. Howe exclaimed that the besiegers had done more in a night than his men would have accomplished in a month. Yet, although, as we have seen, he was desirous of transferring operations from Boston to New York, he disdained to be hastened in his movements by the manœuvres of rebellious provincials, and therefore resolved, by the advice of a council of war, to attack the enemy at once. Admiral Shuldham, who was in command of the fleet, declared that unless the New Englanders were dislodged he could not keep a ship in the harbour. The case was certainly grave, for Boston could not long remain tenable if the enemy were at liberty to bombard it from so dominant a position. Howe was further encouraged in his determination to assault the lines (hazardous as he confessed the enterprise to be) by the ardour of his troops, who, as their General reports, were eager to try conclusions with a foe they had already vanquished, though with difficulty, on Breed's Hill. Two thousand four hundred men were placed under the direction of Earl Percy, and they entered the boats which were to carry them across the water to the opposite point of land. The Americans, seeing what was designed, were animated with the hope of inflicting a severe defeat on their adversaries. Washington exclaimed to those about him, "Remember the 5th of March! Avenge the death of your brethren!" The cry, however little it may have been warranted by what really occurred on that day six years before, was well calculated to stimulate the zeal and passion of the men; and, had a collision occurred, there would doubtless have been hard fighting. But Percy delayed scaling the heights until nightfall, and in the afternoon a violent storm of wind arose, which, blowing from the south, drove two or three of the vessels on shore, and prevented the contemplated descent, which was to have taken place from Castle William, where Percy's detachment was already drawn up. The storm continued during the night, and, on the morning of the 6th, rain fell in torrents. It was evident that the attempt could not be made, and in the meanwhile the enemy continued to strengthen his works. It was perhaps fortunate that the lines were not attacked, for, on the side which the English forces must have approached, the heights are almost perpendicular. In the course of the 6th, a council of war was held by Howe and his lieutenants, and it was agreed that it was now impossible to expel the Americans from their position, and that the speedy evacuation of Boston had become a necessity. Howe had been indulging an exaggerated confidence in the strength of his position and the weakness of his opponents. Earlier in the winter, he had given assurances to the Ministry in England that he was not in the least apprehensive of any attack from the rebels; and, with culpable remissness, he had neglected to occupy Dorchester Heights, as Gage had neglected to secure those of the Charleston peninsula. In fact, he had actually called the enemy's attention to the Dorchester position by a frivolous demonstration there on the 14th of February, which ended simply in the burning of a few houses. He now found himself out-generalled by an officer whom he probably regarded as a mere amateur in the art of war.

The evacuation did not begin at once, and the interval was of service to the Americans, as enabling them still further to improve their fortifications. On the morning of the 17th of March, it was perceived that a breastwork had been partially constructed during the night on Nook's Hill, a part of the Dorchester range which commands Boston Neck and the southern quarters of the town. Although this was to some extent stopped by the British guns, any further delay would have been highly dangerous, and it was resolved to move as soon as possible. One of the most painful features of this enforced retreat was the necessity of abandoning the loyal population. Nothing could exceed the dismay of those adherents of the Royal cause on finding, after the failure of Percy's enterprise, that they were to be left to the vengeance of their offended countrymen. They were offered a passage to Nova Scotia; but the prospect of exile to such dreary lands seemed to many even more wretched and alarming than the ill-usage of the victorious patriots. There was no time to come to terms with the enemy as to their

future condition, and several were left to their fate. It was a difficult matter to move so large a body of troops at so short a notice, for the civil administration of the army had been scandalously neglected. "When the transports came to be examined," wrote one of the British officers, "they were void of both provisions and forage. Never were troops in so disgraceful a situation; and that not in the least our own fault, or owing to any want of skill or discretion in our commanders, but entirely owing to Great Britain being fast asleep." While the preparations for removal were going on, Howe, on the 8th of March, made an informal proposal to Washington, through the select-men of Boston, that the English should be suffered to leave without molestation, on their undertaking to spare the town from injury. As this proposal was not signed with the General's name, Washington declined to reply to it; but the suggestion appears to have established a tacit understanding between the two commanders, and the English forces were allowed to depart without being attacked, though the Americans continued to advance their lines, and to threaten Boston by every means at their disposal.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 18th of March, the British army, accompanied by more than a thousand loyal sympathisers, began to embark, and before ten they were all on board and under way, so great was the despatch. Ere leaving, they had wholly dismantled, and in great part demolished, the fort called Castle William; but, probably owing to want of time, the barracks were left as they stood, with a large quantity of cannon and ammunition, which proved of the greatest service to Washington. What was worse than this, however, was the insufficient provision made by Howe for giving information to ships from England that the town was now in the hands of the rebels. It consequently fell out that several English store-ships, containing munitions of war, sailed into the harbour and were seized by the Americans; and one vessel conveying seven hundred troops shared the same fate. These unfortunate soldiers, who did not submit until after a gallant resistance, were treated with considerable severity. The remaining loyalists of Boston, also, were made to suffer sharply for their devotion to a failing cause. Having been brought to trial, and found guilty, their effects were confiscated; and the estates even of emigrants, who could hardly have been expected to feel that desire for American independence which may have been natural in children of the soil, were seized, and turned to the benefit of the rebellion. The insurrection had triumphed, and was not troubled with many scruples in the exertion of its power.

Immediately after the rear guard of the British army had quitted Boston, the American vanguard marched in, under command of General Putnam. They found marks of hasty flight everywhere; for the enemy had left behind him, not merely guns and gunpowder, but large quantities of wheat, barley, and oats, a hundred and fifty cavalry horses, and bedding and clothing for soldiers. Washington himself entered Boston on the 19th, and the main body of the army followed on the 20th. Six of his best regiments were at once despatched by the Commander-in-Chief to New York, and preparations were made to repel any possible attack on Boston itself. That such an attack might be attempted was feared for a while in consequence of the British fleet, with the troops on board, remaining ten days in Nantasket Roads. Their real object was simply to complete their preparations for the voyage which lay before them; but this, of course, could not be clearly known to Washington, though it was suspected by many of the Bostonians; and it was therefore wise to take precautions. The General had no great reliance on his troops. "We have a kind of people to deal with," he wrote, referring to his New Englanders, "who will not fear danger till the bayonet is at their breast, and then they are susceptible enough of it."* He consequently fortified Fort Hill, and demolished the lines on Boston Neck, which he found to be a defence only against the country. But his position was still a difficult one in some respects. The short periods of enlistment were the ruin of his army, and a constant source of trouble. Some time before, he had written:—"It takes you two or three months to bring new men acquainted with their duty; it takes a longer time to bring a people of the temper and genius of these into such a subordinate way of thinking as is necessary for a soldier. Before this is accomplished, the time approaches for their dismissal, and you are beginning to make interest for their continuance for another limited period; in the doing of which you are obliged to relax in your discipline, in order, as it were, to curry favour with them. Thus the latter part of your time is employed in undoing what the first was accomplishing." The General had only too many occasions of proving the truth of this; and in March another was at hand. It was now close upon the time when the ten regiments of militia which were brought in to serve until the 1st of April would be disengaged; and,

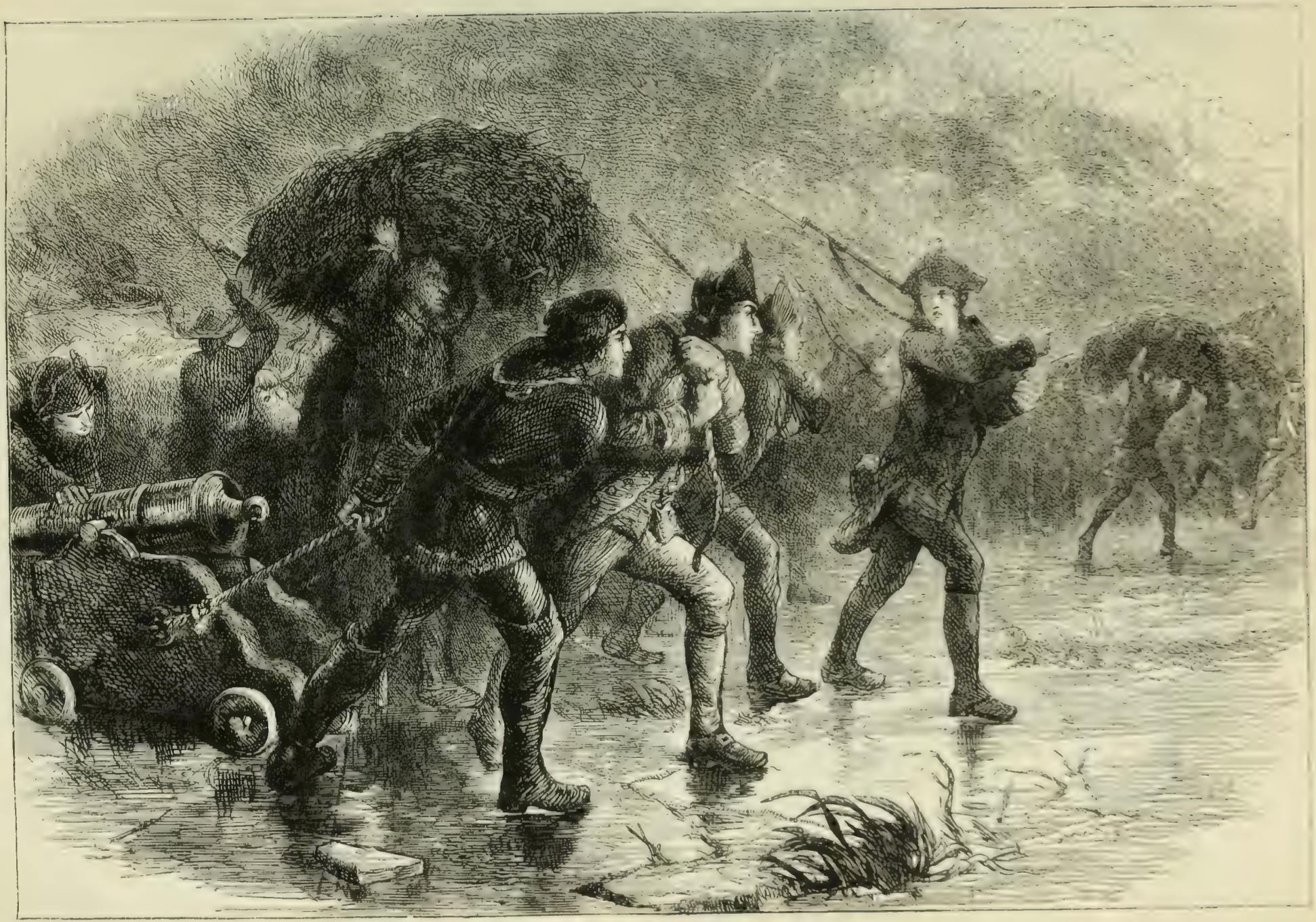
* Washington to Joseph Reed, March 25th, 1776.



SILAS DEANE.

said Washington, writing to Joseph Reed, "from former experience we have found it as practicable to stop a torrent as these people when their time is up." Had the British forces been better handled, it can hardly be doubted, Boston might have been saved.

Washington, however, had done nobly, and the honours he received were not more than his due. That he should have performed so much with such poor materials—that, in the face of the enemy, he should have created something like an army out of a mob of reluctant farmers, and, when that had dispersed, should in a few weeks have raised another—that with these raw levies he should have accomplished a difficult and important strategical movement, and that by such means he should have compelled the evacuation of Boston—were feats of generalship of which any commander might well be proud. The thanks of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature were voted to this great man, who in his reply gave his soldiers far more credit than he was accustomed to express in private. A commemorative medal in gold and bronze was ordered to be struck, and it was afterwards very beautifully executed in France. Meanwhile, Howe and his discomfited troops resumed their course, and proceeded, not to New York, according to the design of a few weeks earlier, but to the shores of Nova Scotia.



NIGHT MANŒUVRES OF THE AMERICANS AT BOSTON.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Singular Position of America towards Great Britain in the Year 1776—Nominal Loyalty and Real Independence—Opening of Relations with Foreign Powers—State Paper of Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister—Treacherous and Selfish Policy suggested by him—State Paper by Turgot—Liberal Principles contained in it—The Ideas of Vergennes adopted by the King—Secret Aid rendered to America—France and Canada—Silas Deane, Agent of the Americans at Paris—Foreign Champions of the American Cause—Anecdote of Lafayette—Discussion in Congress as to Opening the American Ports—Appointment of Commissioners to Canada—Authorisation of Privateers—Washington's Bad Opinion of Privateersmen—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Evil Results of the System of Short Enlistments—Washington's Report to the President of Congress on that Subject—Dread of a Standing Army—Creation of Military Departments, and Appointment of New Generals of Brigade.

America, in the early months of 1776, stood in a very singular position towards Great Britain. Nominally, the English colonies were still portions of the British Empire. They had not yet denied in terms the sovereignty of George III.; they professed—with what sincerity let the reader himself judge from facts already recorded—to desire a continuance of the old connection with the land from which they had proceeded. A subtle distinction had been set up between the King and his Ministers, but more to save appearances than for any solid reason. It was assumed that the objectionable and tyrannical acts of which the provinces complained were due entirely to the Government and the Parliament; although it was well known that the monarch himself was the most determined assertor of his own prerogatives (real or supposed), and that the majority of the English people were heartily in favour of manifesting with vigour the power of the parent over the child. To keep up this politic pretence of loyalty as long as it was thought desirable to maintain such a pretence at all, the army at Boston was spoken of as the Ministerial, and not the Royal, army; as if the King himself had nothing to do with it, or were being defied by its Generals. Yet, side by side with these verbal assertions of duty, a distinct purpose of independence, to be obtained by martial force, was steadily followed. For many years, the political leaders of America had persistently disobeyed the commands of the English sovereign; they had established a Federal Government which was certainly not warranted by any admitted relation between the colonies and the mother country; they were making open war against the King's forces; and they had even gone to the extent of invading a portion of the British dominions which was known not to sympathise with the revolutionary movement.* While the intention of establishing a separate Government was sedulously denied, preparations for independence were being made with skill and resolution; and now that those preparations were nearly completed, there was every day less disposition to observe the pretences under cover of which they had been pursued.

Nothing evinced the maturity of this determination more than the opening of relations with foreign Powers—relations, it is true, of an informal character, yet pointing in the future to others of a more recognised description. It was especially to France that America looked as her friend and supporter in the struggle for independence; partly because France was one of the chief military nations of Europe—partly because of her hereditary ill-will to England. The French Government, glad of any opportunity to injure a rival, encouraged the aspirations of the Americans, and permitted a number of French officers and engineers to accept commissions in the insurgent army. France, in common with other countries of the European continent, desired to see the English monopoly of American commerce broken up; and the large contraband trade which had recently arisen in consequence of the state of civil war in the western world, was practically effecting that result. The report of Bonvouloir from Philadelphia reached the French Minister, Vergennes, at the commencement of March. Shortly afterwards, Vergennes drew up for the consideration of his Royal master a paper in which he reviewed the chief aspects of the case. Speaking with constant reference to Spain, as well as to France (for the two countries were closely bound together by family ties and by community of objects), the Foreign Minister of Louis XVI. remarked that, although the prolongation of the civil war might be infinitely advantageous to the two Crowns, since it would exhaust both the victors and the vanquished—such was the eighteenth-century conception of the interests of nations—there was also room to fear many untoward events; as, amongst others, the possibility of England, when beaten on the continent of America, seeking in-

* Mr. Grahame has remarked on this incongruity in his History (Book XI., chap. 5).

demnity at the expense of France and Spain, and, to conciliate the insurgents, offering them the commerce and supply of the West India Islands. It was also feared that the colonists, on attaining their independence, might become conquerors from necessity, and, by forcing their excess of produce upon Spanish America, might destroy the ties which bound the colonies to their metropolis. The state of the colonies, both of France and Spain, was described as such that, with the exception of Havannah, probably not one was in a condition to resist the smallest part of the forces which England was then sending to America. There was consequently no physical reason why the French and Spanish plantations should not be successfully invaded; and Vergennes had so bad an opinion of English political honour as to feel well convinced that no considerations of public morality, of breach of faith, or of violation of treaties, would deter Great Britain from making such an attack if she found it desirable. Chatham and the other American sympathisers might be called to power; peace might be concluded between the belligerents; and an enormous mass of fighting men might thus be put in motion. Englishmen of all classes, said Vergennes, were persuaded that a popular war against France, or an invasion of Mexico, would terminate, or at least allay, their domestic dissensions, as well as furnish resources for the extinction of their national debt. The French Minister then continued :—

"In the midst of so many perils, the strong love of peace which is the preference of the King, and of the King of Spain, seems to prescribe the most measured course. If the dispositions of these two princes were for war—if they were disposed to follow the impulse of their interests, and perhaps of the justice of their cause, which is the cause of humanity, so often outraged by England—if their military and financial means were in a state of development proportionate to their substantial power—it would, without doubt, be necessary to say to them that Providence has marked out this moment for the humiliation of England, that it has struck her with the blindness which is the surest precursor of destruction, and that it is time to avenge upon her the evils which, since the commencement of the century, she has inflicted on those who have had the misfortune to be her neighbours or her rivals. It would then be necessary not to neglect any of the means suited to render the next campaign as animated as possible, and procure advantages to the Americans; and the degree of passion and exhaustion would determine the moment to strike the decisive blows which would make England step back into the rank of secondary Powers, ravish from her the empire which she claims in the four quarters of the world and deliver the universe from a greedy tyrant who is bent on absorbing all power and all wealth. But this is not the point of view chosen by the two monarchs; and their part appears, under actual circumstances, to limit itself, with one exception, to a circumspect but active foresight. Care must be taken to avoid being compromised, and not to provoke the ills which it is wished to prevent; yet we must not flatter ourselves that the most absolute and the most rigorous inaction will guarantee us from suspicion. The continuance of the war for at least one year is desirable for the two Crowns. To that end the British Ministry must be maintained in the persuasion that France and Spain are pacific, so that it may not fear to embark in an active and costly campaign; whilst, on the other hand, the courage of the Americans might be kept up by secret favours and vague hopes, which would prevent an accommodation, and assist to develop ideas of independence. The evils which the British will make them suffer will embitter their minds; their passions will be more and more inflamed by the war; and, should the mother-country be victorious, she would for a long time need all her strength to keep down their spirit; so that she would never dare to expose herself to their efforts for the recovery of their liberty in connection with a foreign enemy."*

The true policy of France, continued Vergennes, was to tranquillise the English Ministry as to the intentions of that Power and of Spain. At the same time it would be proper for the two monarchies to extend to the insurgents secret aid in military stores and money; yet it would not comport with the dignity of the King to treat with the insurgents till the liberty of English America had acquired consistence. In other words, it was undignified to recognise the insurgents openly, but not at all so to conspire, by an elaborate system of chicanery and false pretence, against a country with which France was then at peace. The support of the Americans by the French Monarchy, out of no love for the interests of freedom, but from mere hatred of England, is one of the most flagitious facts in history; and never was retribution more amply merited than that which afterwards overtook the Bourbons, partly as the result of their selfish dallying with principles which they blindly encouraged abroad, and as ignorantly attempted to defy or to cajole at

* Bancroft.

home. That the most effective aid to the American cause was contemplated by Vergennes, is proved by the final passages of his report, in which he insisted on the necessity of at once raising the effective force of the two countries (France and Spain) to the height of their real power, as it was most improbable that peace would be preserved, whatever the issue of the war between England and her colonies.

The sentiment of jealousy as regarded England which animated the whole of this State paper, was undoubtedly the prevalent feeling in France, and that which ultimately determined the Government to render military aid to the American insurgents. To accomplish the downfall of English power, Vergennes was willing that his sovereign and his nation should follow a course of deliberate duplicity, and, while adopting a manner of perfect friendliness towards the Cabinet of St. James's, was prepared to aid the Americans in underhand ways until the fitting time had arrived for throwing off the mask. Such, however, were not the views of his colleague, the great Liberal statesman, Turgot, at that time Minister of Finance. Louis XVI. directed Vergennes to communicate his memorial to Turgot, and the written opinion of the latter was required. After three weeks' deliberation, Turgot sent in a paper, the upshot of which was in direct antagonism to that of Vergennes. The Finance Minister saw with clearness the folly and futility of that restrictive policy in commerce which had prevailed for two centuries. An entire freedom of trade was what he desired to establish. "The yearly cost of colonies in peace, the enormous expenditure for their defence in war," reasoned Turgot, "lead to the conclusion that it is more advantageous for us to grant them entire independence, without waiting for the moment when events will compel us to give them up. Wise and happy will be that nation which shall first know how to bend to the new circumstances, and consent to see in its colonies allies and not subjects. When the total separation of America shall have healed the European nations of the jealousy of commerce, there will exist among men one great cause of war the less. In our colonies we shall save many millions; and, if we acquire the liberty of commerce and navigation with all the northern continent, we shall be amply compensated." Yet Turgot was far from advocating a policy of treacherous opposition to England. To aid the Americans with money, he remarked, would excite in the English just complaints. France should limit herself to measures of caution, and precipitate nothing unless the conduct of England should give occasion to believe that she contemplated hostilities. Every plan of aggression should be rejected, for moral reasons, and from motives of policy. It was clear, in the estimation of Turgot, that the English Ministry did not desire war, nor was either France or Spain in a fit position to draw the sword. As regarded his own country, the Minister of Finance described the army and navy as in a state of weakness that was scarcely to be imagined.

As might be anticipated, the advice of Vergennes, rather than that of Turgot, was adopted by the French King and his Cabinet. France and Spain agreed, in the course of May, to advance the Americans a sum of money which amounted to nearly a million of dollars. The Spanish portion was remitted to Paris, and the money was sent by the French Government under the name of a pretended commercial house which was for that purpose established in Holland, and through which military stores were conveyed to America in the guise of mercantile consignments. In the progress of subsequent negotiations, the Americans endeavoured to propitiate the friendship of France by proposing to her an advantageous commercial treaty and the reconquest of Canada. They had even the bad taste and self-stultification to suggest that the time had arrived for France "to obtain satisfaction from Great Britain for the injuries received in the last war, commenced by that nation in a manner contrary to the law of nations." It is sufficient to glance back at the repeated solicitations for the conquest of Canada which the colonies addressed to the English Government during a long series of years, to see how little reason the Americans of 1776 had to taunt the mother country with the conquest of Canada, or to require the sympathy of France on the score of denouncing that act. This attempt to obtain favour at the Court of Versailles was, however, as ill-judged as it was dishonest. France no longer desired the re-possession of Canada, as its seizure by England had dispelled the chief motive of the colonists for wishing to preserve their connection with the parent State, and had thrown them more towards the side of France as their ally and patron. The Marquis de Montcalm, in the closing days of his life, when it was evident that the whole of that great province would be reduced by the armies of Amherst and Wolfe, had prophesied that France would obtain a speedy compensation for her loss in the independence of the Anglo-American colonies, which, being delivered from the fear of French rivalry, and having no longer any motive for seeking the military protection of Great Britain, would soon think of emancipating themselves from every form of subjection.

The same idea had occurred to other observers at a still earlier period; and it is not improbable that the colonists themselves had the conception of future independence in their minds when they urged on the Home Government the subjugation of their northern neighbour.

The leaning towards France was now so great that some members of the Continental Congress proposed to transfer to the French ports that monopoly of American commerce which had previously been enjoyed by England. The suggestion was not entertained, but it showed how strong was the disposition in certain quarters to abandon principles for the sake of temporary advantage. America was at this time represented in France by Silas Deane, of Connecticut, who was occasionally assisted by Arthur Lee, an American residing in London, on his flying visits to Paris. Deane was not a man to let niceties of conscience stand in his way. By his instructions, which bear date March 3rd, 1776, he was directed to inform the Count de Vergennes "that if we shall, as there is great appearance we shall, come to a total separation from Great Britain, France would be looked upon as the Power whose friendship it would be fittest for us to obtain and cultivate;" and he was to make a request for clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men, a hundred field-pieces, and a corresponding quantity of ammunition. Following out this general idea, Deane omitted no opportunity of advancing the interests of his countrymen, and the French Government evinced every disposition to further his views. The intercourse of France with the American insurgents could not be altogether concealed, and Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador at Paris, complained of the transmission of military stores to America—a fact which he had discovered by means of his spies. Vergennes utterly denied any knowledge of such doings, and even threw his own agents into prison. The underhand business, however, went on all the same, and, as the year advanced, the financial and military position of the colonies was greatly improved, owing to the aid which had been rendered by the Ministers of Louis XVI. But it was not only in France that assistance was obtained. A fervour of revolutionary sympathy was kindled in many parts of Europe by the example of America. German officers, of long experience in the art of war, proceeded to the New World, to join the patriotic army. Polish noblemen became nascent Republicans in the militant colonies of England, and the illustrious names of Kosciusko and Pulaski figure among the foreign champions of American freedom. Pulaski had been one of the conspirators who, in 1771, seized and carried off Stanislaus, King of Poland. His life was a series of daring adventures, and it was destined to close in blood on one of the battle fields of the West.

Base as were the motives of the French Court in aiding the Anglo American insurgents, we must not suppose that all Frenchmen who joined their fortunes to those of the rebels were animated by a feeling of mean jealousy, or a desire to avenge old wrongs. It is unquestionable that several obeyed impulses of a noble and generous character, and risked their lives in a cause which they believed to be that of humanity itself. This was especially the case with the illustrious Marquis de Lafayette. His connection with America originated in a circumstance which occurred in the early part of 1776. He was then in the nineteenth year of his age, and was in garrison with his regiment at Metz, where the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III., was paying a visit. The Duke had offended the King by marrying the Countess Dowager Waldegrave, natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, and, being discountenanced at court in consequence of this presumed degradation, had been driven into political opposition, and was fond of displaying opinions which had in them no slight tinge of democratic freedom. One day, when he had accepted an invitation to dine with the French officers, he spoke with great fervour on English tyranny in America, and on the gallant resistance of the colonists, and in this way aroused in Lafayette an ardent desire to give his personal services to a cause which seemed so just and admirable. Fifty-three years afterwards, this anecdote was related by Lafayette himself to Mr. James Grahame, to whose work on the history of the United States of North America we have had frequent occasion to refer.

The commercial policy which Turgot advocated—that of opening the ports of America to the trade of the whole world—was debated in the Continental Congress on the 16th of February. This idea had long been present to the minds of leading American statesmen; but it had hitherto been suppressed, for fear of arousing in too high a degree the jealous wrath of England. It was now suggested by many that the time had come when it would be both right and expedient to establish the great principle of commercial freedom. A member of the Congress, named Wythe, argued that they might authorise vessels to arm, might grant letters of marque and reprisal, and might invite foreign Powers to make treaties of commerce; but that, before such measures were adopted, it would be well to consider in what character they were to treat—whether as subjects

of Great Britain, or as rebels. The conclusion at which he arrived was that they must declare themselves a free people. Accordingly he moved a resolution affirming that the colonies had a right to contract alliances with foreign Powers. The question whether this resolution should be considered was resolved that the commerce of the thirteen United Colonies should be thrown open to all nations, excepting the subjects of Great Britain. Henceforth there were to be no customs-houses; exports and imports were to be alike free from all restrictions and from all taxation.

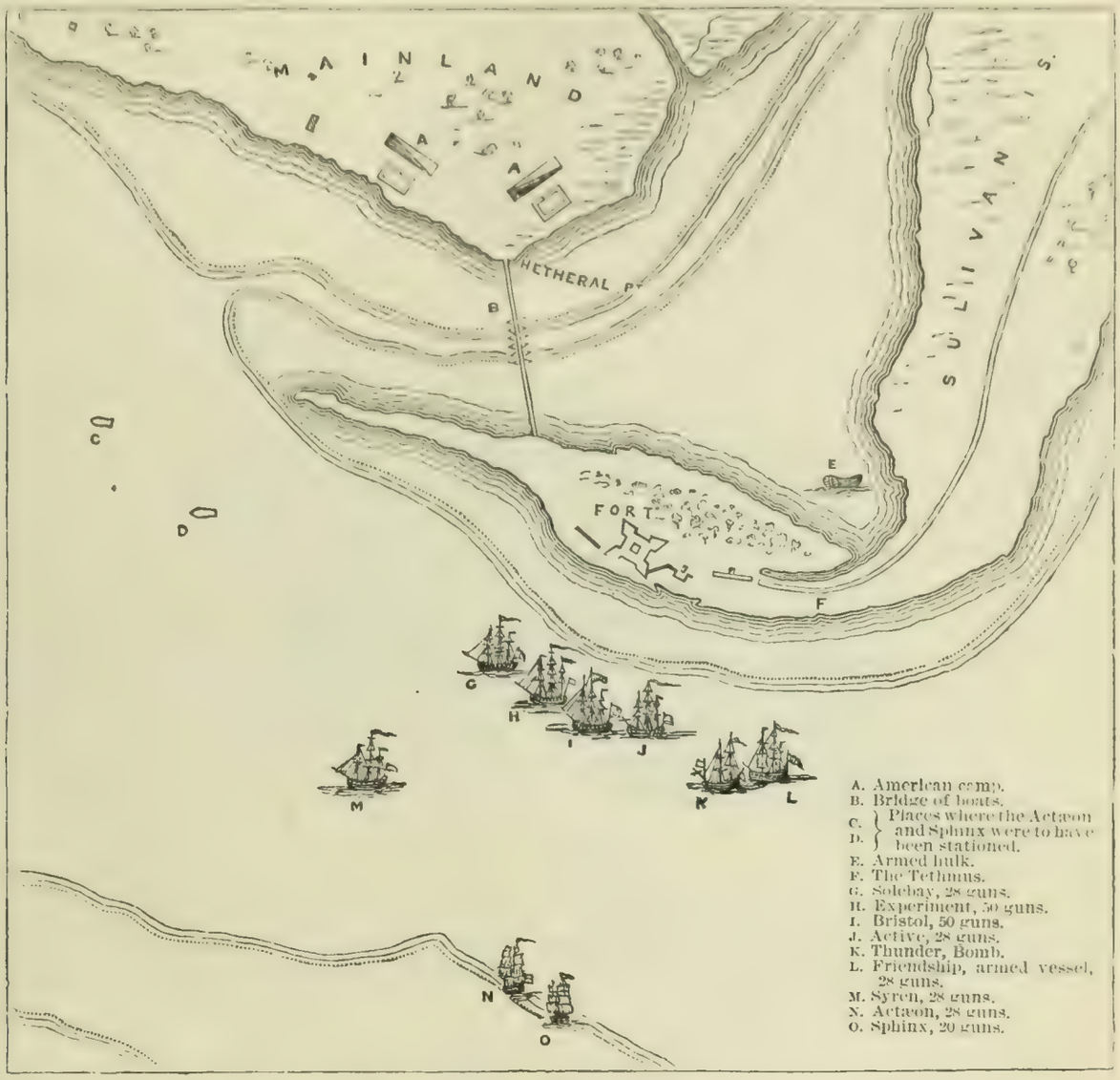


WEST POINT, ON THE HUDSON, NEW YORK.

decided in the affirmative by seven colonies against five; but the final decision of the matter was postponed for several weeks. In the meanwhile, the sentiment of independence, and the desire to avow it openly, gathered force, and, though the opposition was still considerable, its tendency was progressively to grow weaker, and to give way before the compact and energetic assaults of the party pledged to separation. On the 6th of April, it was

The decision was preceded by other acts pointing to the speedy assumption of a distinct national existence. Commissioners were appointed to go to Canada, and in their instructions was the sentence—"You are to declare that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government as will be most likely, in their judgment, to produce their happiness." This was opposed by the more moderate or the more timorous

members of the Congress; but, after a long and animated debate, the sentence was adopted. On the 18th of March, privateers were authorised to cruise against ships and their cargoes belonging to any native of Great Britain. The people of Ireland and the West Indies, whom it was hoped to propitiate, and to win over to the American cause, were excepted from the operation of this arrangement. The resolve, like others of that date, grievances had with them long passed into the ambition of founding a Commonwealth which should be to the New World what the greatest monarchies were, or ever had been, to the Old; which should be their rival in power, and should illustrate, with the force and fervency of youth, the rising doctrine of the Rights of Man. The Pennsylvanian and Maryland delegates voted against the granting of authority to privateers; some of the



PLAN OF ATTACK ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND. (*From Faden's Atlas.*)

was not arrived at without a good deal of dissent. Many still clung to the hope that a change of Government in England would lead to a reversal of the policy that had prevailed for several years; that Chatham and Rockingham would be called to power, and that the chief demands of the colonists would be granted. But Chatham was by this time broken in health, and Rockingham was not sufficiently powerful to supplant Lord North. Besides, the opinion of the majority in Congress was now clearly against any compromise with the mother country. The desire for the redress of colonies were not sufficiently represented to give their voices; but the unanimous suffrages of the New England provinces, of New York, Virginia, and North Carolina, carried the point. Privateering was sanctioned by the Colonial Parliament; but, as a matter of fact, it had existed for some time, and the army before Boston had been in part supplied with munitions of war through the capture of British vessels by the enterprise of Americans. Notwithstanding this service, however, Washington was far from satisfied with the conduct of these roving combatants. Writing on the 20th of No-

vember, 1775, to Joseph Reed, he said:—"Our rascally privateersmen go on at the old rate—mutinying if they cannot do as they please." But Washington was not prone to overlook defects, or indulge in wild bursts of premature congratulation.

The King was now described, in resolutions of Congress, as having "rejected their petitions with scorn and contempt"—an expression which was held to imply a renunciation of allegiance to the throne, but which was adopted, despite the objections of several delegates. As a concession to humanity, it was resolved, without any qualifications whatever, or any limitations as to time, that no slaves should be imported into the United Colonies. This vote was the more important as it was generally believed that the prohibition of the slave-trade would lead to universal emancipation. How these benevolent forecasts came to be falsified will appear in the further course of this History. It was even suggested by a kindly-natured divine of Rhode Island, named Samuel Hopkins, that public provision should be made for retransporting the negroes to Africa, where he thought they would be able to live better than in any other country; but this rather Utopian idea met with no favour. Questions of abstract right were compelled to give way to considerations of more immediate importance. Of these the most urgent was the condition of the army. Since he had assumed the command, Washington had had frequent occasion to observe the very serious evils which resulted from the system of short enlistments; and on the 9th of February, 1776, he wrote to the President of Congress:—

"Since the 1st of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible either to recollect or describe, amount to near as much as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well-disciplined army. To bring men to be well-acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty, and, in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen. Men who are familiarised to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas troops unused to service often apprehend danger where no danger is."

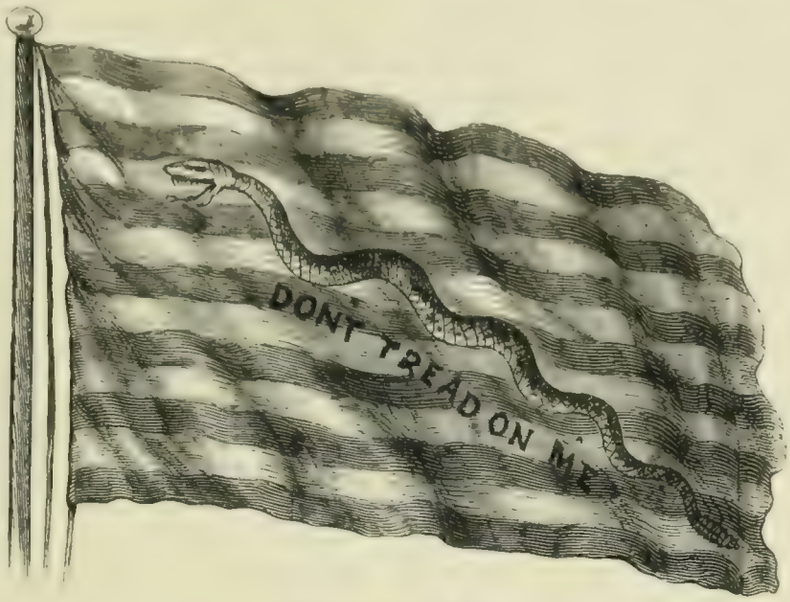
Nothing could be more sensible than the suggestions of Washington; but they were defeated by the hereditary English dread of standing armies, which had been intensified in America to the very highest degree. It was feared that enlistment for a long period would lead to a state of slavery; and the representations of Washington were for the present disregarded. Yet in some respects it was acknowledged that the belligerent position of the country was not what it should be. Accordingly, the five middle colonies, from New York to Maryland, were constituted one military department, and the four south of the Potomac another. The north was already sufficiently provided for. Six new Generals of Brigade were appointed on the 1st of March, and a large addition to the paper currency was ordered. Thus did the United Colonies prepare themselves for a future of doubt and peril.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Development of Opinion in Pennsylvania—Decline of Loyal Principles, and Accession of Strength to the Separatists—Arguments of Samuel Adams in Favour of Independence—Preparations for Resistance in South Carolina—A Constitution established in that Province—Address of John Rutledge, the President, to the Legislative Bodies—North Carolina declares in Favour of Separation from England—Chief Justice Drayton, of South Carolina, pronounces the Deposition of the King—Similar Course taken by Rhode Island—Proceedings of General Lee in Virginia and Maryland—Plan for the Subjugation of the South by an Expedition under General Clinton—Sailing of Reinforcements under Lord Cornwallis—Further Approaches by Congress towards a Declaration of Independence—Ideas of John Adams—Protest of Duane—Principles of the American Revolution, and what they have done for Humanity—Final Meeting of the House of Burgesses of Virginia—Meeting of the Provincial Convention—The Virginian Declaration of Rights—Hesitation of Pennsylvania—Richard Henry Lee's Resolutions in Congress in Favour of Independence.

INDEPENDENCE was close at hand; but a further period of doubt, of hesitation, and of distracted counsels, had yet to be passed through. During the debate on the proposal to authorise privateer-

ing, Franklin had openly avowed his opinion that the measure ought to be preceded by a declaration of war against Great Britain as a foreign Power. But to the majority this seemed to be moving too fast, though only a small number of enthusiasts continued to believe in the possibility of the old political conditions being restored. Even in Pennsylvania, the loyal party lost ground, and the revolutionists experienced a continual accession of strength. The committee of correspondence of Philadelphia resolved, on the 28th of February, to call a convention of the people. Joseph Reed, the chairman of that committee, a man of temperate views, and of undoubted probity—a great friend of Washington, who addressed to him several letters from the camp which are now historical—entirely disapproved of the resort to a popular convention; but the proposal was carried against him. To Reed, patriot though he was, it seemed that the welfare of America would be best promoted by a condition of dependence, and by the preservation of the proprietary Government of Pennsylvania. This had been the prevalent feeling of that province until recently; but events were rapidly carrying the great mass of the people on to different political grounds, and the Pennsylvanian Assembly was obliged to move with them. It was resolved to enlarge the representation of the colony by the addition of seventeen new members, and to raise three battalions; but the proposal to give the delegates in Congress fresh instructions of a more revolutionary character was rejected. The talk about English commissioners speedily arriving with terms of accommodation continued to perplex the minds of men in all the colonies; but there were those who protested against waiting for such an uncertainty. Samuel Adams, in particular, denounced the policy of delay. "Is not America," he asked in Congress, "already independent? Why not, then, declare it?" No foreign Power, he argued, could consistently yield comfort to rebels, or enter into any kind of treaty with the insurgent colonies, until they had separated themselves from Great Britain. Others thought that an alliance with the King of France should precede any declaration of that nature; but, allowing for minor divergencies, the main set of the stream was towards a final breach with England. It was with perfect truth that Samuel Adams spoke of America as practically independent. To throw off its allegiance in terms was the most honest, and probably by this time the most politic, course which the colonists could pursue.



RATTLESNAKE FLAG.

The southern colonies were perhaps even more extreme than the northern—certainly more so than the middle settlements. Gadsden, of South Carolina, presented the Colonial Assembly, on the 10th of February, with the flag of the American navy, representing a rattle-snake of thirteen rattles, with the motto, "Don't tread on me;" and two days later he addressed the House in favour of the absolute independence of the Federation. Measures of defence were adopted, and William Moultrie, a colonel in the local forces, was ordered to take measures for securing Sullivan's Island, a desert spot, covered with trees and semi-tropical vegetation. Here he was to build a fort large enough to hold a garrison of a thousand men, and a fresh issue of paper money was authorised, to meet the charges of these and other matters. On the 21st of March, the Provincial Congress established a constitution for South Carolina, and, under this constitution, John Rutledge was chosen President, Henry Laurens Vice-President, and William Henry Drayton Chief Justice. The two legislative bodies created by the new political arrangement addressed the President early in April, pledging their lives and fortunes to support him in his office, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the country. The session closed on the 11th of April, on which occasion Rutledge delivered an address calculated to stimulate to a yet higher degree the sentiment of Republican freedom.

He begged the several members to disseminate in their respective parishes and districts a full knowledge of the matters in dispute between Great Britain and America. They were exhorted to

relate to the constituencies, in view of the election which was to take place in the following October, the various unjust and cruel statutes which the British Parliament had enacted, and the sanguinary measures by which an unlimited and destructive claim had been enforced. "Show your constituents," continued Rutledge, "the indispensable necessity which there was for establishing some mode of government in this colony; the benefits of that which a full and free representation has established, and that the consent of the people is the origin, and their happiness the end, of government. Let it be known that this constitution is but temporary, till an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, and that such an event is still desired. Disdaining private interest and present emolument, when placed in competition with the liberties of millions, and seeing no alternative but unconditional submission, or a defence becoming men born to freedom, no man who is worthy of life, liberty, or property, will hesitate about the choice. Although superior force may lay waste our towns and ravage our country, it can never eradicate from the breasts of free men those principles which are ingrafted in their very nature. Such men will do their duty, neither knowing nor regarding consequences; but trusting that the Almighty arm, which has been so signally stretched out for our defence, will deliver them in a righteous cause." It is curious to observe in this address an anticipation of several of the accepted phrases of modern Radicalism.

North Carolina went even farther than its southern neighbour. The Provincial Congress met at Halifax on the 4th of April, and on the 8th appointed a select committee, under the direction of Cornelius Harnett, to consider the usurpations and violences of the British Parliament and King. Four days later, on the report of this committee being read, the members of the full body unanimously empowered their delegates in the Continental Congress to concur with the representatives of other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances. This was combined with a reservation of the individual rights of North Carolina to form its own constitution and laws. The instructions thus given to the Federal delegates of North Carolina contained the first direct sanction of any American representative body to the principle of independence; but South Carolina did not lag far behind. On the 23rd of April, the courts of justice were opened at Charleston, when Chief Justice Drayton, in charging the grand jury, used these memorable words:—"The law of the land authorises me to declare, and it is my duty to declare, that George III., King of Great Britain, has abdicated the government—that he has no authority over us, and that we owe no obedience to him. It has been the policy of the British authority to cramp and confine our trade so as to be subservient to their commerce, our real interest being ever out of the question. The new constitution is wisely adapted to enable us to trade with foreign nations, and thereby to supply our wants at the cheapest markets in the universe; to extend our trade infinitely beyond what has ever been known; to encourage manufactures among us, and to promote the happiness of the people, from among whom, by virtue and merit, the poorest man may arrive at the highest dignity. Oh, Carolinians! happy would you be under this new constitution, if you knew your happy state. True reconcilement never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain. To refuse our labours in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people."

A similar step to that of South Carolina was taken by the General Assembly of Rhode Island on the 4th of May, when an act was passed discharging the inhabitants of the colony from allegiance to the King. It is remarkable that, while the vote on this subject was carried unanimously in the Upper House, there were six dissentients in the more popular body, the House of Deputies, where, however, a majority of fifty-four declared for entire separation from the parent land. The delegates in Congress were authorised to vote in favour of entering into treaties of defence and alliance with any Prince, State, or Potentate. These local declarations of independence prepared the way for the great act which followed two months later, and which pledged the whole Federation to the most extreme form of defiance. In the meanwhile they gave additional importance to the military movements which were going on in many quarters. General Lee had by this time arrived in Virginia, where, as in New York, he soon gave offence by his peremptory and arrogant ways. Having reason to suspect that Eden, the Governor of Maryland, was conspiring with Dunmore, the expelled ruler of Virginia, he directed one of the Baltimore committee to seize the former without delay. As Maryland was not within Lee's district, this conduct excited great indignation in the province affected; and even after the arrest of Eden had been ordered by the Continental Congress,

the authorities of Maryland suffered their Governor to remain at liberty on his parole. In Virginia itself, Lee was regarded with distrust on political grounds, though his reputation as an officer caused him to be received with respect, and obeyed with alacrity.

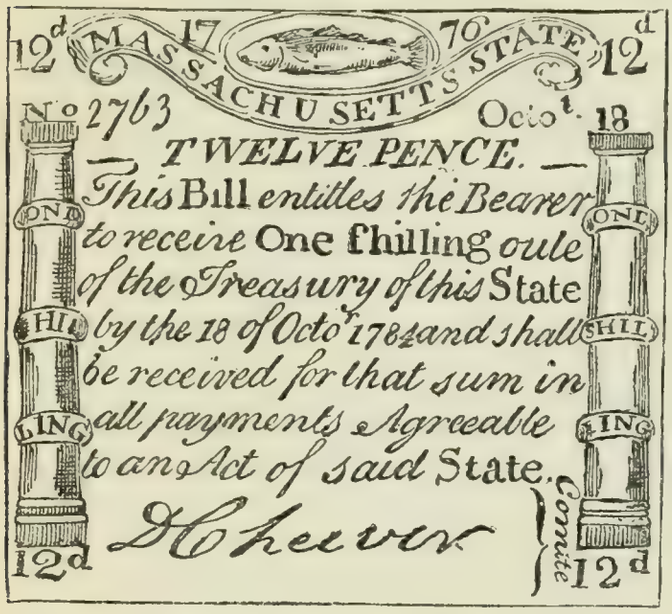
Washington and his forces were now at New York, and Howe, with his discomfited army, was at Halifax in Nova Scotia. The latter was awaiting reinforcements, and settling the details of a plan for the subjugation of the southern colonies which is said to have originated in suggestions of the King himself. The expedition was to be under the command of Clinton; but the general instructions from England were not received at Halifax until May. The commander, on arriving at the scene of action, was to issue a proclamation of pardon to all but the principal instigators and abettors of the rebellion, to dissolve the Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety, to restore the regular administration of justice, and to arrest the persons and destroy the property of all who should refuse to give satisfactory tests of their obedience. His operations were to include North and South Carolina and Virginia, and he was in particular to reduce Charleston, as a prelude to the fall of Savannah. The squadron which was to convey the reinforcements was placed under the command of Sir Peter Parker, a gallant seaman of the old school. It was not until February that the ships, with their accompanying transports, left Cork harbour; and the passage was made unusually long by storms and adverse gales, so that the 3rd of May had arrived ere the main body had reached the entrance to Cape Fear River. The delay was unfortunate, for it had allowed the insurgents to get forward with their preparations. The works erected on Sullivan's Island, however, were as yet incomplete; and to Clinton and Parker it seemed desirable to attempt the reduction of the fortress by a sudden attack. A command in this expedition was assigned to Lord Cornwallis, subsequently one of the most conspicuous figures in the War of Independence, and in still later years a highly successful General in India. The first performance of this officer, who had come out with the reinforcements, was not very creditable. He landed in Brunswick County, North Carolina, and, with a slight loss, burned and ravaged the plantation of the insurgent Brigadier, Robert Howe. The house of Hooper, a delegate in the Continental Congress, was destroyed by another party, and Clinton issued a proclamation calling on the people to "appease the vengeance of an incensed nation," and offering pardon to all those who would submit, excepting Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett.

At this very time, Congress was taking still further steps for ensuring the completeness of the national life. It decided to sanction no measures for the reception of the Royal Commissioners until previous application should be made. It determined to issue ten millions of dollars in bills of credit for defraying the expenses of the war during the current year; and it took into consideration the suggestions of John Adams for authorising any one of the United Colonies which was as yet unprovided with a sufficient Government to create a constitution for itself. The proposal, originally put forth a year before, was debated for two days, and met with considerable opposition. On the 10th of May, however, it was adopted, and, a few days later, the report of those who were charged with the preparation of the preamble was presented to the Federal body. This document, after reciting the wrongs inflicted on America by the English monarch, declared that it was "absolutely irreconcilable with reason and good conscience for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the Crown of Great Britain, and that it was necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies for the preservation of their peace, and their defence against their enemies." It was impossible not to perceive that these words were tantamount to a complete declaration of independence, and that they also tended to the destruction of the proprietary Governments, by proscribing those oaths of allegiance which, as in the case of Pennsylvania, were taken by members of the Assembly.* Some members of Congress objected to assuming so very decided a position; though, after all that had been sanctioned, it appears futile to have hesitated about going a step further. Nevertheless, there was some pertinence in the remark of Duane, the representative of New York, who observed that, before changing the government of the colonies, the people should be consulted, as they ought rather to be followed than driven on. The powers conferred on him by the province he represented did not go so far as the preamble to the resolution would pledge all the colonies, if it were carried. Another representative of New York took an exactly opposite view; but the delegates of Pennsylvania and Maryland declined to vote on so grave a question, without further in-

* Bancroft.

structions, and it was asked whether they ought to pull down their old house before they had built a new one. The majority, however, adopted the preamble, and ordered it to be published.

John Adams was the author of this most important measure, and in his musings he settled all the main principles on which a Republic



MASSACHUSETTS MONEY, 1776.

should be founded. He was one of the greatest of that great band of political speculators and doers —one of the leading and shaping minds of the American revolutionary period; yet, like other illustrious men, he was not devoid of inconsistencies in the pursuit of his unalterable purpose. He declared, and with absolute truth and reason, that the only proper foundation of government is in the consent of the governed; but it cannot be said that he took any steps towards consulting the people on the question which his resolution raised. The objection of Duane was more truly democratic than the proposal of Adams. The suggested change ought to have been referred back to the several provinces ere it was determined by the Federal Assembly, for no such question was unequivocally before the local Parliaments at the time the delegates to Congress were furnished with their instructions, however strong the indications that such was the drift of opinion in certain quarters. One might even go farther, and say that the people themselves should have been asked for a direct vote on a matter so important. But, if that was impossible, owing to the state of the country, some recognition should have been made of the Provincial Legislatures whereof Congress was only the child. This, however, was not done, and the conduct of the Federal Assembly was therefore akin to that of French Legislative Chambers, which, elected only for temporary purposes after a revolution, take upon themselves constituent powers, and, in the name of the people, usurp the popular prerogative.

Still, with whatever drawbacks and imperfections, the American Revolution was the result of principles which led inevitably to the Sovereignty of the People; and in this lies its truest claim to the interest and gratitude of all nations sufficiently advanced in knowledge and wisdom to understand such doctrines—to all thinkers who have the true faith in the right of men to determine their own destinies, as far as politics are concerned. The merits of the specific quarrel between England and the colonies are of secondary importance compared with this high argument. The disagreement was needless and wilful; it was envenomed by vehement passions and exaggerated pretensions on both sides; it came in time to be mixed up with personal ambitions, with hereditary resentments, with sectional jealousies, with all those lower motives, or elements of feeling, which are sure to be imported into every contention in which men engage. But the new political Gospel of democratic rights was a proclamation to the whole world —a light on the dark ways of ancient bondage—a living doctrine, capable of giving life to all who should intelligently receive it. The claim of the masses to legislate for themselves by means of their chosen representatives, was never before so emphatically and so practically asserted. The ancient Republics, and those of mediæval Italy, were rather anti-monarchical than distinctly democratic; and in England the principles of freedom, though often vindicated with admirable courage and sense, had always inclined to an aristocratical alliance. In America, too, there were timid thinkers who distrusted the people, and would have confined the suffrage to a small and privileged class. Some of the colonies required a property qualification in all voters, and the institution of slavery created a class feeling wherever it was found. But there were no materials in the New World for re-fashioning the old institutions of feudalism, and men were perforce obliged to revert to the first principles of reason and of natural right. This was the great good fruit of the miserable wrangle between George III. and his American subjects. The success of the vast popular rising in the West put heart into the people all over Europe. It brought Governments face to face, sharply and peremptorily, with their duties and their responsibilities. It recalled forgotten sources of power, and checked the insolence of kings and aristocracies by the fear of judgment. Modern political ideas date from that epoch and



THE ATTACK ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.

from that land. If, in these happier times, France is no longer the victim of blind Bourbons and heartless nobles—if Italy has arisen once more out of the grave of ages—if Germany looks to popular assent for the consecration of her power—if even Austria and Russia begin to soften beneath more generous impulses,—let it be acknowledged that the first active movement in all those directions came from English America. It was there that the genius of Alfred, of Wickliffe, of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sidney, reached its ultimate development, and, relieved from the pressure of many ancient shackles, reacted on the older world with all the potency of youth.

The democratic tendencies of America were now to receive a very remarkable testimony from the colony of Virginia—a province, the settlement of which was organised on aristocratical principles, and which for some few generations retained its first attachment to the Throne and to the Church of England. In later times that attachment had been very considerably weakened, and, before the close of the seventeenth century, a large infusion of Scoto-Irish Presbyterians, and several emigrations from the continent of Europe, had introduced political elements of an opposite character. Whatever sentiment of loyalty still existed in the reign of George III. was utterly destroyed by the despotic violence of Lord Dunmore; and when, on the 6th of May, 1776, forty-five members of the House of Burgesses met at Williamsburg, pursuant to their adjournment, it was agreed that the ancient constitution had been subverted by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, and the Assembly was dissolved, never again to come together in that form. The Convention of the province met on the same day. It was both a constituent and an executive body, and its delegates were instructed to bring about as speedily as possible a total and final separation of the colony from the mother country, and to establish a new constitution, with a full representation, and free and frequent elections. On the delegates assembling, they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House, and on the 15th of May certain resolutions were reported, and agreed to by all the members present, amounting to a hundred and twelve, by far the greater number of the whole Convention. The preamble consisted of a statement of grievances (chief amongst which was the enlistment of slaves by the Royal Governor), leading up to the conclusion that Virginia had no alternative left but an abject submission or a complete separation. The country was therefore, from that time forward, to govern itself, to form foreign alliances, and to promote a confederation of the colonies, provided such confederation did not interfere with the internal regulation of each State. The ringing of bells and the firing of artillery out of doors hailed the passing of this declaration, and the British flag was removed from the State House, where it had waved for several generations.

A committee of thirty-two was next appointed, to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government. The members included Patrick Henry, James Madison, and George Mason—the last-named, the most influential person on the committee, and the more so because he had always, until recently, been a very loyal man, and a great admirer of the political constitution of England. It was by him that the declaration of rights was drafted, and this document was presented to the Convention on the 27th of May. The principles there expressed were debated for a fortnight, and on the motion of James Madison, then a young Presbyterian, little known even to his countrymen, but afterwards fourth President of the United States, the word "toleration," in regard to religion, was struck out, that a phrase might be substituted giving a more exact expression to the right of all religious bodies to perfect equality. On the 12th of June, the statement of rights was read a third time, and adopted without a dissentient voice. By this important act it was declared:—

"All men are by nature equally free, and have inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. All power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them. Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit and security of the people, nation, or community; and whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal. Public services not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary. The legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicative; the members of the two first should, at fixed periods, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections. Elections

of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly ought to be free; and all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses without their own consent or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good. There ought to be no arbitrary power of suspending laws, no requirement of excessive bail, no granting of general warrants. No man ought to be deprived of liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers; and the ancient trial by jury ought to be held sacred. The freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments. A well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; standing armies in time of peace should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to the civil power. The people have a right to uniform government, and, therefore, no government separate from, or independent of, the government of Virginia ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof. No free government can be preserved but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles. Religion can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of it, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other."

This important manifesto, and the preamble to John Adams's resolution tending to separation from Great Britain, which the General Congress had sanctioned, brought matters to a crisis in Pennsylvania. Arrangements were made for calling a constituent Convention; the Assembly receded from its position of uncompromising loyalty to the Crown, and on the 6th of June consented to new instructions being sent to the Pennsylvanian delegates in Congress, by which those gentlemen were allowed a greater latitude in dealing with measures having reference to the assertion of the national sovereignty. They were soon to be confronted by the most precise and emphatic expression of the revolutionary spirit. On the very next day, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in the name and with the special authority of that province, submitted to Congress a set of resolutions affirming that the United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; that all political connection between them and Great Britain was, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that it was expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances; and that a plan of confederation should be prepared, and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation. The questions thus raised were first considered on the 8th. The speeches were resumed on the 10th, and it was then resolved, after further discussion, to postpone the debate for three weeks, and in the meanwhile to appoint a committee which should draw up a declaration in harmony with what had been proposed. It was certainly right, at so grave a crisis, to take time for deliberation. The principle at issue had, indeed, been fully considered for a long while; but it required serious thought whether an open confession of that principle was prudent or not. If finally sanctioned, the form in which the declaration should be made, and the method in which it should be proclaimed to the world, demanded the most earnest consideration; and a delay of three weeks was not too long for the maturing of such a revolution. No one, however, could doubt how the matter would end. The porches of Independence had been reached, and it only remained to go through some needful ceremonies before they would be entered.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Commencement of Operations, under Clinton and Cornwallis, against Charleston, South Carolina—The American Fortifications on Sullivan's (now Moultrie's) Island—Clinton deceived by a False Report—Commencement of the Naval Attack on the 28th of June—Condition of the Fort erected by Moultrie—Inability of Clinton to co-operate with Commodore Parker—Severe Bombardment of the Island—Gallant Exploit of Sergeant Jasper, of Moultrie's Forces—A Hot Day's Work—Heroism of Captain Morris, of the English Flag Ship, the *Bristol*—Moultrie reinforced—Continued Resistance of the Defenders of Sullivan's Island—Damage effected in the English Fleet—Abandonment of the Attack—Losses of the Two Adversaries—Honours paid to the Victors—Miserable Condition of the American Investing Force before Quebec—Enmity of the Canadian Population—Withdrawal of Arnold to Montreal—Determination of Congress to persist in the Expedition against Canada—Washington ordered to send Reinforcements—American Commissioners despatched to Canada to make Inquiries—Raising of the Siege, and Flight of the Invaders—Actions with the Pursuing British—Continuation of the Retreat—Dreadful Sufferings of the Americans—Remarks on the Character of the Enterprise.

Clinton, Cornwallis, and Parker, seemed in no great hurry to carry out the general instructions of the King. The squadron under Parker, with the reinforcements on board, met the regiments under Clinton about the beginning of May; but it was the 1st of June before operations were commenced for the reduction of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. On that day it was seen that a fleet of forty or fifty sail lay at anchor some twenty miles to the north of Charleston-bar. The streets of the chief city were accordingly barricaded, and a large number of men were concentrated there; but, as events turned out, they were not called into action, owing to the successful defence of the outlying works. A copy of the Royal proclamation, offering pardon to such as should lay down their arms and submit to the laws, was with some difficulty conveyed to Moultrie on the 8th of June, and it was then agreed between Clinton and Cornwallis that their best plan would be to land on a sandbank called Long Island, and from that pass on to Sullivan's Island by a ford which was said to exist at low water. The truth of the report should have been tested by soundings; but this obvious precaution was neglected, and it afterwards appeared that the channel was too deep to be used for the purpose of a land passage. The troops under Clinton amounted to two thousand eight hundred; and a detachment of these, numbering between four and five hundred, landed on the 9th on Long Island. The adjoining island, then called Sullivan's, but now, after its gallant defender, Moultrie's, must be considered, in a military sense, an outpost of the city of Charleston, from which it is distant about six miles. The fort was not yet finished when Clinton's men appeared upon the sandbank; but the front and one side were completed, and the other portions of the work were rapidly progressing. The walls were constructed of palmetto-logs, and twelve hundred men were encamped in the rear, ready to do their utmost in repelling attack. Lee visited the post on the same day that Clinton landed on Long Island; but he looked with very unfavourable eyes at the possibilities of defence. He declared that the island could not hold out half-an-hour, and remarked that, as it was devoid of any way by which to retreat, it might be the scene of fearful slaughter. This officer was now invested by John Rutledge, President of the South Carolina Convention, with the chief military command at Sullivan's Island; but the honour of the defence lies with Moultrie, who retained the actual direction of affairs. To Lee it seemed imperative that the island should be evacuated on the instant; but Rutledge would not suffer it, and the fortifications proceeded. Moultrie even disregarded the repeated orders of his superior that he should construct bridges for his retreat—certainly a very reasonable provision, which the ultimate success of Moultrie did not justify him in neglecting, unless, as he alleged, the work was impossible.

The additional fortifications went on with much spirit; yet they were not finished by the time the attack began. The arrangements of Sir Peter Parker for taking the batteries on Sullivan's Island were communicated to his captains on the 15th of June; but Clinton was in a state of great perplexity as to what he should do. He at length determined to confine his operations to a descent on Sullivan's Island, which he proposed to occupy and garrison. He therefore, on the 17th, completed the landing of his men on Long Island, where they were tormented by the scorching sun, the want of good water, and the clouds of mosquitoes. It was then that, upon examination, the promised ford proved to be a channel seven feet in depth at low tide. The co-operation of the land forces in the contemplated attack on the rebel position was thus rendered very difficult; yet Clinton still hoped to take part in a joint assault on the 23rd. Parker made no doubt that he should be able to reduce

both the island and the fort, and Lee continued to feel very uneasy about the result. Moultrie, however, never questioned his ability to maintain the position; and Lee, regarding him as rash and headstrong, would fain have removed him from the command.

It was not until the 28th of June that the attack began. By that time, an advanced post had been thrown forward at the extreme point of the island. The men of this post were protected by sand-hills and myrtle-bushes, and, at their rear, breast-works had been thrown up, guarded by a large body of riflemen. The left was defended by a morass; the right, by a couple of guns, overlooking the spot where Clinton might be expected to land. Moultrie, on seeing the boats of the English squadron in motion, repaired to his fort, caused the drums to beat, and ordered his officers and men to their posts. The fort had a bastion at each corner, and the palmetto logs of which it was built were laid in parallel rows sixteen feet asunder, with sand filled in between the rows. On the southern and western sides, the walls were finished, and mounted with cannon; the northern and eastern walls had not been reared to a greater height than seven feet. At the south-east bastion, a blue flag, displaying a white crescent and the word "Liberty," was hung out as the ensign of South Carolina. Moultrie had not at his disposal more than thirty-one cannon, and his ammunition was far from abundant; yet his courage and self-reliance never deserted him. By half-past ten in the morning, the ships of Commodore Parker were under way, and in a little while they were throwing shells in large numbers on to the island. The palmetto-logs forming the walls of the fort withstood the fire remarkably well, and the men on the platforms were sufficiently protected to enable them to reply with coolness and effect. The number of guns on board the attacking vessels was two hundred and fifty-four, and the assault was soon aided by Clinton's batteries on Long Island. At twelve o'clock, Clinton ordered his troops to embark in boats, and, under cover of floating batteries and armed craft, to effect a landing on Sullivan's Island; but it was quickly apparent that the design was impracticable, and it was abandoned, owing to the difficulty of the approach, the strength of the enemy's defences, and the skill of the American marksmen. The English General then contemplated an attack on Haddrell's Point, on the mainland, and requested Parker to send three frigates to co-operate with him in that direction. The required vessels were despatched, and, getting between Sullivan's Island and the opposite shore, menaced the fort in its rear, where the works were far from being finished; but the pilots conducted the ships badly, and all three ran on a sandbank. This was a great relief to the people of Charleston, who were watching the progress of events from their wharfs and water-side buildings, fearing lest their city would soon experience the full effect of Parker's fire. More than two thousand men were drawn up for the defence of the capital, and they remained under arms for several hours; but Charleston was saved by the courage and skill of Moultrie.

The bombardment of the island had not proceeded very long when the flag-staff of the fort, struck by a shot, tumbled over on to the beach. A sergeant, named Jasper, not liking that they should fight without a flag, leaped through an embrasure, seized the ensign, re-ascended the wall in the midst of a tremendous fire, and fixed the rescued standard on a halberd, which he displayed on the bastion next the enemy. For some hours the fight went on with unabated vigour; a fierce, almost tropical sun, unmitigated by a single cloud, filled the air with light and heat; and the sulphurous vapours of the cannon added to the distress of those who had to conduct the defence. Many stripped themselves half-naked; all worked with energy at their appointed posts. Moultrie and some of his officers walked about smoking their pipes, and the utmost firmness and resolution characterised the whole band. Their fire was necessarily slight in comparison with that of the English vessels; yet it wrought a great deal of damage, owing to the excellent way in which the guns were pointed. The mischief done on board the flag-ship, the *Bristol*, was so great that all on the quarter-deck were either killed or wounded, and Parker himself for awhile stood there alone. The conduct of Captain Morris, of this ship, was magnificent. He was wounded in the neck, and again in the right arm, which was shattered by a chain-shot. He then went below, had the arm amputated, and once more took his station on the quarter-deck, where he continued to direct the action of his ship until a shot through the body brought his gallant career to an end. Nevertheless, it appeared at one time as if the attack would have prevailed. About an hour after mid-day, the fire of the rebels ceased, and there seemed to be some evidence of an intention to abandon the fort. Parker would probably have landed (for he had previously instructed several of his seamen and marines in the best way of entering forts through embrasures), but that he needed the support of Clinton's land forces, and looked impatiently for their approach, but looked in vain.

Moultrie, however, had in truth no thought of

relinquishing his position, which he now felt more than ever certain he could hold. He had been obliged to cease firing because his powder had nearly run out, and he had only sufficient left for musketry, in case of a landing. Early in the day he had written to Lee for a further supply; but supply, Moultrie received two hundred pounds more from a schooner lying at the back of the fort. Reinforcements of troops, consisting of some riflemen formed out of German settlers in Virginia, were sent by Lee at three in the afternoon, with directions to support the advanced guard under



SERGEANT JASPER RECOVERS THE FLAG.

the General was disinclined to send it. In his answer, he directed Moultrie, in the event of his expending all his ammunition without beating off the enemy, to spike his guns, and retreat. Some time after, Rutledge, who was now at Charleston, sent over to Moultrie five hundred pounds of powder, together with a letter, in which he said, "Do not make too free with your cannon. Be cool, and do mischief." In addition to this Thomson at the east end of the island. Lee himself, some two hours later, shortly after Moultrie had resumed his fire, visited the position, and, after pointing two or three guns with his own hands, said to his chief subordinate, "Colonel, I see you are doing very well here; you have no occasion for me; I will go up to town again." He then left, and the firing on both sides continued long after dark. One of Moultrie's guns was silenced; yet

the fort was but superficially damaged, owing to the spongy nature of the palmetto-wood, in which the shots that took effect were buried without shivering the substance. Scarcely a hut or tree on the island escaped uninjured; but a good many of the shells sunk harmlessly in the marshy ground, or plunged into the sand within the fort. On the side of the assailants, two ships were nearly wrecked by the fire of the enemy; and a little past nine o'clock, after a bombardment of great persistence, Sir Peter Parker (who was slightly wounded) resolved to withdraw. The ships therefore slipped their cables, and the enterprise was abandoned, after a loss of two hundred and five men in killed and wounded. The American loss was eleven killed, and twenty-six wounded. Of the three English ships which grounded on a sand-bank, two were got off during the night; the third was set on fire by her crew, and deserted. While the vessel was still burning, several of the Americans boarded her, seized her colours, fired some of her guns at Parker's squadron, filled three boats with her sails and stores, and left in triumph shortly before she blew up. The English army afterwards quitted Long Island, and three weeks later embarked in transports for New York, while the fleet remained behind to refit.



THREE RIVERS.

The foresight of Moultrie had been amply vindicated, and South Carolina was saved from invasion, and perhaps from conquest, by his courage, judgment, skill, and self reliance. The 29th of June was a day of jubilee to the people of Charleston, who flocked in large numbers to the island, and congratulated the victors on the great work they had achieved. Although his own judgment with respect to the fort being untenable had been falsified, Lee had the good feeling to acknowledge in no stinted terms the admirable conduct of the defence. On the 30th he reviewed the garrison, on which occasion the women of Charleston presented the second regiment with a pair of silken colours embroidered by themselves. The lady who placed these flags in the hands of Moultrie and his active second in command, Isaac Motte, said, as she delivered them, "Your gallant behaviour in defence of liberty and your country entitles you to the highest honours. Accept these two standards as a reward justly due to your regiment; and I make not the least doubt that, under Heaven's protection, you will stand by them as long as they can wave in the air of liberty." On behalf of the regiment it was promised that they should be honourably supported, and never tarnished. Rutledge, on the 4th of July, visited the garrison, and expressed to them the gratitude of South Carolina; and at a somewhat later date the thanks of the Continental Congress were voted to Lee, Moultrie, Thomson, and the officers and men under their command. Certainly no troops ever more thoroughly deserved

the acknowledgments of their country. They had, with very insufficient means, defeated or baffled a large naval and military force. They had secured for a long time to come the peace and tranquillity of that part of America; and they had given to the whole of the southern colonies an example of successful daring, which could not fail to be fruitful in illustrious deeds.

This success of the young Republic in the south was counterbalanced by a series of misfortunes in the north. We left Arnold and his troops before Quebec, after the defeat of Montgomery in his attempt to take the city by surprise, and the death of that General at the head of his attacking force. Although this particular enterprise failed, the besiegers were not driven off. They remained in front of Quebec, and still cherished the illusory hope of subduing Canada. But their chance of success, small from the very first, was now still smaller. Their numbers were greatly reduced at the commencement of 1776 by the withdrawal of those whose term of enlistment expired with the previous year. The men who remained did not number more than eight hundred, equally divided between Anglo-Americans and Canadians; and the latter were found to be not very staunch. Wooster, who now held the chief command of the invading army, and who was stationed at Montreal, made frantic appeals to Congress, to Washington, to Schuyler, and to others, for reinforcements, for heavy cannon, for powder, shot, and shells, and for money—not only for bills of credit, which he said had no currency, but for hard cash. These things were not readily to be had. Some additional troops, however, were despatched from several of the colonies, and the investment of Quebec was still kept up. But no progress was made in the subjugation of the country; on the contrary, the military position became rapidly worse after Montgomery's death. Wooster was a Calvinist from Connecticut, and he greatly disgusted the Roman Catholics by the intolerance of his demeanour. The priests took a decided stand against him and his countrymen. They refused absolution to the friends of the invasion, and denounced them from the pulpit. The very slight amount of sympathy which Montgomery had been able to evoke, dwindled to the most insignificant dimensions. The hard fact became nakedly visible, that, if Canada was to be gained at all, it could only be won by a very large army of Anglo-Americans, highly-disciplined and well-provided; and where that army was to come from, was not so apparent.

Wooster was a man of courage, but very little of a soldier. His political rule of the province showed signs of liberality, and he was energetic in repressing the attempts of the English to obtain Indian allies, in securing the neutrality of the native tribes, and in his endeavours to promote a Canadian Convention, from which he hoped to obtain delegates to the Continental Congress. But he had no natural qualities, nor any acquired knowledge, fitting him for the military post he now occupied. Nevertheless, when April arrived, he took command of the troops round Quebec. They were by that time about two thousand in number; but nearly half were unable to do duty. Of guns there were but few, and those of small calibre; the stock of powder and ball was very insufficient; and the term of service of several of the men would expire on the 15th of the month. Arnold, who at the beginning of the year had vowed he would not leave Quebec until he entered it in triumph, lost heart, and retired to Montreal. The peasantry every day became more hostile to the invaders, and resented with great bitterness the being compelled to furnish wood and other articles at less than the market price, and to receive in payment notes of very doubtful value, sometimes even of an illegal and fraudulent character. Congress, however, still expressed itself determined to reduce Quebec, and was strengthened in this resolve by hearing that the Canadians had, towards the end of March, made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the blockade. Washington was accordingly ordered to hurry up fresh troops, and he at once detached three thousand of his best soldiers, in addition to two thousand whom he had sent a few days before. This left the Commander-in-Chief, who was now at New York, with only a very small army to resist the British; and he earnestly impressed on Congress the necessity of supplying him with at least ten thousand fresh troops. But the delegates were far more earnest about the conquest of Canada than the support of Washington at one of the most important positions of English America; and they next ordered him to send ammunition, provisions, and clothing to the troops before Quebec. Feeling dissatisfied with Wooster, they directed General Thomas, of Massachusetts, to take the chief command; and in this way they prepared to push the siege in the spring and summer that were now approaching.

To propitiate the people, Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll were sent to the province as commissioners, to promise a guarantee of their estates to the clergy, to establish a free press, to encourage a hope of free trade, and to obtain a promise that the Canadians would join the Federation of the United Colonies. Chase and Carroll

were Marylanders, and therefore acquainted with the feelings of the Roman Catholics; and the latter was accompanied by his brother John, a Jesuit, and afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore. Franklin, as a philosopher, might be expected to be superior to the enmities of antagonistic religious bodies. Their report of what they found was by no means encouraging. They perceived a general disinclination on the part of the people to support the invasion, and a military and financial condition so unfavourable that they advised the withdrawal of the army, and the fortification of the passes on the lakes. General Thomas could do nothing to improve the situation. Small-pox was raging among the troops; nine hundred were incapable of duty through sickness; the others were thinly scattered along the lines; and several, whose term of service had expired, were clamouring to return home. Five days after the arrival of Thomas at his command, a council of war decided on effecting a retreat as soon as possible. Only six days' provisions remained, and the powder had very nearly run out. It was clearly a matter of stern necessity to lose not a moment in getting away; and on the very next morning—the 6th of May—the American sick were embarked, together with the artillery, on board vessels destined for Three Rivers. While this operation was going on, three English vessels, which had forced their way through the ice of the St. Lawrence, entered the basin, and landed a party of marines and soldiers. On receiving these reinforcements, the garrison of Quebec determined on a sally. Issuing from the gates of St. John and St. Louis, to the number of a thousand, accompanied by artillery, they poured down on the dismayed Americans in two columns. Thomas was unable to bring together more than two hundred and fifty of his men, and anything like a battle was impossible. The besiegers fled in confusion, leaving behind them many cannon and muskets, and two hundred of their sick.

Halting at Deschambault, forty-eight miles above Quebec, Thomas held another council of war; but the case was obviously far beyond remedy. The English were in hot pursuit; they were continually receiving reinforcements, and were now in a position to assume the offensive with great effect. A body of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, threatened the fugitives from the north-west; and Arnold, to repel this flank attack, thought it prudent to station four hundred men, with two cannon, at the narrow pass called the Cedars, a point of land which projects into the St. Lawrence, forty miles above Montreal. But the commander of this detachment, a New Hampshire officer named Bedell, deserted his post under pretence of seeking reinforcements, and his successor, Major Butterfield, dreading the vengeance of the Indians, surrendered himself and his companions prisoners at discretion, after a brief interchange of musketry shots. This was on the 19th of May, and on the following day a body of troops, sent in reinforcement, was attacked and defeated. Several Indians fought on the side of the English, and behaved after the battle with savage cruelty to the wounded. Arnold subsequently obtained the release of the prisoners by returning an equal number of English captives; but the incident led to a great many accusations and counter-accusations. The whole retreat was calamitous in the highest degree. General Thomas took the prevailing malady of small-pox, and died on the 2nd of June, leaving the chief direction to John Sullivan, one of the Brigadiers created by Congress in the previous year—formerly a lawyer of New Hampshire, and a man quite incompetent to so difficult a command. On the previous day, Congress, still clinging with desperate pertinacity to its idea of subjugating Canada, had resolved that six thousand militia should be employed to reinforce the army in that province, and to keep up the communications, and had also authorised the enlisting of two thousand Indians. But the fondly-cherished design was now shattered beyond the hope of redemption.

Sullivan was a boastful man. On assuming the command, he said that in a few days he could reduce the army to order, and put a new face on affairs. By the advice of a council of war, he resolved to attack the enemy at Three Rivers, about ninety miles south of Quebec. For this purpose, a party of fifteen hundred was placed under the command of Brigadier Thompson, of Pennsylvania; and Sullivan wrote to Washington that he was determined to hold the most important posts as long as one stone remained upon another. Thompson, on the morning of the 7th of June, concealed his men in a wood on the banks of the Nicolet, near St. Clair, and projected a surprise of the enemy. Crossing the St. Lawrence in the evening, he hoped to accomplish his object; but a Canadian peasant carried intelligence of the movement to the British General, who, strengthened by the arrival of large reinforcements, made rapid preparations for resisting the attack. The Americans, marching along the bank of the river in the early morning of the 8th, were cannonaded by the ships which had brought fresh troops; but, pressing on, they waded through a thickly-wooded swamp, and, after a fatiguing march of four hours, reached a piece of open ground, where they endeavoured to form.

The British position was attacked with considerable courage; but the assailants were out-numbered, and obliged to retire, leaving a hundred and fifty in the hands of the English. The main body wandered about in the woods the rest of that day and the whole of the ensuing night, without food, and in constant dread of being captured. At length, however, they reached their boats, and returned to Sorel, from which they had set out.

Desperate as the situation was, Sullivan continued to write vauntingly, and to talk of defending Sorel; but a council of field-officers decided, with but few dissentients, that the position was not tenable, and, on the 14th, as the British fleet, with a strong body of forces under Burgoyne, was coming rapidly up the river, the camp was struck, and the retreat resumed. Arnold, at the head of three hundred men, remained at Montreal until the English were not more than twelve miles off, when he seized various articles which he believed would be of service to the troops, and crossed in safety to La Prairie. The several fragments of the invading army met on the 17th at St. John's. They were in a most pitiable and forlorn condition. Half the number were sick; many were nearly naked; no provisions remained, excepting salt pork and flour. On the 18th, the discomfited forces removed to Isle aux Noix; and, had they been pursued with greater activity, they might have been destroyed to a man. But Burgoyne advanced with slowness, alleging that he had received instructions from Carleton to hazard nothing till the column on his right should be able to co-operate. At Isle aux Noix, preparations were made for sending the invalids by water to Crown Point; but their condition was not less miserable afloat than ashore. The boats were leaky and unprovided with awnings; neither the water nor the hot sun could be excluded from the sick, half-starved, and in several instances dying men. Owing to the want of cooking utensils, the sufferers were compelled to eat their salt pork raw, and the flour they carried with them could not be baked. The army, or rather what was left of it, reassembled at Crown Point at the beginning of July. Haggard, emaciated, spiritless, starved, and many of them struck with pestilence, the unhappy creatures lay under tents, or in hastily-constructed sheds, wasting from day to day with privation and disease. The mortality long continued to be terrible. By death and desertion, five thousand men disappeared in little more than two months.*

In this forlorn and ignominious fashion, the invasion of Canada, from which so much had been hoped, came to an end. The sufferings of the vanquished troops must of course excite the deepest commiseration of all men; but for the enterprise itself it is impossible to feel the slightest sympathy. It was one of those wholly unjustifiable attempts to enforce, by fire and sword, particular opinions among a people almost unanimously disinclined to receive them, which afterwards gave so peculiar a character to the first French Republic. The Canadians, with very few exceptions, did not want the government, the alliance, or the friendship, of the Anglo-Americans. They belonged to a different race; they spoke a different language; they professed a different religion. All their political and social ideas were distinct from those of their invaders. They had no quarrel with England, beyond the fact that the English were an alien race who had obtained possession of their country by conquest. No doubt, if the French had sent an army into Canada, the provincials would have welcomed it with ardour, and have done their utmost against the soldiers of King George. But they greatly preferred the British to the Anglo-Americans, and with reason, for the former had treated them with delicacy, consideration, and kindness, while from the latter they had little to expect but a studied disregard of their most cherished feelings. There was nothing in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies to create in the Canadians any lively desire to assume the position of partizans, or to throw in their lot with the people of New England and of the other rebel provinces. Nor had the prudent and cautious nature of these northern populations any quality which would be likely to excite in them a passionate devotion to Republican freedom in the abstract, and apart from immediate advantage to themselves. The politicians of English America must have been aware of these facts before they began their expedition: at any rate, they had no good reason for supposing that their interposition would be liked. The invasion was therefore not much better than an outrage upon natural right, which failed, and which deserved to fail. The conduct of the troops was violent and tyrannical. They insulted and abused the peasantry, and left them the poorer for their numerous exactions. When the last man quitted Canadian soil, the people felt as if relieved from a plague which had afflicted them for several months.

Congress indulged its illusion to the utmost. On the 18th of June, when the shattered and weary soldiers were removed to Isle aux Noix, Gates, who had been elected a Major-General, was appointed to take command of the forces in Canada; and Washington, by order of the Federal Assembly,

* Bancroft.

issued a set of directions by which his conduct was to be guided. But the die was then cast; the failure of the ill advised attempt was perfect; the English power was firmly restored over the whole province; and nothing remained but a ruined army, a moving pest, the dying and the dead, the gorged graveyard, the groaning hospital, and the helpless memory of defeat.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Formation of a Republican Constitution by Virginia - Its chief Characteristics - The Example followed by Connecticut and Delaware - Development of the Principle of Independence in New Hampshire and New York - Plot of ex Governor Tryon in the latter Province - Arrest of William Franklin in New Jersey - Pennsylvania and Maryland pass over to the Popular Side - Resumption of the Debate on Independence in the General Congress - Speeches of Dickinson and Others (July 1st) - Votes of the Several Colonies in Committee - Position of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and South Carolina - Proceedings of Congress on July 2nd - The Vote in favour of Independence - Enthusiasm of John Adams - His Letter to his Wife - The Declaration of Independence - Alterations in Jefferson's Original Draft, before and after its Submittal to Congress - The Omitted Passages - The Document as it now stands - General Reflections on the New Posture of Affairs.

HAVING put forward her Declaration of the Rights of Man, Virginia, in the early part of June, proceeded to form a new constitution, in place of that which may be said to have vanished with Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor who had recently fled. It was not a very Radical constitution. It contained no extension of the suffrage, and the question of slavery, except for the prohibition of the trade in negroes, was suffered to remain where it was. But a representative system of government was secured; and where that exists, and is wisely used, the door of improvement is always open, and every fit and desirable change is certain to arrive in time. The Virginian constitution provided for the election of a Governor, a Council of State, and a General Assembly, consisting of a House of Representatives, and a Senate of twenty-four members. To the Governor and his eight privy councillors pertained the Executive power of the State; to the two divisions of the Parliamentary body, all Legislative functions. Two out of the eight councillors were to be changed every three years, so that the whole body would be renewed once every twelve years, but not oftener. One fourth of the Senators were to be renewed each year, and the whole of the Representatives were to be chosen afresh annually. In the main, the convention which produced this constitution asserted the jurisdiction of the State over the whole region granted by the second charter of James I., in the year 1609; but the territorial rights of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, together with the limits set by the peace of 1763, were recognised. The privilege of purchasing Indian lands was reserved to the public, with a right of pre-emption to settlers already in actual possession. The constitution was mainly the production of George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, and George Wythe. Jefferson (who was then serving in the Continental Congress) furnished the draft of a preamble, which was adopted; but a form of government which he sent arrived too late. Patrick Henry was chosen as the first Governor.

By this act, and by those which had preceded it, Virginia established a state of independence before that condition had been openly proclaimed, on behalf of the Federal Union, by the Continental Congress. Connecticut and Delaware very shortly followed the example of the great southern settlement, and New Hampshire, on the 15th of June, unanimously agreed that the Thirteen United Colonies should be declared a free and independent State. Massachusetts took the opinion of the people in their town-meetings, and the result, as must have been known beforehand, was in favour of complete separation from Great Britain. The conduct of New York was more cautious, as its position was more exposed to danger. A committee of the Provincial Congress reported, on the 27th of May, that the right of creating civil governments is, and ought to be, in the people, and that the old form of government was dissolved; but all that was determined by the main body, four days later, was that deputies should be elected, with ample powers to institute a government "which should continue in force until a future peace with Great Britain"—a phrase of somewhat indefinite character, and such as did not necessarily exclude a reconciliation with the old country. Jay very

properly denied the competency of the existing Congress of New York to decide whether or not the connection of the colony with England should cease. He moved, on the 11th of June, that the freeholders and electors be called on to invest the deputies they were about to choose with full powers of administering the government, framing a constitution, and deciding on the question of independence; and the motion was affirmed. The result of this appeal to the people was that New York was added to the other provinces which had voted in favour of separation.

The military situation of New York was such as to render the course thus adopted very dangerous. A large army and a powerful fleet were approaching the metropolitan city of the old Dutch province, and Washington had only an ill-armed and ill-disciplined force, of less than eight thousand men, for the defence. The term of service, as to several, would expire in the autumn, while in no case would it extend beyond December. Moreover, Tryon, the Royal Governor of the province, was planning how he could overthrow the existing political state, and re-establish the authority of the King. He was now on board a vessel in the bay, and he plotted with the Mayor of New York city to raise an insurrection, and, on the arrival of Howe, to blow up the magazines, take the guns, and seize Washington and his officers. Some of Washington's own soldiers were concerned in the scheme, and one of them, on the discovery of the plot, was hanged, after conviction before a court-martial. In the adjacent colony of New Jersey, a fresh Provincial Congress assembled on the 11th of June, and at once set to work to debate the question of independence, to create a new constitution, and to vote three thousand three hundred of the militia as a reinforcement for New York. William Franklin, the Governor—unlike his illustrious father, a loyal man, as we have already seen—called a meeting of the General Assembly for the 20th of June; but the Convention, on the 14th, voted that his proclamation ought not to be heeded. Next day he was arrested, and kept under guard till he could be despatched to Connecticut. The proceedings of the Convention were practically in favour of independence, although a clause in the new constitution provided for the possibility of a restoration of the old state.

In Pennsylvania, a provincial conference was held, and, on the 19th of June, the resolution of Congress, inviting the people of the several colonies to form governments of their own, was read twice over, and ultimately approved, without any dissentients. In the constitution afterwards adopted, political reforms were introduced, with a view to conferring the franchise on all persons liable to taxes, without respect to their nationality. Before the conference broke up, it ordered a flying camp of six thousand men to be called out, in conformity with the vote of the Continental Congress; and its last act was to declare its willingness to support the independence of the whole body of federated colonies. Even Maryland, which had for some time past shown a disposition to uphold the Royal power, now veered round to the opposite side. County meetings which took place in May and June resulted in a strong declaration of opinion in favour of independence; the Committee of Safety called a convention; and adhesion to the popular cause was quickly voted. On the 3rd of July, the election of a new convention was directed, and its work was to be the establishment of a government purely Republican in its character.

All these local movements prepared the way for the great act of the Continental Congress which was to make the 4th of July, 1776, one of the most memorable dates in the history of the world. It has already been related that in the early days of June the question of declaring the complete independence of the colonies was raised on the motion of the Virginian, Richard Henry Lee, and, after debate, was postponed for three weeks, that it might in the meanwhile be more maturely considered, and that a declaration of the nature suggested might be prepared. The subject was resumed on the 1st of July, when about fifty-one delegates appeared in their places. By this time the opinion in favour of separation was nearly unanimous; and Massachusetts, two months earlier, had gone so far as to expunge all reference to the King in her public proceedings, and to substitute the name of her Government and people. Before the great business of the day came on, a letter was read from Washington, giving a very bad account of his forces at New York. The accumulated disasters of the invading army in Canada were also known; and news had been received of the threatening movement of Parker and Clinton against Charleston, but not of its defeat. The prospects of the infant Republic, whose birth was about to be formally announced to the world, were therefore far from encouraging; yet the faith of those daring statesmen in the force and vitality of their idea was sufficient to triumph over all discouragements and all adverse fortunes. Several communications having been read, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the question which had been adjourned from a previous day.



ARREST OF WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

The first speaker was John Adams, who had seconded Lee's resolution, and who now recapitulated, at the request of the members for New Jersey (then but just elected), the arguments in favour of a declaration of independence which he had before advanced. He was replied to by Dickinson, of Pennsylvania—a patriot, an eloquent denouncer of the oppressions of England, but one who had hitherto clung to the hope and desire of a reconciliation with the mother country, and who even now doubted the policy of an open defiance until allies had been obtained, and the internal affairs of the colonies had been reduced to better order and cohesion. The proposed declaration, he argued, would not strengthen them by one man, while it might expose their soldiers to additional cruelties and outrages. Without some experimentary trials of their strength, they ought not to commit their country to an alternative where to recede would be infamy, and to persist might be destruction. No instance, he alleged, could be recollected of a people, without a battle fought or an ally gained, abrogating for ever their connection with a warlike commercial empire. Such a step might unite the several parties in England against them, and divide themselves.

"With other Powers," continued Dickinson, "it would rather injure than avail us. Foreign aid will not be obtained but by our actions in the field, which are the only evidences of our union and vigour that will be respected. In the war between the United Provinces and Spain, France and England assisted the provinces before they declared themselves independent. If it is the interest of any European kingdom to aid us, we shall be aided without such a declaration; if it is not, we shall not be aided with it. Before such an irrevocable step shall be taken, we ought to know the disposition of the Great Powers; and how far they will permit any one or more of them to interfere. The erection of an independent empire on this continent is a phenomenon in the world; its effects will be immense, and may vibrate round the globe. How they may affect, or be supposed to affect, old establishments, is not ascertained. It is singularly disrespectful to France to make the declaration before her sense is known; as we have sent an agent expressly to inquire whether such a declaration would be acceptable to her, and we have reason to believe he is now arrived at the court of Versailles. The measure ought to be delayed till the common interests shall in the best manner be consulted by common consent. Besides, the door to accommodation with Great Britain ought not to be shut until we know what terms can be obtained from some competent Power. Thus, to break with her before we have compacted with another, is to make experiments on the lives and liberties of my countrymen, which I would sooner die than agree to make; at best, it is to throw us into the hands of some other Power, and to lie at its mercy, for we shall have passed the river that is never to be repassed. We ought to retain the declaration, and remain masters of our own fame and fate. We ought to inform that Power that we are filled with a just detestation of our oppressors; that we are determined to cast off for ever all subjection to them, to declare ourselves independent, and to support that declaration with our lives and fortunes, provided that Power will approve the proceeding, acknowledge our independence, and enter into a treaty with us upon equitable and advantageous conditions."

Other arguments against the contemplated declaration, Dickinson found in the disorganised, or at least not fully organised, condition of the colonies, and the conflicting claims to territory on the part of several, which ought to be adjusted before a definite Federation was established. On grounds of prudence there was a good deal of force in the representations of this speaker; but Congress was not in the mood to listen to them. The moment was one of those when boldness is worth more than prudence, and when the instincts of a people have a deeper sense of truth, and even of ultimate safety, than the most exact calculations. The hour had come, and the American people knew that it had come. The debate was long and impassioned, but the issue was pre-determined. Of that debate no authentic records are to be found, excepting a report, by himself, of the speech of Dickinson. It is certain, however, that it brought out some considerable divergences of opinion, yet that it also showed how strong was the majority in favour of independence. When the vote on this great question came to be taken, it was found that nine out of the thirteen colonies were prepared to issue the declaration, and, in the face of the world, to dissolve connection with Great Britain. The dissentients were South Carolina, all of whose delegates were adverse; and Pennsylvania, whose seven delegates were divided, in the proportion of four against to three in favour. It need hardly be said that Franklin was one of those who, on behalf of the Quaker province, voted for the distinct existence of the United States. The vote of Delaware was negatived, owing to the fact of only two representatives being present, and their opinions being exactly opposed to one another. The delegates from New York read to the committee a letter

which they had received from the local Congress of their own province, explaining that their formal concurrence must be withheld for a few days longer, in order that the result of the recent elections might be ascertained; but it was known that all the representatives of the colony save one were desirous of voting on the side of independence. The defection of South Carolina was the more remarkable as the province had recently taken so very advanced a stand in opposition to the parent State. But John Rutledge, the President of the South Carolina Convention, still looked for an accommodation, and shrank from any act which should irrevocably commit the country to a policy of antagonism.

On the resolution being reported, the determination upon it was postponed to the following day. When the delegates met again on the 2nd of July, it was found that Dickinson and Morris, two of the four Pennsylvanian delegates opposed to the declaration, were absent, so that the three who held the contrary opinion were now in the majority. A third delegate had arrived from Delaware, and by his vote secured that colony to the national cause. In order not to disturb the general consent, the members for South Carolina consented to abandon their former view; and accordingly the whole of the thirteen colonies, with the exception of New York, which was simply unable for the time to give expression to its wishes, resolved—"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." To this resolution the sanction of New York was given a week later. John Adams writing to his wife at Boston, on the 3rd of July, to communicate to her the grand event in which he had acted so important a part, hailed that second day of July, 1776, as the most memorable epoch in the history of America. "I am apt to believe," he said, "that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought be solemnised with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, for evermore. You will think me transported by enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."* The wife of Adams was a woman thoroughly qualified to appreciate her husband's sentiments.

The committee for drawing up the Declaration of Independence had entrusted that task to Thomas Jefferson, who, though at that time only thirty-three years of age—between seven and eight years younger than John Adams, and a mere juvenile as compared with Franklin, both of whom were on the committee—was chosen for a work of great difficulty and importance, because he was held to possess a singular felicity in the expression of popular ideas (as evinced in previous State papers), and because he represented the province of Virginia, the oldest of the Anglo-American colonies. Jefferson, having produced the required document, reported it to the House on the 28th of June, when it was read, and ordered to lie on the table. After the conclusion of the debate on the resolution of independence, on the 2nd of July, the Declaration was passed under review. During the remainder of that day, and the two next, this remarkable production was very closely considered and sifted, and several alterations were made in it. With respect to the modifications in the original draft, before its submittal to Congress, some contradictory accounts have been given. According to the statements of Jefferson himself, he showed his manuscript to John Adams and Franklin separately, as being the two members whose judgments he chiefly desired; and all the corrections they made were those which appeared on the paper in their own handwriting. Adams has left it on record that Jefferson and he acted as a sub-committee, and reviewed the production critically, without making or suggesting an alteration. It would seem, however, that Adams really introduced many more variations than either of these statements would lead one to suppose, although, when the Declaration was laid before Congress, he fought hard for every word as it then stood.† Jefferson considered it his duty to be a passive auditor of the opinions of others, though he afterwards admitted having writhed a little under acrimonious criticisms on some passages of his production. The alterations were prompted by various considerations. A clause reprobating the bondage of the

* The Works of John Adams, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Vol. I., p. 232. Boston, U.S., 1856.

† Life and Works of John Adams, as before cited, Vol. I., p. 233.

negroes was struck out in deference to South Carolina and Georgia, and perhaps also to the northern provinces, which, though having few slaves themselves, were, as Jefferson remarks, considerable carriers of them for others.* Fear of alienating the goodwill of friends in England led to the omission of those sentences which reflected on the English people. The passage having reference to slavery was this :—

"He [George III.] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them : thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

Edmund Pendleton, President of the Virginia Convention, regretted that this passage was omitted; but it was generally felt that such remarks would be offensive to the South, if not to the North, and it may possibly have occurred to some that, whatever the guilt of the English monarch with regard to slavery, it was in a certain degree shared by the colonies themselves, and could not justly be imputed altogether to the King. The paragraph on the relations between the American and English peoples was not entirely obliterated ; but the greater portion was expunged, and wisely, for it was surely no part of the new Republican policy to create at the very outset, or even needlessly to intensify, a feeling of bitterness and angry recrimination, such as might last for generations. That the reader may compare this clause as it was first written with that which stands in the historic document, Jefferson's unamended paragraph is here subjoined :—

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their Legislature to extend a jurisdiction over these our States. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension ; that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain ; that in constituting, indeed, our several forms of government, we had adopted one common King, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them; but that submission to their Parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited ; and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity ; and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over, not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonising affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavour to forget our former love for them, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together ; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation."†

The debate on the proposed Declaration came to a termination on the evening of the 4th of July. The document was then reported by the committee, agreed to by the House, and signed by every member present, except Dickinson. Of the alterations, other than those already pointed out, most were trivial, and the work must in the main be considered the production of Jefferson, around whose name it will cast the light of an enduring honour. It is not necessary to contend that every statement, even in the amended Declaration, is indisputable, that every argument is just, that

* Jefferson's Autobiography.

† Jefferson's Autobiography.—The allusion to the Scotch in the above passage, where they are coupled with foreigners, is singular, considering how many persons from Scotland had settled in the western world.

nothing has been exaggerated by passion, and nothing suppressed by partisanship. Probably this could not be said of any statement on one side of any great question that has ever been in dispute. We do not expect to find the judge in the advocate, or, at any rate, we have no right to resent his absence. But it will not at this day be denied by many, even on the English side of the Atlantic, that the Declaration was a work of great power, that it had a large basis of truth, that it appealed, in noble and strenuous language, to the very highest principles of political right and virtue. Its crowning glory is that it did this in no utopian spirit, in no mood of wild and vindictive change, but with decorum, with dignity, with tenderness, and with sense. Englishmen, who regret the quarrel out of which this supreme act of renunciation arose, may yet reflect, with a just satisfaction and no ungenerous pride, that the root of all these principles is to be found in the traditions of a thousand years of English political life. Jefferson did but apply to novel circumstances the general ideas of popular freedom which had long been illustrated in the old country. George III. had endeavoured to introduce into the administration of affairs a species of German absolutism, distasteful alike to Englishmen at home, and to their descendants in America. The Declaration of Independence was the final reply of Americans to the ill-judged and ignorant attempt. Its effect on Europe was immense. It helped, in a very considerable degree, to make the French Revolution; it even influenced England. Doubtless, it is an exaggeration to say that, but for the success of the Americans, England would have been enslaved. The principles of George III. never could have permanently succeeded in the country of Hampden; nor was George himself, with all his errors, altogether devoid of a sturdy English sense of independence. But the example of America strengthened the Liberal party in the mother country, and guaranteed the certainty of reform. This is why the great production of Jefferson should have as much interest for English as for American minds.

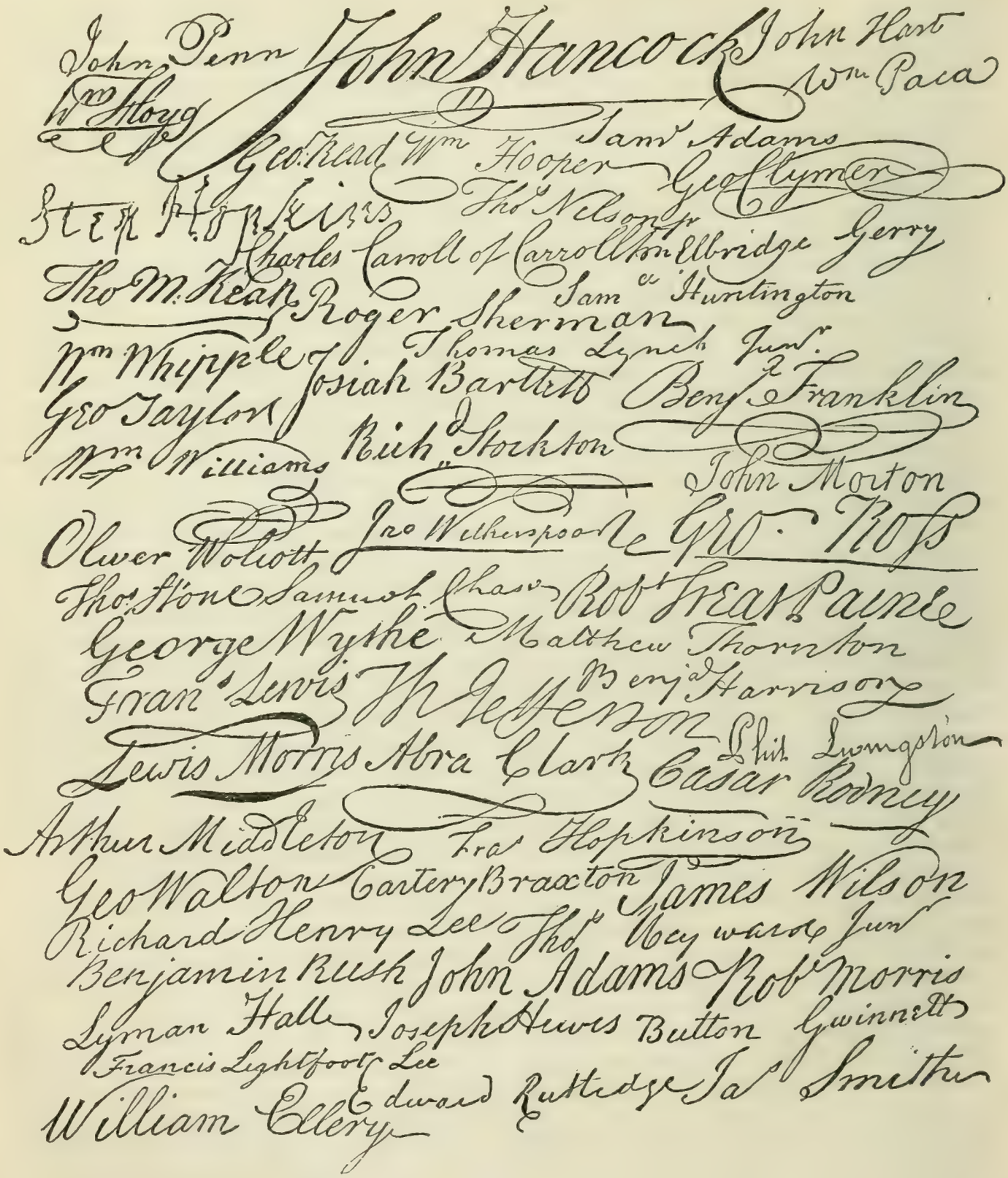
So important a document should be presented in full. As finally revised, it ran as follows:—

"In Congress, July 4th, 1776.—A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

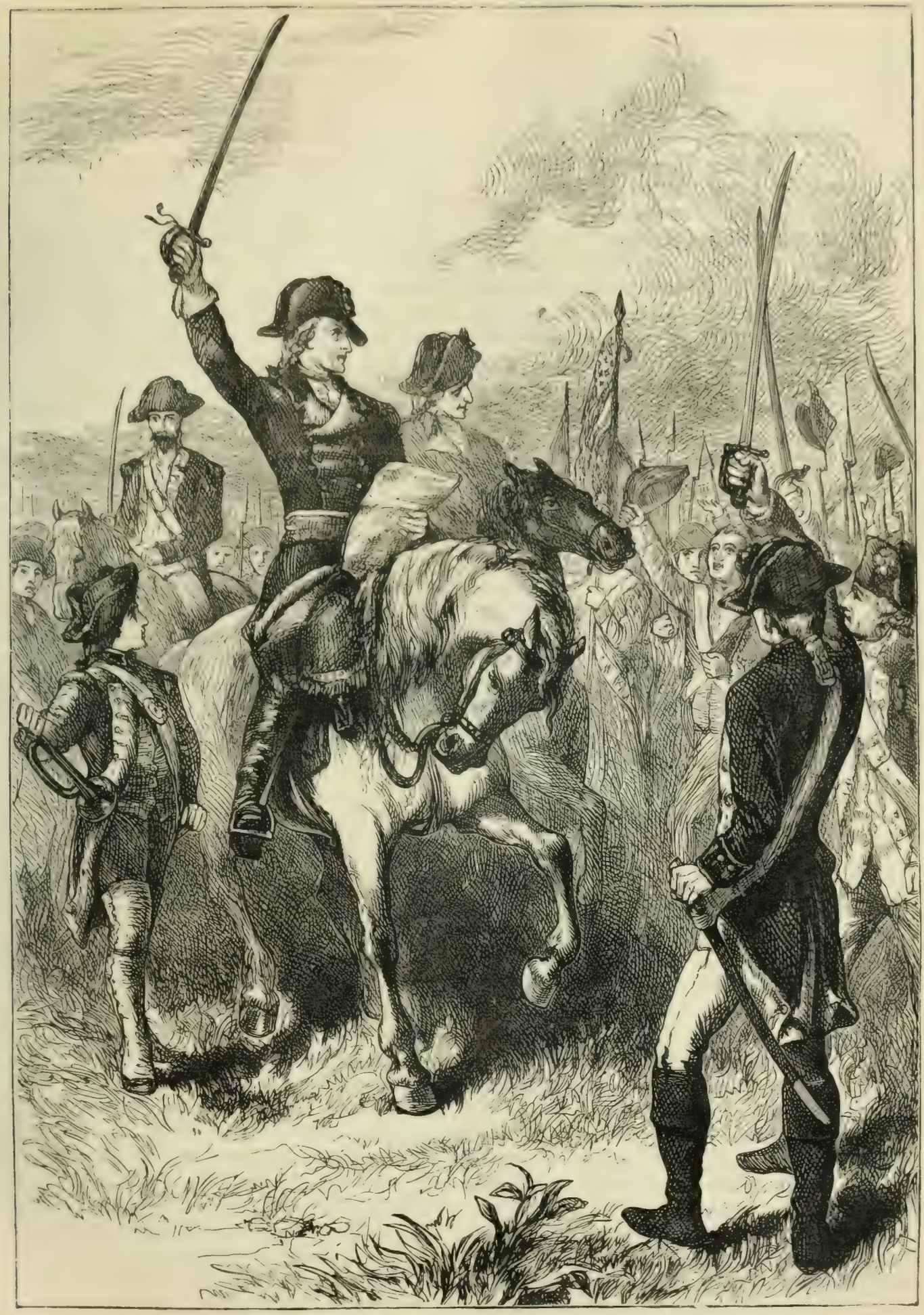
"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused, for a



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE READ TO THE ARMY.

long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws: giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments; for suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

"JOHN HANCOCK."

The signature of John Hancock—which stood by itself, as being that of the President of Congress

—was followed by those of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York (given a few days after the 4th), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. One of the representatives of New Hampshire (Matthew Thornton) was permitted to append his signature as late as the 4th of November—just four months after the date of the Declaration. It cannot be said that this great act of national sovereignty was agreed to with spontaneous unanimity, for South Carolina and Pennsylvania were opposed to it, although, as we have seen, their scruples were overcome or evaded. But it must be admitted that, on the whole, it expressed the desire and the will of a majority of the American people. It appeared to them to offer the only resource against tyranny and injustice. It flattered, also, the national ambition to exist as a separate Power amongst the great countries of the world. Undoubtedly, no more important act has ever been performed. From that day forward—from that memorable 4th of July, 1776—the Republic of English America assumed a distinct and tangible existence. The United Colonies became the United States. George III. was formally deposed in thirteen provinces of his Empire, and some millions of his subjects became foreigners. A new chapter in the annals of the human race had been opened, and it was as yet too early to forecast with any certainty whether that chapter was to be mainly characterised by weal or woe.

CHAPTER XXX.

Proposed Articles of Confederation for the New Republic—Debate on Article XI., referring to the Quota of Money to be furnished by each State to the Common Treasury—The Question of Slavery—Division between North and South—Discussion on the Mode of Voting in Congress: whether in Proportion to Numbers, or simply by States—Speeches of Chase, Franklin, Witherspoon, John Adams, and Wilson—State Rights and Federal Rights—The Declaration of Independence read before the American Army at New York—Its Reception—Loyalists in the State of New York—Appointment of a Committee for Arresting suspected Persons—Arrival of the British Fleet from Halifax, Nova Scotia—Defective Condition of Washington's Army—English Ships sent up the Hudson—Lord Howe's "Declaration" to the American People—An Interview sought with Washington—The Negotiations prevented by a Point of Form—Interview of an American Colonel with Lord Howe—Fruitless Civilities—Lord Howe's Correspondence with Franklin—The Military Situation at New York shortly after the Declaration of Independence.

July 4th, 1776, was the birthday of American Independence. The great act then performed had conducted the nation from the closed gates of the past to the opening porches of the future; but it had done no more. It expressed a resolve, but as a matter of fact it accomplished nothing. All the dangers of the situation, now increased by the boldness of the defiance offered to England, had still to be encountered; all the details of government in a newly-created Republic had still to be settled. It was necessary, in the first instance, to draw up Articles of Confederation; for the tie which had previously held together the associated colonies was of a very slight and temporary nature. The framing of these articles was placed in the hands of a committee, and the report of the committee was presented to Congress on the 12th of July. On the 22nd, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take the proposed articles into consideration; and on the 30th and 31st of that month, and the 1st of August, those heads were debated which determined the proportion of money to be furnished by each State to the common treasury, and the manner of voting in Congress. In the original draft, Article XI. set forth:—"All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several colonies in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of every age, sex, and quality, except Indians not paying taxes, in each colony, a true account of which, distinguishing the white inhabitants, shall be triennially taken, and transmitted to the Assembly of the United States." The discussion which ensued brought out in a very forcible manner that radical division between the Northern and the Southern States which, eighty-five years later, led to civil war, and revealed, more clearly than before, the political difficulties entailed by the institution of slavery.

Mr. Chase moved that the quotas should be fixed, not by the number of inhabitants of every condition, but by that of the white inhabitants.

He admitted that taxation should be always in proportion to property—that this was, in theory, the true rule; but he added that, from a variety of circumstances, it was a rule which could never be adopted in practice. The value of the property in each State could never be estimated justly and equally. Some other measure for the wealth of the State must therefore be devised; some standard referred to which would be more simple. He considered the number of inhabitants as a tolerably good criterion of property, and that this might always be obtained. Negroes were property, and, as such, could not be distinguished from the lands or personalities held in those States where there were few slaves. The surplus of profit which a Northern farmer was able to lay by, he invested in cattle, horses, &c., whereas a Southern farmer laid out the same surplus in slaves. There was no more reason, therefore, for taxing the Southern States on their farmers' heads, and on their slaves' heads, than the Northern States on their farmers' heads and the heads of their cattle. The method proposed would, consequently, tax the Southern States according to their numbers and their wealth conjointly, while the Northern would be taxed on numbers only. Negroes, in fact, should not be considered as members of the State, any more than cattle, as they had no more interest in it.*

In reply to these arguments, John Adams observed that the numbers of the people were, in Article XI., taken as an index to the wealth of the State, and not as subjects for taxation. It mattered nothing, as regarded the object proposed, whether the labouring poor were called freemen or slaves. Ten labourers on a farm would add as much wealth annually to the State, and increase its exports as much, in the one case as in the other. A given number of freemen, said Adams, would produce no more profits, no greater surplus for the payment of taxes, than an equal number of slaves. Therefore, the State where the labourers were freemen should be taxed no more than that where they were bondsmen. In the course of his speech, Adams made the remarkable assertion that the condition of the fishermen in the Northern States was as abject as that of slaves. It was the number of labourers, he contended, which produced the surplus for taxation; and consequently numbers, taken indiscriminately, were the fair index to wealth. Men were in the habit of regarding a slave as being more properly the wealth of his master than a free labourer was the wealth of his employer; but both were equally the wealth of the State, and should therefore equally add to the quota of its tax. This view, however, was still resisted by the Southern members, and one of them put forward an amendment, to the effect that two slaves should be counted as one freeman. He affirmed that slaves did not do as much work as freemen, and doubted if two slaves effected more than one free labourer. This, he said, was proved by the price of labour; for the hire of a labourer in the Southern colonies was from £8 to £12, while in the Northern it was generally £24. On behalf of the North, it was urged that, if the proposed amendment were sanctioned, the South would have all the benefit of slaves, while the North would bear all the burden. Experience had shown that those colonies had always been able to pay most which had the most inhabitants, whether black or white; and the practice of the Southern provinces had invariably been to make every farmer pay poll-taxes upon all his labourers, whatever their colour. Freemen, it was true, worked the most; but then they consumed the most also. They did not produce a greater surplus for taxation. Slaves were neither fed nor clothed so expensively as freemen. White women, moreover, were generally exempt from labour; but negro women worked, and therefore added to the wealth of the State. On the side of the South, it was maintained that the tax, as suggested, would fall unfairly. The argument that the slave-holding States always took slaves into their estimates of taxes, was held not to be conclusive; for, it was contended, slaves, where they were held, pervaded the whole colony, whereas they did not pervade the whole of the Federal Union. On the question being put, the amendment was rejected by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, against those of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas,—Georgia being divided.

The other article which led to prolonged dispute (the seventeenth as it stood in the original draft) provided that, in determining questions, each colony should have one vote. This awakened a good many jealousies, and provoked an animated debate. Mr. Chase observed that not one of the articles was so likely to divide them as that. The larger colonies had threatened they would not confederate at all if their weight in Congress should not be equal to the numbers of people they added to the Confederacy; while the smaller colonies had declared against the Union if they were not to retain an equal vote for the pro-

* Outline of the speech given by Jefferson in his Autobiography.

fection of their rights. It was of the utmost consequence, said this speaker, to bring the several States together, as, if they parted from one another, either no foreign Power would ally with them at all, or the different States would form different alliances, and thus increase the horror of those scenes of civil war and bloodshed which, in such a condition of separation and independence, would be certain to occur. He proposed a compromise, which was that a discrimination should be made among the several questions which would come before Congress; that in all questions concerning life or liberty the smaller States should have an equal vote with the larger; but that in votes relating to money the voice of each colony should be proportioned to the number of its inhabitants. This suggestion was supported by Franklin, who remarked that if the States voted equally they ought to pay equally; which the smaller States would certainly not agree to.* Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, a Scotch Presbyterian minister who sat in Congress as one of the representatives of the province in which he had settled, contended that the colonies should be considered as individuals, and that as such they should have an equal vote in all matters. John Adams, on the contrary, advocated voting in proportion to numbers. They stood there as representatives of the people. In some States the people were many; in others they were but few: consequently, their votes in Congress should be proportioned to the numbers of the communities from which they came. The councils of men were governed, not by reason, justice, and equity, but by interest alone: therefore, the interests within doors should be the mathematical representatives of the interests without doors. The individuality of the States, according to Adams, was a mere sound. The Confederacy, he conceived, was to form all the separate parts into one individual only; it was to weld them, like separate pieces of metal, into one common mass. They would no longer retain their separate individuality, but become a single individual as to all questions submitted to the Confederacy. These opinions of so great a man as John Adams are of the utmost importance, and should be borne in mind throughout the whole subsequent course of American history. The supremacy of the Union over the separate States was always insisted upon by the North, and questioned by the South; and it was this which, in connection with the great evil of slavery, caused the rupture of 1861.

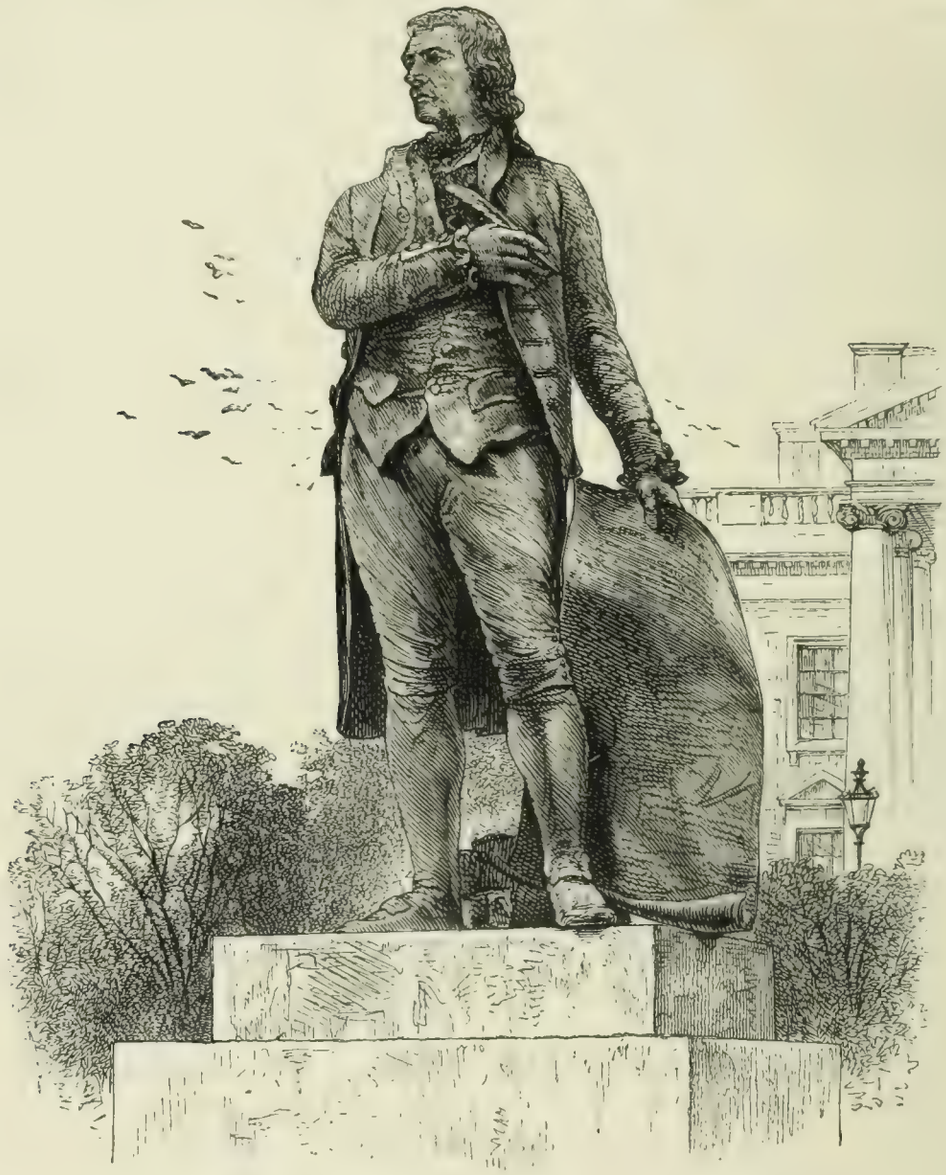
The debate went on, and drew forth from Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, a masterly exposition of those views which had already received the sanction of John Adams. It had been said, he remarked, that Congress was a representation of States, not of individuals. "I say," he continued, "that the objects of its care are all the individuals of the States. It is strange that annexing the name of 'State' to ten thousand men should give them an equal right with forty thousand. This must be the effect of magic, not of reason. As to those matters which are referred to Congress, we are not so many States; we are one large State. We lay aside our individuality whenever we come here. The Germanic body is a burlesque on government, and its practice on any point is a sufficient authority and proof that such practice is wrong. The greatest imperfection in the constitution of the Belgic Confederacy is their voting by provinces. The interest of the whole is constantly sacrificed to that of the small States. The history of the war in the reign of Queen Anne sufficiently proves this. It is asked, Shall nine colonies put it into the power of four to govern them as they please? I invert the question, and ask, Shall two millions of people put it in the power of one million to govern them as they please? It is pretended, too, that the smaller colonies will be in danger from the greater. Speak in honest language, and say, the minority will be in danger from the majority. And is there an assembly on earth where this danger may not be equally pretended? The truth is, that our proceedings will then be consentaneous with the interests of the majority, and so they ought to be. The probability is much greater that the larger States will disagree than that they will combine. I defy the wit of man to invent a possible case, or to suggest any one thing on earth, which shall be for the interests of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and not also for the interests of the other States."†

Thus early did the American Republic develop those difficulties of divided jurisdiction which are inseparable from all Federal Governments, and which particular circumstances tended to make especially perplexing in the United States. The discussion has here been followed at some length, because it discloses the source of many subsequent troubles, and explains much that is of the highest importance in the annals of the nation. But we

* Franklin was at this time presiding over the Pennsylvanian convention for the formation of a State constitution, and, on the question of the voting power of the States being brought forward, he drew up a protest against equality of voting, which, however, was not pressed, owing to a disinclination to create division at a critical period.

† Jefferson's Autobiography.

must now turn aside from these contests of the political arena, and again trace the progress of military events. News of the Declaration of Independence reached the camp of Washington, at New York, in the course of a few days, and, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, that great manifesto was read aloud at the head of every regiment on the evening of July 9th. It was accompanied by an order of the day, in which the General expressed his hope that so important an event would serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that the peace and safety of the country depended, under God, solely on the success of their arms, and that they were now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward merit, and advance the deserving to the highest honours of a free country.



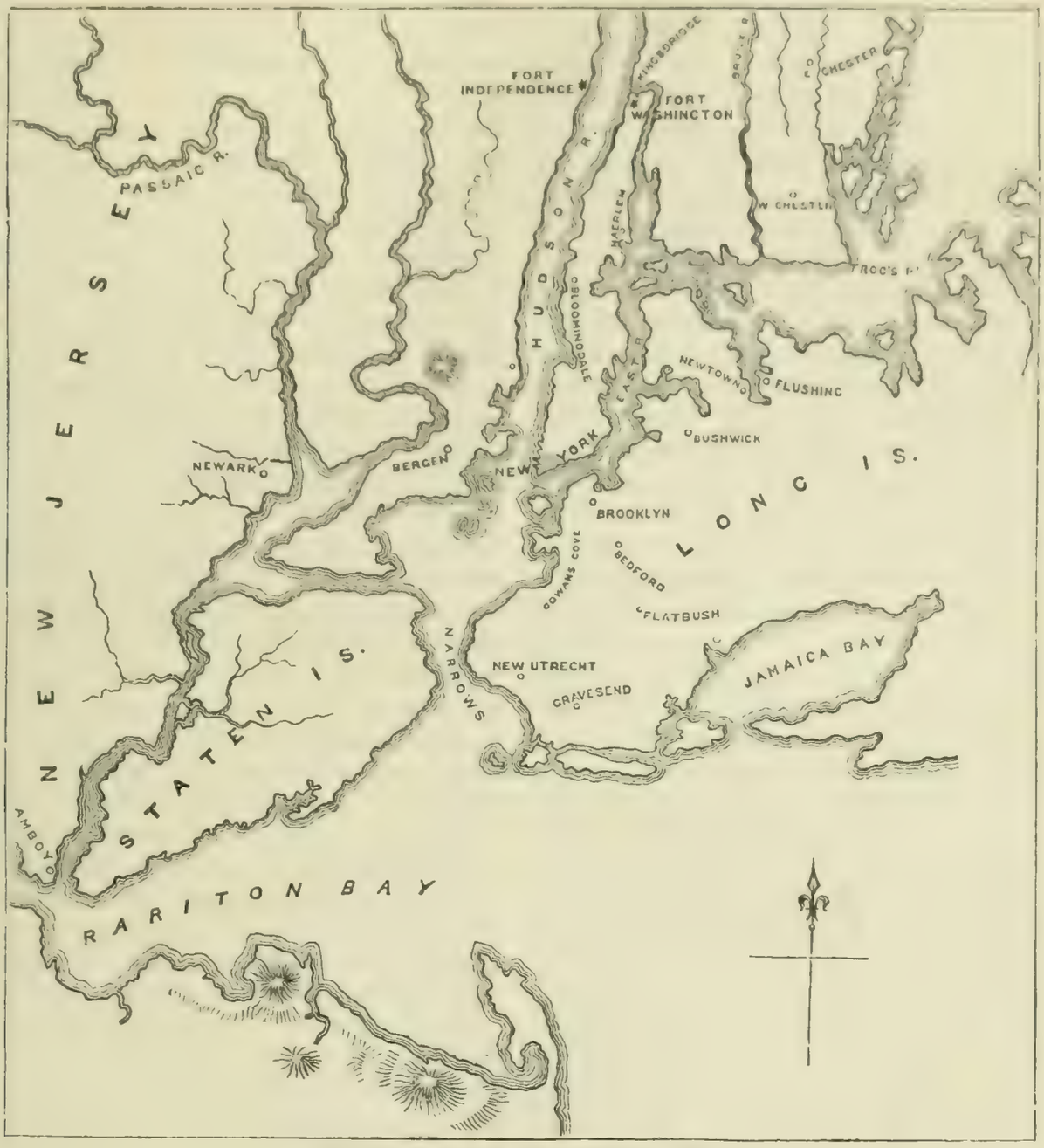
STATUE OF JEFFERSON IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

The reading of the Declaration has been said, by an authority of distinction, to have been greeted by the most hearty demonstrations of joy.* But another American author has observed that "no one can read the private correspondence of the times without being struck with the slight impression made on either the army or the mass of the people by the Declaration."† There were, indeed, some exceptions to this feeling of apathy. A party of soldiers riotously assembled at New York, pulled down a statue of the King which had been erected in the Broadway a few years before, and beheaded it—an act of political fanaticism for which Washington very properly rebuked them the next day. Yet, from whatever cause—whether owing to the event having been long anticipated, or from its making little tangible difference in the state of affairs—the great act accomplished at Philadelphia aroused no general or passionate enthusiasm.

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 8.

† Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Vol. I.

Some weeks before the Declaration of Independence, Washington had attended Congress, to advise its members on the military situation, and to concert arrangements for the campaign. On his return to the camp, after an absence of fifteen days, he set about making preparations to receive the enemy, the approach of whose fleet was every day expected. His difficulties were increased by the large number of loyalists in the city of New York, in Long Island, Staten Island, and many parts of the interior, and by the timorous hesitation of the Provincial Congress, which showed little zeal in the eradication of opinions hostile to the new order. Washington frequently expostulated with that body, and it was at length found necessary to appoint a secret committee, charged with power to arrest and examine suspected persons. In the midst of this distracted and turbulent state, a part of the British fleet from Halifax, Nova Scotia, arrived off Sandy Hook. Its appearance at that spot was on the 28th of June, and the remainder of the fleet followed within a week, when General Howe established his head-quarters on Staten Island. Washington had under his com-



MAP OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY, 1776.

mand an army of eleven thousand men, of whom two thousand had no arms at all, while others were but poorly furnished. Even numerically considered, such a force was quite inadequate to the work required of it; but new levies were frequently coming in, for Congress had recently resolved to reinforce the New York army with large bodies of militia, drawn chiefly from the Northern and Central States. The discipline of all the troops, however, was so bad that Joseph Reed, of Penn-

sylvania, who had recently been made Adjutant-General, looked with dismay on the chances of the future; and, in private, he represented this feeling as universal. But Washington repelled the promptings of despondency. His military position in July, 1776, was decidedly grave; yet he confronted the dangers of the time with that unruffled serenity which was one of his finest characteristics.

The first step taken by General Howe, upon arriving off New York, was to send two ships with three tenders up the Hudson, with a view to cutting off the communication by water between Washington's army and Canada, and between the city and the country, so as to intercept supplies. He also hoped in this way to give support to the loyalists, and to take soundings of the river. The vessels managed to pass the New York batteries without injury, and gained a broad part of the river called Tappan Sea. They were absent five weeks, during which time one of the tenders was burnt by a fireship sent among them by the Americans, who were assembled in force on the banks for the protection of the neighbouring highlands. On the arrival of Lord Howe, the chief naval commander, at Staten Island, he and his brother, General Howe, took measures for giving effect to those conciliatory powers with which the King had invested them. They were in truth the commissioners for composing differences whom the less extreme section of patriots had long been expecting, with sanguine anticipations of the good effect of their offices; but they were commissioners bearing the olive-branch in one hand, and the sword in the other. While at sea, Lord Howe had written a circular letter to the Royal Governors of the colonies, accompanied by a Declaration, setting forth his authority as commissioner from the King; granting pardons to all such as were willing to return to their duty; promising that any colony, town, post, or place that submitted instantly should be exempted from the provisions of the Act of Parliament prohibiting trade, &c.; and giving assurances that the meritorious services of all persons who should aid and assist in restoring tranquillity would be duly rewarded. These papers were put ashore by a flag at Amboy, and shortly reached the hands of Washington, who enclosed them to the President of Congress. The chief document contained no promise to remove the grievances of which the Americans had for several years complained; and it is therefore quite certain that it would not, in itself, have produced any effect of a pacific character, even had it arrived before the Declaration of Independence. It was even published by Congress as a final and conclusive proof that the liberties of the country could only be saved by fighting; that nothing was to be expected from the justice or the tenderness of Great Britain. This, however, was a hasty conclusion. Howe was prepared to treat, and it was certainly worth while to hear what he had to say before pronouncing that his mission was in vain.

The attempt to negotiate broke down at the very outset on a matter of form. Lord Howe sent a flag of truce with a letter to Washington; but the letter was directed in a manner which, in the opinion of the American General, rendered it inadmissible. It had previously been determined by Washington that no letter from the British commanders, not directed to him in his official capacity, should be received. To Lord Howe it appeared equally clear that he, as holding the King's commission, could not acknowledge any rank or title not derived from his Majesty, yet claimed by one whom he was bound to consider a British subject. He had therefore directed his letter to "George Washington, Esq." Reed, who met the officer carrying the letter immediately on his landing, refused to receive a communication thus superscribed. Congress, on being apprised of the circumstance by Washington himself, highly approved of the course he had taken, and passed a resolution that in future no letters should be received from the enemy, by commanders in the American army, which should not be directed to them in the characters they sustained. A subsequent letter was addressed "George Washington, Esq., &c., &c., &c."; but, although some degree of concession was thus implied, the missive was refused, like its predecessor. Then a conversation took place between an English officer and the American commander, at which the former used many civil speeches; but it led to nothing. An interview between Colonel Palfrey, Paymaster-General of the American army, and Lord Howe, on board the Admiral's ship, on the 30th of July, was equally void of results. Palfrey, in a letter to the President of Congress, wrote that he and his companion were treated with the utmost politeness by Lord Howe, who spoke with high respect of General Washington, and said he wished to convey his sentiments to him in any mode of address that would not be blamed by the King, his master. He always alluded to the American commander as "General" Washington, and frequently referred to the "States" of America. Glancing at the contrast which had been drawn by Congress between the first Lord Howe and himself and General Howe, he said, with much emotion, "I hope

America will one day or other be convinced that, in our affection for that country, we also are Howes." He expressed a desire that the letter to General Washington, addressed "&c., &c., &c.," should be received, saying it would imply everything that the opposite side could desire, and at the same time save him (Lord Howe) from censure. But Colonel Palfrey declined to receive the communication; and from that time forward all letters addressed by the British commanders to General Washington bore his official titles.

Among the letters written by Lord Howe while yet at sea, was one to his friend, Dr. Franklin, with whom, it will be remembered, he had had several interviews before the latter quitted England—interviews prompted by the vain hope of effecting a reconciliation between the two countries. His letter is dated June 20th, 1776, with a postscript written "off Sandy Hook, 12th of July." It was expressed in terms of great friendship towards Franklin, and intimated that the grief of the writer would be heart-felt "if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity for preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels," should keep the English and their descendants a divided people. Franklin, while still confessing a great personal regard for his Lordship, replied on the general question with not a little acrimony. Referring to the terms held out in Lord Howe's official Declaration to the American people, he said:—"Directing pardons to be offered the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentment. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters, and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every remaining spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear; but, were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured. You can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just cause of lasting enmity. And this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity."

Lord Howe rejoined with another letter, written off Staten Island on the 16th of August, in which he remarked that he did not suppose it necessary to go into any particulars as to the conciliatory measures which he intended to propose, as he had not conceived that his public Declaration could be understood to refer to peace on any conditions but those of mutual interest to both countries, which could alone render it permanent. Franklin's letter to Lord Howe had been delivered to that nobleman on board his ship by Mr. Nathaniel Tracy, who accompanied Colonel Palfrey on the occasion already referred to. The latter gentleman records that the English Admiral frequently exhibited marks of surprise as he read the epistle. When he had finished perusing it, he said that his old friend had expressed himself very warmly, but that he (the speaker) had left England with an ardent desire to be the means of effecting a reconciliation on terms equally honourable and advantageous to both sides. Colonel Palfrey remarked that he had now a fair opportunity to mention to Dr. Franklin, in a private letter, his design in coming out, and what were his expectations from America. Lord Howe declined to do this, saying that the Doctor had grown too warm, and that, if he expressed himself fully, he should only give him pain, which he would wish to avoid.* Nevertheless, he afterwards wrote briefly to him, as described; but his letter produced no effect, and the preparations for active operations went on without abatement.

General Howe remained two months at Staten Island, waiting for reinforcements; and during that period Washington exerted himself to the utmost in strengthening his works on the island of New York and the adjacent continent. Between two forts, hastily thrown up on the opposite banks of the Hudson, the channel of the river was obstructed by hulks of vessels and rows of spikes. Batteries were formed on the shores of the North and East Rivers; several redoubts were erected; and the grounds near Kingsbridge were fortified. Such was the state of the American position when, about the middle of August, the last of the British reinforcements arrived. General Howe had now been joined by the detachments on board Sir Peter Parker's squadron, under Clinton and Cornwallis; by several regiments from England, the West Indies, and the Floridas; and by a number of

* Extract from Letter of Colonel Palfrey to John Hancock (President of Congress), quoted by Mr. Sparks in Note to Franklin's Writings, Vol. V., pp. 102—3.

Hessians. Altogether, Howe had under his orders nearly thirty thousand men, and both the army and the fleet were admirably equipped. Washington's force, according to a return made on the 3rd of August, consisted, nominally, of twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-seven men, including the officers. Nearly four thousand of these were sick and unfit for duty; many were militia; and none could be described as veteran troops. Their training was imperfect, their habit of obedience precarious, their equipment bad, and their efficiency marred in many ways. With this army, and no better, Washington, towards the end of August, awaited the attack of the English.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Apprehensions of Washington—Provincial Jealousies among his Troops—Order of the Day on the Subject—The American and English Armies—General Howe lands on Long Island—Position of the Americans, and its Natural and Artificial Defences—Approach of the British towards the American Lines—A Vulnerable Point—Advance of the Attacking Force on the 27th of August—Severe Fighting along the whole Line—The English gain the Rear of the American Army—Defeat of the Americans, and Precipitate Flight—Error of Howe in not following up his Advantage—Losses of the Americans and English—Untenable Position of the Americans on Long Island—Their Escape to New York—Mistakes committed by Washington's Subordinates—Complaints by Washington as to the Quality of his Soldiers—The Americans prepare to evacuate New York—Lord Howe's offer to open Negotiations with a View to a Pacific Arrangement—Course adopted by Congress—Three Commissioners elected to confer with Lord Howe—Interview with his Lordship on Staten Island—The Americans refuse to Treat, except as Independent States—Failure of the Negotiations.

WASHINGTON was far from satisfied with his position or his resources, although he determined to do the best he could with the means at his disposal. In a letter to Congress, dated the 8th of August, he explained the heavy disadvantages under which he should labour in the event of an attack by the English. He believed, however—a belief which subsequent events tended to modify—that he should have the support of his troops; and he added that, although the encounter which he was expecting might not terminate happily for the Americans, the enemy would not succeed without considerable loss, and any advantage he might gain would cost him dear. What chiefly troubled him in his own army was insubordination, resulting from provincial jealousies, which were carried to such an excessive degree that the General felt compelled to issue a special order of the day on the subject. He reminded the several regiments that they could not assist their adversaries more effectually than by making divisions among themselves; that the provinces were united to oppose the common enemy; and that local differences had been sunk in the name of an American. "Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore," he said, "be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humour to each other. If there be any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country as to continue in such practices after this order, the General assures them, and is authorised by Congress to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished, and dismissed from the service with disgrace." The words thus earnestly put forth did not entirely fail of their effect; but in many quarters they were little heeded. It was always found necessary to keep the troops of each State as much as possible together, and under general officers from the Government to which they belonged.*

As August advanced, the American army received further reinforcements; but it was still inferior to the English army in numbers alone, if merely the effectives be considered. General Howe, on the other hand, had not only a strong body of highly-trained and well-armed soldiers, but the assistance of a powerful fleet, which was peculiarly serviceable in operations against a city like New York, standing on a small island, and therefore capable of being approached by water from several directions. The assailants could at any time land at many different places; and in proportion as this added to the advantages of the English General, it increased the difficulties of the American. The attempts to obstruct the navigation of the rivers proved ineffectual; and several British ships of war sailed up the Hudson, receiving but slight damage from the batteries on shore. The American army was now posted partly in the city of New York, and partly

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 8.

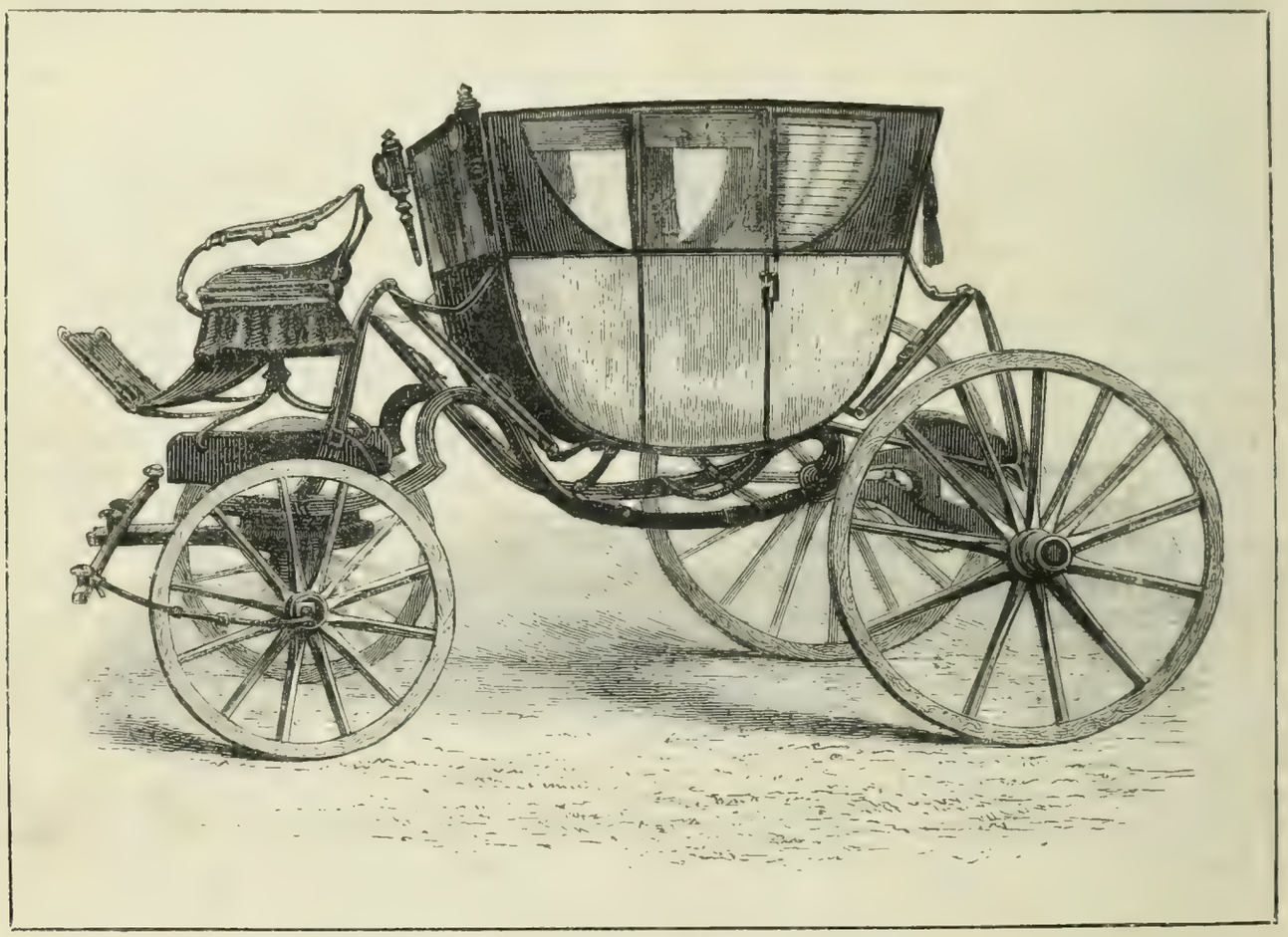
on Long Island. The command on the island was, at first, in the hands of General Greene—an officer of great ability, unimpeachable courage, and much zeal, who was unfortunately stricken with a raging fever at the very time when his judgment and vigour were most needed. Sullivan was appointed to fill his place—an unlucky selection, that General having shown, by his conduct of the retreat from Canada, that his military capacity was not at all equal to the grand promises he was so eloquent in making. On the side of the attacking force, everything was managed with care and prudence; and on the 22nd of August, under cover of a sharp fire from some of the fleet, Howe crossed the Narrows from Staten Island, on the west, to Long Island on the east. His passage was not resisted; and he landed between two small towns, which bear testimony to the successive Dutch and English occupations of the soil by their designations of Utrecht and Gravesend.

It was now evident that the design of the English was to approach the city of New York across Long Island, instead of bombarding it from the bay. Washington had anticipated such a movement, and had stationed Greene's division at Brooklyn, opposite to the city, and separated from it by the East River. The position was secured on the land side by a chain of entrenchments and redoubts, which had been constructed under the directions of Greene; towards the water it was covered by batteries at several points. A range of hills, shadowed by a thick wood, and crossed by three roads, extended between Brooklyn and the spot where Howe effected his landing. Breastworks had been thrown up at the principal passes of the hills, and three or four regiments were stationed where it was hoped they might dispute the advance of the attacking force. The total number of troops on the island has been variously estimated at from five to eleven thousand; they were at any rate sufficiently numerous to form a good-sized army. The division sent forward by Howe consisted of English regiments under Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, and of Hessians under General Heister and Count Donop. Their numbers were about eight thousand. The fortified camp at Brooklyn, which the Americans had taken so much pains to construct, was excellently situated for resisting assault. The right flank of the army stationed there was covered by a marsh which extended to Gowanus Bay, in the west of the island; on their left they had an elbow of the East River, called the Wallabout; their rear was backed by the Strait between Brooklyn and New York; and in front were the artificial works to which allusion has been made. From the 23rd to the 26th of August, nothing occurred of greater note than a series of skirmishes between the British forces and the advanced posts of the Americans. The former were now occupying the plain lying to the south-east of the hills in front of the American position. General Grant commanded the left wing, near the coast; Heister, with his Hessians, the centre; and Clinton the right. The work which they had to perform was to force one or more of the passes through the hills, to fall on the American position, and to inflict a defeat on the army posted there.

Sullivan seems not to have been fully sensible of the necessity of strengthening the defensive works that had already been thrown up in these defiles. During the few days he held the chief command on the island, he did nothing to improve the position which he found; and, with his usual habit of boasting, he said of the very weakest of the three paths that it was so strongly guarded that an angel could not force it. He was soon superseded by General Israel Putnam, who threw forward strong detachments to guard two of these passes—the one nearest the Narrows, and the middle one, on the Flatbush road; but that which fronted the right of the English line he left with no other protection than an officer and a small party, who were to give notice should the enemy approach. The force sent to the middle defile was under the orders of Sullivan; that which was detached for the security of the pass bordering on the Narrows, was commanded by a gentleman named William Alexander, who had been Surveyor-General of the Jerseys, and a member of the Royal Council, although he subsequently embraced the popular cause. He was a distant kinsman of the last Earls of Stirling, and had claimed the title at the bar of the House of Lords; but the case was decided against him. Nevertheless, the Americans always called him Lord Stirling, and American writers to this day admit the same designation. The troops under his command and that of Sullivan had to bear the chief brunt of the engagement which ensued on the 27th; and, although no great generalship was exhibited, some hard fighting took place when at length the opposing armies came into collision.

General Howe, having received information as to the position and resources of his antagonist from some American officers who had been taken prisoners, determined to send the main portion of his forces through the eastern defile—that on the Bedford road—and thus turn the left of the American line. Early on the morning of the 27th of August, Clinton and Cornwallis moved forward on this road; and at the same time, to divert the attention of the Americans, Generals Grant and Heister attacked

the passes next the Narrows and on the Flatbush road. The necessity of defending these inlets drew off a large part of the American army, and made the passage of the eastern defile a matter of little difficulty. The officer appointed to watch that weak point, and to give notice of any hostile movement, performed his office of scout very badly. He raised no alarm until it was too late, and the English were thus enabled to penetrate through the hills, to turn westward when they had reached the northern side, and to gain the rear of the American division which was defending the pass on the Flatbush or central road. Grant and Heister had been ordered to advance but slowly until the flanking movement was accomplished; but when the sound of the guns assured them that this part of the design had succeeded, they pushed on, and added materially to the embarrassments of the enemy. The American advanced guard on the western road had in the first instance fled on the approach of Grant, firing the houses and granaries as they retreated; but Alexander, to whom that General was opposed, afterwards made a determined stand, and it is generally allowed that the men whom he commanded, and who belonged to the Southern and Middle States, exhibited great courage and firmness, contesting every foot of ground against a superior force. Success, however, was hopeless as soon as the right of the English line had managed to outflank the American left. The centre, under Sullivan, had, up to that point, kept the Hessians at bay; now, fearing an attack in the rear, the men began to retreat, but the movement was too late. The division of Clinton and Cornwallis soon appeared at their back, and commenced a furious assault. Placed between two fires, and unable at the moment to discover any means of escape, their situation became terrible. By the English they were forced towards the Hessians; by the Hessians they were driven back upon the English. In this manner they were tossed about from one division of the opposing force to another, until, by a desperate effort, they cut their way through the English line, and regained their camp at Brooklyn. Alexander's detachment was similarly surprised, and exposed to a double attack, the right of the English line gradually overlapping so far as to gain the rear of the American right. After a brave resistance, Alexander's regiments retreated hurriedly and in confusion. The greater number attempted to escape along the dyke of a mill-dam, and through the marsh lying in the vicinity of Gowanus Bay; but many of them were drowned, and only a shattered remnant got back to camp. By mid-day, the rout of the



WASHINGTON'S COACH.

Americans was complete. During the action, reinforcements were despatched both to Alexander and to Sullivan, and Washington himself crossed over to Brooklyn, where he witnessed with keen anguish the rout and slaughter of his troops. He was unable to send any further reinforcements, lest his camp at New York should be dangerously weakened; and for a moment it seemed as if the lines at Brooklyn would have been carried. The English and Hessians pursued the discomfited forces almost to the foot of those lines, and so great was the cheap rate by regular approaches. His hesitation, however, was much to be regretted from a military point of view; for, had the position been carried, the greater part of the American army would doubtless have been captured or destroyed, and a severe blow would thus have been inflicted on the insurgents at the outset of the campaign. Even as it was, the result of the action was discouraging to them. They lost nearly a thousand men in killed and wounded, and an unusually large number of prisoners remained in the hands of the British.



VIEW OF LONG ISLAND.

ardour of the conquerors that they desired to assault the position at once. But Howe, who had by this time arrived on the ground, checked their impetuosity, although not without some trouble, and in the evening they encamped in front of the American works. In his despatch with reference to this contest (which is sometimes called the Battle of Brooklyn, but more often the Battle of Long Island), General Howe admitted that, had his troops been suffered to go on, they would in all probability have carried the redoubt. But he did not care to spend so many lives in an enterprise which appeared to him superfluous, as he felt convinced that the lines could be obtained at a very Among the latter were Generals Sullivan and Alexander; but these officers were exchanged, together with other prisoners, on a cartel being established between the two armies shortly afterwards. The loss on the part of the English and Hessians was comparatively slight. Many of the Americans fought admirably; others exhibited the unsteadiness and ready fear common to raw and undisciplined levies.

On the morning of the 28th, the English troops began to open their approaches about six hundred yards from one of the redoubts. But Washington had come to the conclusion that the position was untenable, and he resolved to abandon it. The day

was so rainy that little could be done, although sallying parties occasionally came out from the American lines, and slight skirmishes took place. As yet, a strong head-wind prevented the English ships from ascending the harbour; but it was certain that, on the wind shifting, the fleet would sail into the East River, and cut off the only means of retreat. Already, some of the English ships had passed round Long Island, and were riding in Flushing Bay, eight miles from New York. It was feared that General Howe intended to transport a part of his army across the Sound, and form an encampment above King's Bridge, which would have seriously endangered the capital. The army at Brooklyn was greatly reduced in numbers, owing to the battle of the 27th of August; and the arms and ammunition were being damaged by the rains. Washington called a council of war, and, after brief deliberation, it was resolved to withdraw from Long Island. Boats having been collected, the whole of the army stationed there, consisting of nine thousand men, was carried over to New York during the night of the 29th and early morning of the 30th of August. The military stores, nearly all the provisions, and the artillery with the exception of a few heavy guns, were also got off, and the entire movement, which spread over thirteen hours, was managed with remarkable skill, secrecy, and success. The operation was assisted by the state of the weather. Rain descended heavily, and the atmosphere was still further obscured by a thick fog, although at New York the air was perfectly clear. Everything was done with so much silence that the last boat had pushed off from shore ere the English, notwithstanding the nearness of their position, discovered that the enemy had slipped through their hands. Half an hour after the rear-guard had left the island, the fog lifted and disappeared.

On perceiving that his adversaries had escaped, Howe must have mentally condemned his determination not to pursue the attack on the Americans at the moment of their greatest discouragement and depression. In conducting the retreat, Washington had again displayed his wonderful powers of invention and grasp of details. The operation was one of the most perilous nature, and the anxiety of the General was necessarily very great. For forty-eight hours, he did not once close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from his horse. But he was now comparatively safe, having by a masterly stroke baffled the English commander, and repaired the errors of his own subordinates. The illness of Greene was peculiarly unfortunate, for he was thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the island, and with the roads which intersected it. Sullivan and Putnam, on the other hand, were devoid of such knowledge, and had not had sufficient time to acquire it. Washington had given very particular instructions that every part of the outer lines should be watched with great vigilance; yet the eastern pass had been neglected. The movements of the English army had not been properly observed, and the want of vedettes had prevented the quick diffusion of intelligence, for at that time not a single company of cavalry was attached to the American army.* Whether Washington did wisely in attempting to defend an island which the English fleet might easily have blockaded, is a question that has been much discussed. But the great design of the American General was to delay the progress of the British; and in this he was to some extent successful. Many of his own countrymen, however, were dissatisfied with his conduct, and murmured because he did not at once realise their sanguine anticipations of brilliant victories and decisive battles.

He had in truth done the utmost that was possible with the materials which lay to his hand. Some of his troops, indeed, were very good; but many were of the worst possible quality, and the military system under which they had been raised was enough to drive any commander to distraction. The Massachusetts Assembly had granted its soldiers the privilege of electing their own officers; and they frequently chose those who were willing to share their pay with the friends who had thus promoted them. As a necessary consequence, many of the officers were men of low and corrupt character, vulgar, illiterate, and scandalous in their lives. The militia could scarcely be considered soldiers in any sense whatever, and claimed such ample rights of withdrawing whenever they pleased that their services could never be counted on. Moreover, the regimental surgeons were often ill-instructed in their duties, and so dishonest that they would sell recommendations for furloughs and discharges for a shilling or even sixpence each. On the 2nd of September, Washington felt compelled to write to the President of Congress as follows:—

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 8.

impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies, at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example has infected another part of the army,—when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct, but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops. All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to Congress,—that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war." In the judgment of this most competent observer, the expense of such a body of troops as would be equal to almost every emergency would not far exceed that which was being constantly incurred by the calling in of succours and new enlistments, which, after all, effected nothing of any value. He very justly argued that men who had been subject to no control could not be reduced to order in an instant, and that the privileges and exemptions which they claimed, and always insisted on enjoying, influenced the conduct of others; so that the aid derived from them was nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasioned among their comrades.

The hope of defending New York, which Washington had at first confidently entertained, now rapidly melted away. He himself stated as much in his letter to Congress, explaining his change of view by the simple fact that his soldiers failed to do their duty. It was not long, therefore, ere he came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to evacuate the important city where he had been stationed since the spring. Early in September, the English fleet entered the harbour, and an armed vessel passed up the East River; but the city was not attacked, nor were there any indications of an intention to bombard, but rather of a design to make approaches on the land side. When the question of a speedy evacuation of New York was submitted by Washington to a council of general officers, a difference of opinion was found to exist. Greene—who perhaps had not fully recovered from his fever—advised that the place should be utterly destroyed, so that the enemy should not be able to use it as winter quarters, nor derive from it any benefit whatever; and he mentioned, as an argument in favour of this proceeding, that two-thirds of the property belonged to the Tories—that is to say, to the supporters of the Royal cause. Others held that the position should be maintained at any cost as long as it could possibly be defended. Ultimately, by way of compromise, it was resolved so to dispose of the troops as to be able to resist attacks on the upper part of the island, and at the same time to retreat with the remainder, if serious occasion should arise. In pursuance of this plan, the several regiments were distributed at different localities, ready for further orders, and preparations were made for removing the sick (who amounted to a quarter of the whole army) to the New Jersey side of the Hudson.

But active operations were for awhile suspended by another attempt at negotiation. Shortly after the Battle of Long Island, General Sullivan was despatched, at his own request, to Philadelphia, with a verbal communication from Lord Howe to Congress, intimating a wish to hold a conference with some of its members, though simply as private gentlemen, and stating that he had full powers to compromise the disputes between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him nearly two months in England, and had prevented his arrival in America before the Declaration of Independence. He was now very anxious to enter into a compact before any decisive blow had been struck, so that neither side should feel itself under the influence of compulsion. The message of the English Admiral was certainly seductive in its tone, for it alluded to "many things" which the colonists had not yet asked, but which ought to be granted, and expressed the opinion that, should any probable ground of accommodation be discovered, the authority of Congress should be acknowledged, or the compact would not be complete. On the 5th of September, the delegates in Congress resolved that they could not with propriety allow any of their members to confer with Lord Howe in a private capacity, but that, being desirous of restoring peace, they would send a committee of their body to know whether his

Lordship had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make. General Sullivan was then directed to return to Lord Howe with an intimation to that effect, and, on the following day, Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge were elected as the committee charged with this delicate duty. As the two first of these gentlemen were among the most bitter opponents of Great Britain, and the last-named, although somewhat less extreme, was but little inclined to resist the opinion of the majority, their selection showed no very friendly disposition.

The committee thus appointed met Lord Howe on Staten Island, opposite Amboy, on the 11th of September. They were treated with great consideration and courtesy, the Admiral receiving them at the landing-place, and conducting them through his guards to a convenient room for the conference. Their position and character seem not to have been exactly settled. Lord Howe expressly said that he treated with them only as private gentlemen; the commissioners persisted in regarding themselves as official representatives of Congress. But this formality was not suffered to stand in the way of a discussion. In opening the proceedings, Lord Howe spoke of the good feeling of the King and his Ministers towards the colonies, and hinted that, in case of their submission, the offensive Acts of Parliament would be revised, and the instructions to the Governors be reconsidered, so that anything amiss might be amended or withdrawn. The commissioners replied by reminding the English Admiral that the repeated petitions of the colonies to the King and Parliament had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; that it was not till the last Act of Parliament, which denounced war against them, and put them out of the King's protection, that they declared their independence; and that this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general, and approved of by every colony when made. They added that all the colonies considered themselves as independent States, and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly; and that it was not in the power of Congress to act for them in the matter of restoring their former condition of dependency. There could be no doubt, said the commissioners, of their inclination to peace, and of their willingness to enter into a treaty with Great Britain; but, if there was the same inclination in England, his Lordship might much more readily obtain fresh powers from his Government to treat with them as independent States, than powers could be obtained by Congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.* It was of course impossible to continue the discussion after such an emphatic statement of opinion; and Lord Howe, with an expression of regret, put an end to the conference.

In this way, the hope of a peaceful arrangement vanished in utter disappointment. Had Lord Howe arrived before the Declaration of Independence, it is conceivable, though perhaps not very likely, that his terms, vaguely expressed as they were, might have received a more favourable consideration. But the colonies had now taken their stand as an independent nation, and pride alone would have forbidden a voluntary return to their old condition as provinces. England could hardly have been expected to do more than she then did. For a long time past, there had been a disposition on the part of the mother country to adopt a conciliatory course, and to retrieve the errors of an earlier day. The colonists, however, had no desire to enter on the same path, or to meet the advances of the parent State. Whether from resentment at the unjust and despotic acts from which they had been made to suffer in the opening years of George III.'s reign, or from a not unwarrantable ambition, which would be content with nothing less than a place among the sovereign Powers of the earth, certain it is that they never inclined towards an accommodation, and that they now rejected it in set terms. Lord Howe had only one course left. The "olive-branch," whether wisely or not, had been refused. He was still in a position to wield the sword.

* Official Report to Congress.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Resumption of Active Hostilities—Landing of English and Hessians in Kip's Bay—Disgraceful Flight of the American Advanced Guard—Occupation of New York by the Royal Army—Use of Spiked Balls by American Troops—Violent Counsels of Greene, Jay, and John Adams—Persecution of the "Tories" by the Revolutionary Party—Burning of a Portion of New York—Position of Washington after quitting that City—Animosity between North and South—Complaints of a Northern Officer—Desperate State of the American Army—Necessity for a Change in the Whole Military System of the Federation—Washington and Joseph Reed on Plundering and Absence of Discipline—The Custom of Short Enlistments—Determination of Congress to institute a Reform—The New Military System—Its Merits and Defects—Washington's Criticisms—Various Acts of Congress—Franklin sent to France—Government by Standing Committees—Love of Royalty among some of the Americans—Reform of the Several State Constitutions—Difficulties of Washington in Re-organising his Army—Renewed Activity of General Howe—The Battle of Chatterton's Hill.

Lord Howe and his brother lost no time in pushing forward their concerted operations as soon as the attempt at reconciliation had been made, and failed. The abortive interview with Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge was immediately followed by an active prosecution of hostilities. Four ships sailed into the East River on the 13th of September, and anchored about a mile above New York. Six more entered the next day; parties of troops landed on Buchanan's Island, and a cannonade was opened upon a battery at Horen's Hook, in New York Island. On the 15th, three men-of-war ascended the Hudson as high as Bloomingdale. This was a feint, to draw off attention from the operations of General Howe, who at the same time despatched a division of his forces, under Clinton, from Newtown Bay, on Long Island, to Kip's Bay, on the East River. At the latter point, the Americans had erected batteries; but the men in charge of them fled in dismay from the firing of five English vessels whose guns covered the landing of the troops. Washington had gone to Haerlem, a village about seven miles north of the city of New York, to watch the movements of the enemy on Montresor's Island. Hearing the sound of guns he hastened to the place of landing, and, to his great indignation, beheld his troops (chiefly Connecticut men) in full and very disorderly retreat. Although not more than seventy of the English and Hessians were yet in sight, the advanced guard of the Americans had at once taken to their heels, without firing a shot; and two brigades which had been ordered to their support did nothing more than join the fugitives in their disgraceful flight. The American commander was transported with rage and vexation at the spectacle. Drawing his sword and snapping his pistols, he threatened the fugitives, and endeavoured to rally them; but his exhortations were unheeded. He then tried what a better example would do, and rode towards the British line until his own person was in danger; but nothing had any effect. The troops, amounting in all to eight regiments, fled to the main body on Haerlem Plains. Washington was left almost alone, and at length his attendants seized the reins of his horse, and turned him away from the enemy.* The rest of the Royal army followed Clinton's detachment, and, after a little skirmishing, took possession of New York. Three hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the British, together with nearly all the heavy cannon, and a considerable quantity of baggage, stores, and provisions. The American forces were now drawn together within their lines on the Heights of Haerlem, and Howe encamped with the larger part of his army not far from his opponents, his right resting on the East River, and his left on the Hudson, with ships of war supporting him on both flanks.

When Howe's troops occupied the lines lately in possession of the Americans, they found some instruments of war which are commonly regarded as too barbarous for use among civilised nations. The English General, who was by this time in communication with Washington with respect to an exchange of prisoners, wrote to him:—"My aide-de-camp will present to you a ball cut and fixed to the end of a nail, taken from a number of the same kind found in the encampment quitted by your troops on the 15th. I do not make any comment upon such unwarrantable and malicious practices, being well assured the contrivance has not come to your knowledge." It is probable that these balls had been prepared by the soldiers themselves, and were used without the sanction, or even the cognisance, of the superior officers. Certainly, Washington himself was quite ignorant of the fact; and, in his reply to Howe, he expressed the utmost abhorrence of so savage a practice, which, he said, he would take every care should not be adopted in his army. It is to be feared,

* We have the authority of Washington himself, and of General Greene, in letters written at the time, for these statements with regard to the cowardice of the troops.

however, that a great deal of violence and passion pervaded, at this time, the councils of some among the American patriots. We have related that Greene was disposed to burn the whole of New York. John Jay declared, in a letter to a friend, that, had he been vested with absolute power in those parts, he would in the spring have desolated all Long Island, Staten Island, the city and county of New York, and all that portion of the county of West Chester which lies below the mountains. John Adams declared from the first that he would fine, imprison, or hang all Americans inimical to the cause of independence; and he added at a later date that he would have hanged his own brother, had he taken part with the enemy. Fortunately, the proposal to burn New York, which was referred by Washington to Congress, was disapproved by



PLAN OF THE BRITISH OPERATIONS IN NEW YORK.

that body, on the ground that, if compelled to leave the city, their troops would be able very speedily to recover it—a conclusion which subsequent events entirely falsified.

The animosity of the extreme revolutionists against New York was prompted by the fact that that province contained a large proportion of loyalists. When the English troops passed into Long Island, they found that the greater number of the people were on their side. In New York itself, they were hailed as friends and deliverers by very many; and not without reason, for the late occupants of the city had acted with great injustice towards the so-called Tories. Several persons had been arrested, and sent to distant places of confinement, on no more specific charge than that, from the general tenor of their lives or opinions, they were supposed to be unfriendly to the popular cause. But the arrival of General Howe's army did not give them all the protection they had anticipated. A great many revolutionists were still in the town, and they were little inclined to remain quiet. A few nights after the appearance of the troops, the city was fired in several places at once, and it was found that matches and other combustibles had been skilfully disposed with a view to that result. Several incendiaries were detected in the fact, and instantly killed by the enraged soldiers. Two regiments of the military, and numerous sailors from the fleet, did their utmost to stay the progress of the flames; but at least a quarter of the city, containing a thousand houses, was destroyed ere the mischief could be subdued. It was asserted at the time that the conflagration had been caused in obedience to a secret order from head-quarters; but it is most improbable, from all we know of his exalted character, that Washington had anything to do with such an act. Yet that the fire was caused by incendiaries is rendered the more likely by a statement of Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, in which he says that his own troops, in order to conceal their robberies, had actually set houses in flames.

A sharp skirmish on the 16th of September, in which certain Virginia and Maryland companies behaved with great intrepidity and spirit in support of a body of New England Rangers, had some effect in restoring the confidence of the American army; yet there was still too much reason to fear that the mass of the troops would quail before a vigorous assault. It was lucky for Washington that his position was a strong one, or it might have been at once taken with the most disastrous results. At the point where he was now stationed, New York Island is only a mile broad. His lines, like those of Howe a little below, stretched across the whole tongue of land from river to river. In his



DETECTION OF AN INCENDIARY.

rear he had a fort, to which his own name had been given as a designation. On the opposite side of the Hudson was Fort Lee; and his communication with the mainland of New York was secured by some works at King's Bridge, protecting the strait over which he would have to pass in shifting his quarters. But the material of the army did not improve with time, and the animosity between North and South grew in rancour and intensity every day.

Speaking of this animosity, a Brigadier, apparently a New England man, wrote to a friend:—"It has already risen to such a height that the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks are indiscriminately treated in a most contemptible manner, and whole colonies traduced and vilified as cheats, knaves, cowards, poltroons, hypocrites, and every term of reproach, for no other reason but because they are situated east of New York. Every honour is paid to the merit of good men from the South; the merit, if such be possible, from the North is not acknowledged, but, if too apparent to be blasted with falsehood, is carefully buried in oblivion. The cowardice or misbehaviour of the South is carefully covered over; the least misconduct in the gentlemen of the North is published with large comments and aggravations."*

The general character of the army was described by another officer, who wrote to a member of Congress:—"Absolute tyranny is essential to the government of an army, and every man who carries arms, from the general officer to the private sentinel, must be content to be a temporary slave, if he would serve his country as a soldier. Almost every villainy and rascality that can disgrace the man, the soldier, or the citizen, is daily practised, without meeting the punishment they merit. So many of our officers want honour, and so many of our soldiers want virtue, civil, social, and military, that nothing but the severest punishments will keep both from practices which must ruin us. The infamous and cruel ravages which have been made on the wretched, distressed inhabitants of this unfortunate island [New York] by many of our soldiers, must disgrace and expose our army to detestation. I have heard some tales of woe, occasioned by the robberies of our army, which would extort sighs from the hearts of tigers. Our men are at present only robbers; that they will soon be murderers, unless some are hanged, I have little doubt."† This was the emphatic testimony of an American and a patriot, and it is confirmed by many other statements emanating from the same side.

Every thoughtful and honourable man in the American forces saw the necessity for a total change in the military system of the country. The soldiers were enlisted for such brief periods (sometimes extending over no more than a few months, and never beyond a year) that they had barely time for mastering their duties, and no time for acquiring the steadiness of veterans. Fighting is a business, which must be learned like any other; but existing arrangements precluded all effective study, and shut out every motive for special exertion, valour, and endurance, excepting that principle of purely disinterested and patriotic self-devotion which permanently influences none but the highest natures, though it may for a little while, in a sudden access of enthusiasm, carry with it a large number of very ordinary people. Enthusiasm can never be relied on as a continuous motive power. It is subject to reaction, and its reaction is despondency, if not despair. The multitude will at times assume a perfectly heroic attitude; but their work must be finished quickly, or the impulse flags, the spirit evaporates, the momentum ceases. They expect to do everything with a rush; are apt to lose heart at the prospect of prolonged resistance; are impatient of instruction, of plodding labours, and of the dull routine of duty. The time soon comes when it is found necessary to appeal to a lower set of motives than those with which a revolution started. If men are required to withdraw themselves for a lengthened and indefinite period from the ordinary engagements of their lives, they must be well paid and well cared-for.

It was remarked at this period by a member of Congress that the Americans had in a great measure lost that virtue which first drew them to the field, and were sinking into an army of mercenaries. There had certainly been a great degeneracy since the days of Concord and Bunker's Hill; but it would have been more correct to say that the troops were sinking into a rabble of desperadoes. The soldiers of independence received scarcely any pay, and were so ill-provided with the veriest necessaries of life that their acts of plundering may in some measure be excused. It is vain to expect from human nature in the mass a higher degree of virtue than is common to the general level.

These plunderings, however, were in truth a very serious matter. Washington spoke of them

* Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, Vol. II., pp. 331-32.

† Ibid., p. 332.

as infamous, and said that no man was secure in his effects, and scarcely in his person. The property of loyalists was seized without remorse, and there were several instances of people being frightened out of their houses, under pretence that the buildings were ordered to be burnt, and of their goods being then carried off. The Commander-in-Chief confessed his inability to stop this "lust after plunder," as he called it, and lamented the want of laws by which such crimes might be punished.* An army is a terrible instrument under the best of conditions: if not subjected to rigid government and the stringency of martial law, it will soon be a greater terror to its friends than to its enemies. The insubordination of Washington's regiments had its serious and its ludicrous aspects. Among the former were the robberies, the acts of violence, and the bad conduct in the field, which have previously been described. Among the latter may be mentioned an incident that moved the indignation of Joseph Reed, the Adjutant-General. That officer, one morning in October, saw a captain of horse, who attended on Washington himself, shaving one of his men on the parade near the house—he appears to mean headquarters. The captain was from Connecticut, and had probably been a barber before he became an officer. He considered himself no better than his men, and his men doubtless shared in that opinion. But such an officer was not very likely to be obeyed by the soldiers whom he shaved.



WASHINGTON'S SWORD AND STAFF.

The system of short enlistments excited from an early period the strong disapprobation of Washington. He repeatedly represented to Congress the vices of that system, and earnestly desired that it might be superseded by a better. A term of enlistment extending over the whole period of the war seemed to him the best that could be adopted, and he would have had both officers and men paid better, that they might not be without inducement to give their utmost energies to the work which their country required of them. These representations remained for a long while unheeded. The majority in Congress carried their dread of a standing army to an extent which endangered the national cause. They positively discouraged the formation of such habits as can alone change civilians into soldiers. They deprecated in the members of their army even a temporary forgetfulness of domestic attractions. "Let frequent furloughs be granted," they said, "rather than that the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." This was very sweet and idyllic; but it was not the way to beat a military power like Great Britain, and, in time, Congress itself discovered the truth. A little before the evacuation of New York by Washington, it was resolved, though not without serious opposition, to form the army anew into eighty-eight battalions, to be enlisted as soon as possible, and to serve during the war. To each State was apportioned a certain number of battalions as its quota, and of these numbers the largest was fifteen, assigned to Virginia and to Massachusetts. To encourage enlistment, a bounty of twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land was given to every non-commissioned officer and private; and lands in certain quantities and proportions were promised to the commissioned officers. Each State was charged with the duty of enlisting the troops to fill up the quotas, and of providing them with arms and clothing. Colonels and all lower officers were to be appointed by the States, but commissioned by Congress. A new set of rules for the more strict discipline of the army was at the same time put forth. At the commencement of the struggle, it had been too easily assumed that the war would be brief, and it was therefore supposed that regiments of the most raw and uninstructed troops would answer the necessities of the time. Now that the fond delusion had been dissipated, it was seen that nothing but a regular army would suffice.

As soon as the contemplated change was resolved on, a circular letter was sent round to the several States, urging them to complete their quotas without delay. They were not backward in taking the requisite measures; but a great deal of mischief resulted from the offering of irregular bounties over and above those which were given by Congress. Moreover, when it was found necessary, on a sudden emergency, to call out the militia, they were tempted

* Washington to the President of Congress, Sept. 24th, 1776.

by extraordinary rewards for a short term of service. The effect was to deter men from enlisting, in the hope of getting more; and the fact that some of the soldiers received higher pay than others, though the Continental rate was uniform, led to many dissensions and heartburnings.* Washington—who, like all reformers, must have earned for himself the title of an incorrigible grumbler—was compelled in a little while to renew his complaints. Congress, satisfied with its own good intentions, had let the matter drop. On the 4th of October, therefore, the Commander-in-Chief reminded the President that there was a material difference between voting battalions and raising men. On the 19th of November, he wrote to his brother:—"All the year I have been pressing Congress to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would insure success; telling them that the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected; and then in such a manner as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be shoe-blacks, from the local attachments of this or that member of the Assembly. I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and I solemnly protest that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do—and after all, perhaps, to lose my character."† On Washington's recommendation, the pay of the troops was increased, and other modifications of the original scheme were introduced. It was also determined to allow some men to enlist for a definite term of three years; but these were not to receive a bounty in land.

Another act of Congress about this time took the form of an attempt to seduce from their service the German legions in the employment of England. Bounties were offered to such foreign troops in British pay as should desert, and enlist under the Republican banners. A colonel was to have one thousand acres of land; a lieutenant, eight hundred; a major, six hundred; a captain, four hundred; a lieutenant, three hundred; an ensign, two hundred; and every non-commissioned soldier, one hundred. To meet the extraordinary expenses of the time, Congress resolved to borrow five million dollars, and pledged the faith of the United States for the payment of principal and interest. The advisability of procuring foreign alliances again engaged the attention of the representative body, and it was determined to appoint three commissioners, or secret envoys, to the court of France. One of these was to be Silas Deane, who had for some time been acting in much the same capacity at Paris; another was Arthur Lee, a Virginian settled in London, and holding a general commission to ascertain the views of foreign countries; the third was Franklin. The last-named accepted the office with some reluctance. He was old and weary, and it was to him a very doubtful matter whether such appointments were expedient. He would have preferred to wait until foreign Powers applied to the young Republic for the privilege of an alliance with her rising fortunes. But this was perhaps somewhat too lofty a view, and at any rate Franklin did not feel himself justified in declining the mission with which he was charged. It had been intended to confer a similar office on Jefferson, but that eminent man was disinclined to accept the post, and Arthur Lee was accordingly appointed in his place. Franklin departed about the beginning of November, and, escaping the English cruisers by which he feared he might be captured, got safely to France, and had reached Paris before the close of the year.

While these matters were being arranged, Congress was also devoting a large part of its attention to the framing of the Articles of Confederation. The debates, of which the earlier portion has already been related, continued for several months, developing a great variety of views; and in the meanwhile the active affairs of the Confederation were carried on by a number of standing committees which the Congress from time to time appointed. But these standing committees fell very much under the direction of the chairman for the time being. It was he who received and answered letters and other applications, who took all necessary steps in Government, who prepared reports and issued orders. The members of the committee, who knew nothing of these things until they were effected, were afterwards expected to ratify them as a matter of form, and equally as a matter of course. The conduct of affairs must have been extremely difficult on many accounts, and especially so by reason of the well-known opposition of a considerable minority in Congress to the cause of independence itself. Joseph Reed, in writing to his wife on the 11th of October, 1776, alludes to this fact, but desires her to keep the knowledge of it to herself. The love of Royalty amongst some Americans, or possibly some settlers in America, survived all feeling of regard for George III.

The Legislatures of the several States were not

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

† Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 184.

idle while Congress was attending, with more or less success, to the general affairs of the Confederation. In pursuance of a resolution of Congress, passed on the 15th of May, they had been remodelling their own constitutions. A good deal of discussion took place in all of them on the question whether or not there should be a second Legislative Chamber; but, in eleven instances out of the thirteen, the point was settled in the affirmative. Only in Pennsylvania and Georgia was it resolved to have but one Chamber. In no great length of time, however, the Pennsylvanians found that their single Chamber did not work well, and were glad to add a second; and the same thing occurred in Georgia. The example of a single Legislative Chamber has certainly not received the sanction of the United States of America, nor has it hitherto been successful where tried. France, in her latest Republican Government, has considered it advisable to include a Senate; and opinion, up to the present time, is for the most part in favour of a divided authority. But it cannot be said that the question is yet settled, or that a dual Legislative body is devoid of dangers and inconveniences peculiar to itself.

With advancing autumn, the duties of Washington were materially increased by the necessity of organising a new army, and of holding conferences with certain commissioners who, at the recommendation of Congress, were despatched to him by the several States, with a view to the appointment of officers. Ultimately, the filling up of vacancies was confided by Congress to Washington solely, the States being negligent and dilatory in the discharge of that duty; but for the present he was obliged to consult with a number of gentlemen often holding contradictory views, and frequently not qualified to hold any views at all. All this was encountered in the face of an army greatly superior to his own, and at a time when the commander of that army was obviously about to renew the offensive. Howe was now maturing his plans for gaining the rear of the American forces, so that he might cut off their communications with the country, or bring on a general action. Having first sent some ships and tenders up the Hudson, where they passed the batteries and other obstructions, thus opening a free passage into the highlands, he embarked his troops, on the 12th of October, in flat-bottomed boats, sloops, and schooners, and, sailing along the East River, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed the same day at Frog's Point, on the mainland of New York. There he stayed five days, apparently kept in check by the destruction of a causeway connecting the Point with the wider country beyond, and by the American defences, which were guarded by detachments from Washington's army, although he himself accounted for his delay by alleging that he was expecting stores, provisions, and three battalions from Staten Island. At length he re-embarked, landed again at Pell's Point, and advanced to the high grounds between East Chester and New Rochelle. Having, a few days later, been reinforced by some German regiments, he found himself in a position for more vigorous operations.

But all this while, Washington had not been unobservant of the enemy's plans, nor regardless of the best means of encountering them. He arranged his army in four divisions, the first of which was commanded by General Lee, who had recently arrived from the Carolinas, and who strongly dissuaded Washington from risking all on a pitched battle. The other divisions were commanded by Generals Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, the last-mentioned of whom was not a Continental officer, but was in command of a body of Massachusetts militia.

It was decided to quit the heights of Haerlem and the island of New York, and to extend the lines of the army into the open country, but at the same time to retain Fort Washington as long as possible. The several divisions having passed the strait at King's Bridge, a line of detached camps, with entrenchments, was formed on the heights stretching along the west side of the river Brunx, from Valentine's Hill to the White Plains. This line—of which the right wing rested on the Brunx where it made a short bend, encompassing the flank and part of the rear—extended a distance of nearly thirteen miles, and was stronger on the flanks than in the centre. After a series of skirmishes, with no important result, the American position was attacked on the 28th of October. The British force was divided into two columns; the left led by Howe, the right by Clinton. The weak point in the enemy's lines was discerned as the army advanced, and, had the English commanders fallen at once on the centre, they would probably have inflicted a crushing defeat. As it was, they preferred concentrating their attack on the flanks, and especially on an eminence called Chatterton's Hill, which was held by four thousand men, very advantageously posted. The hill was taken; but, in the execution of this movement, the left and right wings of the English army became widely separated, and the American centre was saved from attack. The general result of the action was favourable to the Royal troops, but not so decidedly favourable as it might have been under a better arrangement.



GENERAL C. LEE.

No pursuit was undertaken, for Howe feared lest any division which he might detach for that purpose should be cut off by venturing too far from the main body. The British now stood on both sides of the Brunx, and they slept that night on the ground they had won. So far, Howe had the advantage; yet Washington, by extricating himself from New York island, where he would doubtless have been completely hemmed in, and compelled to surrender with his whole army, had placed his forces in a much better position. He had the broad continent before him, and could act in many directions, according as it might seem advisable. Although he had still to encounter many difficulties, and to suffer many defeats, he had contrived to rescue himself from immediate danger, and had opened a boundless chapter of possibilities, of which, it will be seen by the further progress of this narrative, the fullest advantage was taken by his active intellect and daring spirit.



LORD CORNWALLIS.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Military Character of General Howe—Opportunities Missed—Washington takes up a New Position—Retirement of the British Army towards the Line of the Hudson—Fort Washington Threatened—Withdrawal of the American Vanguard to the Western side of the Hudson—Capture of Fort Washington by the British—Abandonment of Fort Lee by the Americans—Rapid Retreat of Washington through the Jerseys—He crosses the Delaware, and enters Pennsylvania—The People of New Jersey and Pennsylvania inclined to Support the Royal Cause—Dilatory Conduct of Lee—Capture of that General by Colonel Harcourt—Washington's Scanty Reinforcements—Moments of Dejection—Rhode Island Taken by Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker—Issue of a Proclamation promising Pardon—Its Effects—Removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore—The Darkest Hour of American Independence—Meeting of the British Parliament—References to America in the King's Speech—Tactics of the Opposition—Opinions of Lord Chatham—Incendiary Fires in England, caused by an American Sympathiser—The Story of John the Painter.

If it were desirable that England should vanquish her insurgent colonies, it was certainly unfortunate that the conduct of military affairs was not in more competent hands. General Howe (who had recently been knighted) was a man of unimpeachable courage as far as concerned the risking of his own life; he was also well instructed in the science of his profession; but he seems to have been afflicted by moral timidity as to the possible consequences of his actions. Had he possessed the audacity of Wolfe, it is not improbable that he would have crushed the rebellion in its infancy. While still at Boston, he let slip many opportunities for striking effective blows. The condition of Washington's army during the winter was such that it could not have withstood a sudden and spirited attack; yet

Howe did nothing but defend his own lines, and kept so bad a watch on the enemy that he allowed his opponent to seize on Dorchester Heights, and thus render untenable his position in the capital of Massachusetts. After his success on Long Island, he refrained from assaulting the American camp while the troops were disheartened and almost panic-struck; when the insurgent forces were evacuating that territory, he failed to discover the movement until too late; and when they were retreating from New York, he omitted to cut off the rear of their army by throwing his own across the narrow island on which that city stands. For similar reasons he now forbore from following up his superiority in the encounter at Chatterton's Hill. On the following morning (the 29th of October), he contemplated an assault on the American lines, but speedily relinquished the idea, because of the apparent strength of the works. They were in fact extremely weak. Being intended principally for defence against small arms, they had been hastily constructed of corn-stalks, supported by the lumps of earth adhering to the roots. It is true that Howe was not aware of this fact; but a more enterprising officer would probably have divined that entrenchments so quickly thrown up could hardly be impregnable, and would have risked something on a rapid attack.

The plans of Howe were constantly being thwarted, in whole or in part, by the greater activity of Washington. While the former was thinking how he could best break up the enemy's lines, and was awaiting a reinforcement from Earl Percy, who was then at Haerlem, the latter was making active preparations for the removal of his army further into the country. Howe got his reinforcement in a couple of days; but he was then prevented by weather from leading his troops to the assault, and, on the night of the 31st of October, Washington withdrew behind the river Croton to the hills in his rear, which he had had time to fortify strongly. Again was the English commander baffled: the movement had been so skilfully and quietly performed that he knew nothing about it until, on the following morning, it was discovered that the Americans had vanished from the ground which they had held the day before. It appeared to Howe perfectly hopeless to attempt to dislodge his adversary from so formidable a position, and on the 5th of November he directed his troops towards Kings Bridge and the line of the Hudson, leaving Washington in great perplexity as to what he would next do. Fearing that a false movement was being executed, in order to entice the insurgent forces from the hilly country, the American General remained in his new camp for a few days; but when it became apparent that this was not the case, and that a real advance was being made in the direction of Fort Washington, it became necessary to concert measures for meeting a danger which might have serious consequences.

Fort Washington stood on the western side of New York island, near the river Hudson, and about twelve miles north of the city of New York. The garrison left in this fort, when Washington withdrew from his lines on Haerlem Heights, amounted to two thousand men; and the American commander afterwards acknowledged that it was a grave strategical error to isolate that division of the army, and abandon it to the very probable chance of being captured. The fault was his, only to the extent that he yielded his judgment in the matter to that of others, especially of General Greene, who had commanded at the station for several weeks, and was supposed to be better informed as to the condition of the fort than any one else; but the error was attended by very unfortunate results. It appears to have been thought that the retention of the post would protect New Jersey from an invasion by the British; in truth, it simply invited attack. Lee had urged its abandonment, together with the fort called after himself; but he was overruled, and Greene threw in reinforcements. Washington, apprehending what would now ensue, ordered all the troops belonging to the States west of the Hudson—five thousand in number—to cross the river at Kings Ferry, and separated the rest of his army, consisting of New York and New England troops, into two divisions, one of which, under General Heath, was stationed on both sides of the stream, to defend the passes of the highlands, while the other (which included numerous militiamen, whose times of service were soon to expire) was left in the camp near White Plains under the orders of General Lee, who was, according to his discretion, either to remain where he then stood, or to cross over to New Jersey. Washington himself left for Hackensack, on the western side of the Hudson, where his troops destined for service in that direction had assembled, after a circuitous march of more than sixty miles.* At the same time, Howe moved his forces to the neighbourhood of Kings Bridge, and thence transported them in flat-bottomed boats to the island of New York; upon which the Americans retired from Fort Independence, destroyed the bridge over the river Haerlem, and withdrew to the lines near Fort Washington. But the position was doomed, and it speedily fell into the hands of the English. The

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

fort was assailed on the 16th of November from four sides, on two of which the attacking troops were obliged to climb a steep and rugged ascent to the walls. The garrison had on the previous day been summoned to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword if they refused; but the commandant, Colonel Magaw, replied that he would defend himself to the last extremity. A combat of from four to five hours' duration resulted in the defenders being driven from the outer lines, and compelled to take refuge in the fort itself. Magaw was by profession a lawyer, and knew little or nothing of the art of war. He probably thought that he had by this time done enough to vindicate his defiance of the day before. At any rate, he surrendered, together with two thousand eight hundred men who formed the garrison. Washington, who was near enough to the attack to view several parts of it, cried like a child at seeing so many of his soldiers bayonetted. During the progress of the assault, he wrote to Colonel Magaw that, if he could hold out till night, the garrison should be withdrawn. But Magaw had done his utmost, and Fort Washington passed into English hands.

On this occasion, Howe acted with more vigour and promptitude than he generally displayed, and his success was speedily followed up. He resolved to attack Fort Lee, on the New Jersey side of the river, nearly opposite Fort Washington. This second fort was situated on a slip of land, ten miles long, lying between the Hudson and the Hackensack. It was therefore not difficult of approach, and Howe detached six thousand men, under Cornwallis, to operate against it. They landed in New Jersey, some six or seven miles above Fort Lee, gained the high grounds, and, marching between the two streams, approached the object of their solicitude on the 18th of November. Greene, who commanded at the fort, did not venture to abide the shock. Having gained information of the movement, he evacuated his stronghold, and, by a rapid march, escaped with the main body of the garrison. Some stragglers, however, were left behind, together with the heavy artillery and baggage, which fell into the hands of the British. Washington now dreaded an advance on Philadelphia, the seat of the Congressional Government. He and his army were in a level country between the rivers Hackensack and Passaic, where defence would have been difficult, and escape still more so. It was imperatively necessary that he should move farther off, and he withdrew in a southwesterly direction towards the Delaware, that he might protect the capital of Pennsylvania. Closely pursued by Cornwallis, and occasionally making a brief attempt to establish himself in positions which seemed for awhile to offer a chance of defence, he fell back from town to town, and ultimately reached Trenton, where he crossed the Delaware, taking up a favourable post on the western or Pennsylvanian shore. Of men fit for duty, he had now no more than three thousand, and his situation was so desperate that, while on the march, he had written earnest letters to the Governor of New Jersey and to Congress, soliciting reinforcements. Cornwallis was probably unaware of his adversary's extreme weakness, for he made no attempt to cross the river, but, in order to secure the possession of New Jersey, formed a chain of cantonments at Pennington, Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington.

Congress did not well know what to do in answer to Washington's appeal for help. The Board of War put forward a plan for enlisting prisoners; but Washington conceived that such a measure would not be consistent with honourable warfare. It is asserted that the English commander was less scrupulous in this matter, and that he actually sought to recruit his ranks with the offscourings of gaols. He had certainly endeavoured to win over a number of Americans to his standards, but with little success. Whenever Ministers at home found themselves unable to send out as many troops as they had promised, and as were really necessary, they instructed their Generals to make up the deficiency with native levies. But the plan bore scanty fruit, and both Howe and Clinton frequently remonstrated, though to no effect, against placing any dependence on such a source of supply. To the discerning mind of Washington, it seemed a very impolitic thing, not to speak of its dishonourable character, to employ released criminals in the defence of their country, for such men, with a few exceptions, could never be relied on for continuous service, but would at all times be apt to desert, and carry intelligence to the enemy. It is evident that at this period no inconsiderable part of the American population was disinclined to risk life or limb in the ranks of either army, and more disposed to give a safe support to the Royal than to the popular side—possibly for no better reason, in many instances, than that the former appeared for the moment to be winning. An American historian, not wanting in a patriotic devotion to his country's cause,* has related that, as the retreating Americans marched through New Jersey, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined

* Dr. Ramsay: History of the American Revolution. See also Dr. Gordon's History—a work partly written in America, though not by an American.

them, while numbers every day flocked to the Royal army, to make their peace and obtain protection. This was done not merely by the poor and humble, but also, according to the same authority, by some of the leading men of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The defection was particularly observable among those who had been most loud in their defiance of the parent State as long as the perils of rebellion were seen only in the distance.

Together with the three thousand effectives under the immediate command of Washington, Lee, as we have seen, had four thousand men in the camp near White Plains. The Commander-in-Chief wrote to his subordinate from Hackensack, directing him to lead his division into New Jersey, and join the army on its march. The order was afterwards repeated several times in the most positive terms; but Lee hesitated about obeying it, and at length did so with reluctance and tardiness. In pursuance, apparently, of some designs of his own, pointing to an attack on the rear of the British pursuing forces, he progressed very slowly, and at length, owing to a want of proper caution, fell into captivity. With only a small guard, and at some distance from his troops, he was staying one evening at a private house not far from Baskengridge, when his presence there became known to one of the loyally-disposed inhabitants of the place. This person gave information to Colonel Harcourt, who, with a detachment of light horse, had been sent to observe the movements of that division of the American army. Early on the following morning, the house was surrounded by a small party of dragoons under the command of Harcourt himself, and Lee was carried prisoner to New York. He was at the moment busy writing letters of complaint as to the military conduct of Washington, little thinking that his own lack of judgment was on the eve of being so signally illustrated. On both sides, Lee had been regarded as the mainstay of the rebellion. Congress placed great reliance on him, and the English looked upon his capture as a success of the highest importance. Washington, in relating the event to his brother, spoke of it as a misfortune, and said that the dragoons bore away their captive "with every mark of triumph and indignity." This may have been an exaggeration; but it is true that for some time Lee was closely confined, not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the English army.

The command of Lee's division now devolved on Sullivan, who marched with it as rapidly as he could towards the place of junction with Washington. The Commander-in-Chief was also reinforced by four regiments under General Gates, who had been released from guarding Ticonderoga by the retreat of General Carleton into winter quarters in Canada. Some other reinforcements had previously reached him, but not to any considerable amount, and his older troops left with scarcely an exception when the term of their service had expired, though they were often entreated to stay a few months longer. When Washington was retreating through New Jersey, he appealed to the people to furnish him with fresh recruits; but very few came forward. It was a period of great depression, and Washington himself could not always resist a feeling of dejection. Such moods, however, were with him but momentary. His singular cheerfulness, fortitude, and self-reliance were abiding influences, which nothing could permanently destroy. One day he said to his Adjutant-General, Joseph Reed, "If we should retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, would the Pennsylvanians support us?" Reed answered, "If the lower counties are subdued and give up, the back counties will do the same." Washington passed his hand over his throat, and remarked, "My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter. We must retire to Augusta county in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety; and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains."* Such were the brightest prospects which at that time Washington could hold out, even to himself.

On gaining the western side of the river Delaware, the American commander had about five thousand men at his disposal—an ill-provided army, dispirited by defeat. Cornwallis, on the eastern shores of the same stream, was at the head of twenty-seven thousand men, well-disciplined, well-provided, and animated by the confidence of success. No fewer than four thousand four hundred and thirty prisoners had fallen into the hands of the English, including several officers; and of munitions of war a very large quantity had been carried off from the insurgents. To make matters still worse for the Americans, General Clinton, acting in conjunction with a squadron of men-of-war under Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Rhode Island, without opposition or loss (for the troops there retired in time to save themselves), on the very day that Washington crossed the Delaware; and at the same time the British fleet blocked up Commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers, at Providence. Writing to his brother

* Gordon's History, Vol. II.

on the 18th of December, Washington remarked that, if every nerve were not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, he thought the game was nearly up. This he attributed to the insidious arts of the enemy, to the disaffection of certain colonies, to the ruinous policy of short enlistments (which, however, had by this time been abandoned), and to placing too great a dependence on the militia. Under all these circumstances, the English commander ought to have been inspirited to pursue a more vigorous course, and to finish, by a series of well-directed blows, what had thus far progressed so well. But the characteristic caution or slowness of Sir William Howe again held him in check, and, although he now formed a design of passing into Pennsylvania, he resolved to wait until the Delaware should be frozen over, instead of procuring boats, and attacking the enemy with the greatest rapidity possible. The immediate command in the Jerseys was in the hands of Lord Cornwallis. Howe himself remained at New York, where for some time his action had a political rather than a military character.

On the 30th of November, the Howes, in their capacity as peace-makers, had issued a Proclamation promising pardon to those who should return to their allegiance within sixty days, and subscribe a suitable declaration. "Numbers," writes Dr. Gordon, "who had been Provincial Congress-men, committee-men, justices, and the like, though out of the way of immediate danger, ran to take the advantage of the Proclamation. Many of the Whigs shifted about. Only a few of fortune stood firm to the cause. It was the middle rank of the people, in general, that remained steadfast in this day of trial." To most persons it must have appeared that the sun of American independence had hopelessly sunk before it was fairly above the horizon; and Congress, though it did not entirely lose heart, considered it prudent to move farther from the enemy. The Federal Assembly, therefore, quitted Philadelphia on the 12th of December, and retired to Baltimore. General Putnam took command of the militia in Philadelphia, and was instructed to throw up a line of entrenchments and redoubts from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and to prepare for an obstinate defence. The very darkest hour of the American cause was then resting heavily on the land; and men not naturally inclined to despondency must have had their secret, if not their avowed, misgivings as to the policy of a quarrel which appeared to have been pushed to extremities without sufficient preparation.

We must here turn aside from the course of events in America, to note the progress of opinion in England, and to chronicle the action of the English Government and Parliament with respect to the development of the revolution in the thirteen colonies. Parliament assembled on the 31st of October, and the Royal Speech necessarily had very considerable reference to the civil war then proceeding on the other side of the Atlantic. The King congratulated himself on one great advantage which he said would ensue from the object of the rebels being openly avowed and clearly understood. There would be unanimity at home, founded on a general conviction of the justice and necessity of the Ministerial measures. He concluded by saying:—"In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted in the provinces. The improvements in every art of which they boast declare it; their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore them to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

The King's assurance that the rebellious attitude of the colonists would lead to unanimity at home, was not entirely justified by the event. In the House of Commons, Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment to the Address, the object of which was to throw on Government the blame of what was occurring in America. The amendment was seconded by the Marquis of Granby, and gave rise to an embittered debate, in which the leading members of the Opposition insisted that the revolt had been provoked by the injustice of England, by the endeavours of successive Ministers to subvert the liberties of the colonists, by a long accumulation of neglect, insult, and injury, by blunders innumerable, and by two years of a savage, piratical, and unjust war, carried on against them by the English people. It was, indeed, admitted by some who supported these general views that the Americans were to blame for having too precipitately resorted to violent measures; but it was added that they had doubtless felt themselves justified in declaring their own sovereignty, and it would therefore become the House to express its respect for the spirit and the principles which had dictated such a course. Among the speakers on this side were Wilkes, Barré, and Fox; and the oratory of the

last-named has been described by Horace Walpole, and by Gibbon the historian, as magnificent. The defence of the King's Speech and the Address rested chiefly with Lord North and Lord George Germaine. The Premier denied the charge that had been brought against him of having withheld information; and the Colonial Secretary argued that England had been anxious for reconciliation on mild and fair terms, but that those terms had been rejected with scorn by the American leaders. It was clear, he said, from the reports of the Americans themselves, that, on the occasion of the conference on Staten Island, Lord Howe was as eager for the restoration of peace as Franklin and his coadjutors were for the continuance of hostilities. Replying to some who had contended that the pacific declarations of foreign Powers, and especially of France, could not be relied on as sincere, Lord George Germaine said that if they proved false—if those Powers should incur the folly and guilt of assisting a rebellion—Great Britain was prepared to meet them in the field. The questions at issue were fairly debated on both sides, and, on a division, the amendment was negatived by 242 votes against 87. A corresponding amendment in the House of Lords drew from the Earl of Shelburne a speech of extreme acrimony in denunciation of the Government; but the attempt was defeated by 91 against 26. Fourteen peers caused this amendment to be entered on the journals of the House, at full length, as a protest signed by themselves.

Equally unsuccessful was a proposal, made by Lord John Cavendish on the 16th of November, that, in conformity with the tenor of the Proclamation issued in America by Lord Howe and his brother, the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee for revising the Acts by which the colonists felt themselves aggrieved. The motion was seconded by Burke, but resisted by Ministers on the ground that the inquiry into grievances had been proffered only to those who should return to their duty, and that consequently a disavowal of independence, and an acknowledgment of British supremacy, were requisite before any measures of reconciliation could be adopted by the parent country. A majority of 109 against 47 disposed of this motion, and the Opposition now felt so utterly disconcerted that several of its members, especially those of the Rockingham party, withdrew from the business of Parliament, declaring that it was impossible to save a people against its will, and that it was a waste of time to discuss the Ministerial measures. Without any formal secession, these members appeared in their places only when private Bills, in which they had some personal interest, were being discussed. It has been properly remarked that this was a strange way of exhibiting patriotism; but patriotism is not without its aberrations. To many of the Opposition such conduct appeared highly reprehensible, and they endeavoured to bring forward Lord Chatham once more as the champion of America in the British Parliament. But the great orator of former days was now incapable of mental exertion; and all that could be extracted from him was a statement that his views on American affairs had undergone no change, and that he feared an invasion of England by the French as a consequence of the policy then being pursued. It is clear that the general feeling of the country was against the views of the Opposition, and this fact strengthened the hands of Ministers in Parliament. Whatever they asked for, they obtained. The supplies for the year were voted on a liberal scale, and some new contracts with German princes, for fresh bodies of troops to serve in America, were sanctioned. Lord North had no reason to complain of the Parliament which he led.

While the two Houses were in recess for the Christmas holidays, the country was greatly agitated by a number of incendiary fires, which pointed to the existence of a conspiracy for the destruction of the shipping and arsenals. Although a similar design had been conceived in 1764 by the French Minister, Choiseul, and had come to the knowledge of the English Government, proper precautions for the guarding of the arsenals and dockyards were not taken, and on the 7th of December a fire broke out at Portsmouth, which threatened the total destruction of the national property there. It was at first supposed to be a mischance, but, on the 15th of the following January (1777), a clerk in the dockyard, in moving some hemp in the hemp-room, discovered an explosive machine and various combustible materials. Some of the authorities then recollected that a sullen, silent man, an artisan, had been seen loitering about the yard on the day of the fire, and had been accidentally locked one night into the rope-house. His exact name was not known, but, from his calling in life, he was generally spoken of as John the Painter. A reward was offered for his capture; but he had disappeared, and could not be found, in spite of a diligent search, either in Portsmouth or the neighbourhood. The suspicion against him was strengthened by the fact that he had recently come from America; and a panic spread through the country, where it was said that a band of American incendiaries had arrived, with instructions to spread fire



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE. (*From the Painting by Leutze.*)

and havoc in every direction. Subsequent events gave colour to this apprehension. Incendiary fires were attempted at Plymouth and at Bristol; and in the latter city the miscreant, having failed to set fire to some vessels, contrived to burn down several warehouses which stood upon the quay, close to a crowded mass of shipping. In a house of the same city, combustibles were found stored, and the feeling of alarm was naturally increased in no slight degree.

At the beginning of February, a man was apprehended at Odiham, in Hampshire, on a charge of burglary. He was a Scotchman, named Aitken, twenty-four years of age—a wandering, unsettled person, who had at various times borne several *aliases*, and who now turned out to be John the Painter. Three years previously, he had been to seek his fortune in America. and had there adopted the most extreme views of the party of independence. On returning to Great Britain, he had committed various acts of theft and was at length in custody on suspicion of housebreaking. It was found a very difficult matter, however, to fix on him any connection with the recent acts of incendiarism, for he showed great cleverness in parrying such questions as were asked. On the suggestion of Earl Temple, another painter, named Baldwin, who had also travelled in America, was put into the same cell with Aitken. By professing sympathy with his views, he managed to win his confidence; and John the Painter speedily divulged a great deal which, if true, it was very important that the Government should know. The fellow's statements were that he had enlisted in several regiments, and deserted from them as soon as he had received the bounty-money; that he had travelled through pretty nearly the whole of England, supporting himself by many depredations; that while in America he had conceived the idea of advancing the cause of liberty by burning the shipping and the principal trading cities of England; that he had then gone to France, where he had had several interviews with Silas Deane, the American agent at Paris; that Deane had encouraged his project by giving him money, and promising him further rewards when he had accomplished his task; and that he had then come to England, and made the attempts at Portsmouth and other places. Early in March he was tried at Winchester. The evidence of Baldwin being confirmed by other witnesses, the accused was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place on the 10th of March, on a gallows sixty feet high, in front of the dockyard at Portsmouth, after the prisoner had first been carried in an open cart round the ruins of the building he had destroyed. He had already made a full confession, re-affirming what he had told Baldwin about Silas Deane, and adding that, on Deane's suggestion, he had called on an American resident in London, Dr. Bancroft, who expressed himself adverse to the scheme, but, by implication, promised not to inform against him. That any of the really great Americans of that day, or that the members of Congress, were concerned in this plot, is most unlikely; but the revelations of John the Painter increased, by a natural, though not very reasonable, process, the general repugnance felt by Englishmen to the cause which that scoundrel, for a promised reward, endeavoured to promote by fire and ravage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Disastrous State of the American Fortunes at Christmas, 1776—Washington's Plan for Re-crossing the Delaware—Dictatorial Powers conferred on the Commander-in-Chief—Positions of the Hessian Contingents—Arrangements of Washington for attacking them—The Evening of Christmas Day—The Attack on Trenton—Defeat of the Hessians—Inability of some of Washington's Divisions to join in the Attack—The British and Hessians fall back from the Line of the Delaware—Effects of the American Success—Advance of Lord Cornwallis towards Trenton—Renewed Fighting—Determination of Washington to get to the Rear of the Enemy—Surprise of three British Regiments at Princeton—Cornwallis compelled to Abandon his Position—Retreat of Washington towards Kingston—His Head-quarters for the Winter fixed at Morristown—New Jersey recovered by the Americans—Issue of a Proclamation by the American Commander-in-Chief—Interchange of Prisoners—The Case of General Lee—Treatment of Colonel Campbell and of other Captives—Howe and Washington—Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords on the Satisfaction of American Grievances.

The tide was at its very lowest, as regards the fortunes of the American revolution, as the Christmas of 1776 approached. Even the genius of Washington, despite all the vigilance, activity, and skill of that remarkable man, had been able to accomplish little. The Americans had been driven from New York, had been chased through New Jersey, had been forced to take refuge in Pennsylvania,

had relinquished Rhode Island, had been deprived of their forts, had been defeated upon several occasions, and had lost a large number of men and much material of war. Congress had been compelled to move further to the south west; and Lee, on whom reliance had been placed, as a man instructed in military science, a veteran, and a renowned hero, was in the hands of the enemy. What was worse than all, was the poor quality of the National army, the insubordination and want of spirit, the readiness to desert the service, the unpatriotic reluctance of the masses to come forward, and risk their lives in the defence of American Independence. The wavereers were going over to the Royal standard in multitudes, and it was a question whether in a little while the American Commander-in-Chief would have any forces to command. All things conspired to produce the utmost depression and misgiving. The tide indeed was low.

Nevertheless, Washington did not despair. By the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, he felt relieved from the responsibility of protecting the deliberations of that body, and therefore more free to act in any direction that seemed to afford him the best chances of successful results. His plans finally took the shape of a re-passage of the Delaware, with a view to surprising some portion of the King's troops. It is said that Benedict Arnold first suggested this idea to Washington. Colonel Reed also conceived the possibility of some such enterprise, and, in a letter of the 22nd of December, asked his principal if it were not feasible. To Washington, however, is due the credit of working out the details of this daring scheme. Its execution was favoured by the bad arrangements of the enemy. Two of the most important positions in New Jersey—Trenton and Bordentown—were occupied by bodies of Hessians, under Colonel Rahl and Count Donop. These troops, being unacquainted with the English language, were not very likely to obtain intelligence of the movements of the American army; and, as if to add to the weakness thus created, the posts that were the most liable to attack were left with a small number of men to guard them, and without any fortifications or entrenchments. Trenton was more particularly exposed; and on Trenton, therefore, Washington determined to concentrate his attack.

It was a desperate enterprise, and the American commander well knew its risks. On the 23rd of December he wrote to the Adjutant-General, informing him of his intention, but begging him to keep the fact to himself, as its discovery might prove fatal. "Our numbers," said Washington, "are less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity, will—nay, must—justify my attack." There was shortly, however, to be some prospect of an improvement in the army. In answer to renewed remonstrances as to the worthlessness of the militia, Congress, on December 27th, conferred on Washington power to raise sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to the eighty eight already voted by the Federal Assembly; to appoint the officers; to raise and equip three thousand Light Horse, three regiments of Artillery, and a corps of Engineers; to call upon any of the States for such aids of militia as he should judge necessary; to form magazines of provisions; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadiers; to fill up vacancies in every part of the army; to take whatever he should want for the use of his soldiers, allowing the people a reasonable price for their commodities; and to arrest and confine persons who refused to receive the Continental currency, or who were otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and report them for trial to the States of which they were citizens.* These powers—which virtually created a military Dictatorship, somewhat resembling those of the old Roman Republic in times of danger—were to continue for six months only, and they were conferred, as it was expressly stated in the preamble to the resolve, on account of the perfect reliance felt by Congress on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of their General.

While the arrangements thus cast upon him by Congress were still in progress, Washington determined on his great attempt of re-crossing the Delaware. The Royal force at Trenton consisted of three regiments of Hessians, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British Light Horse. At Bordentown, further down the river, was a second detachment of Hessians; and the other divisions of the invading army were quartered about the country from the Hackensack to the Delaware. With the quick reasoning of military genius, Washington discerned his opportunity. "Now," he exclaimed, "now is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread!" The plan of attack included a movement against the detachments stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly, which were to be surprised by General Cadwallader, advancing across the river from Bristol; while Washington, at the head of the main body, should cross above Trenton, and fall on the Hessians under Rahl. Having completed his dispositions, the Commander-in-Chief fixed upon the night of Christmas Day for com-

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

mencing operations, conceiving that the Germans would be sleeping soundly after a carouse, and therefore not in the best condition for resisting their assailants.

As the early darkness was closing in on that memorable 25th of December, two thousand four hundred of the Continental troops, with twenty pieces of artillery, began to cross the Delaware at a ferry nine miles above Trenton. The stream was choked with floating ice, and the passage was in this way rendered so difficult that it was almost four o'clock on the following morning before the whole body under Washington had reached the opposite shore. The men were then formed into two divisions, one commanded by Sullivan, the other by Greene. The former marched along the path nearest to the river; the latter followed the upper road, farther to the left, which led to Pennington. Colonel Rahl had had some reason to suppose that an attack on his position was meditated. Captain Washington (a relative of the great man) had for some days been on a scouting party in New Jersey, with about fifty foot-soldiers, and on Christmas Day had exchanged a few shots with the advanced sentinels at Trenton. The circumstance was a very fortunate one for the Americans, as the Hessians imagined this to be the threatened attack, and, conceiving the danger to be over, relaxed their vigilance. The captain, on his retreat, met the forces on the upper road, and joined them. It was feared that the alarm caused by this slight collision might have put the Hessians on their guard, instead of lulling their suspicions, as afterwards proved to be the case; but, as it would now have been very imprudent to withdraw, the march continued. It was a march of the most trying character. Snow and sleet drove mercilessly against the advancing columns; the road was slippery and toilsome with ice; and the cold was terrible. Yet the two divisions struggled manfully on.

The distance to Trenton by both roads was about equal; and the two divisions came in sight of the town, as it was intended they should, at the same time. It was eight o'clock in the morning, however, before they got there, approaching at different points. Washington had been so far frustrated in his original design, that, instead of attacking in the dead of the night, he was obliged to do so in broad daylight. But the Hessians were surprised none the less, and made no very prolonged resistance. Their outposts, startled by a sudden and simultaneous fire opening upon them from opposite quarters, fell back into the town, and presently the main body formed. Two or three pieces of artillery were brought up, and soon taken by the assailants. Colonel Rahl did the utmost to rally his men; but early in the engagement he received a mortal wound, and his soldiers, dismayed by the American cannon, which did terrible execution, became discouraged. A thousand of them, after endeavouring to retreat towards Princeton, and being intercepted by a detachment sent for that purpose, threw down their arms, and made submission; the rest, including the Light Horse, had at an early period fled by the bridge over the Assanpink, and escaped to Bordentown. Six brass field-pieces and a thousand stand of arms remained in the hands of the conquerors. Nearly thirty of the Hessian privates, and six officers (exclusive of Rahl) were killed, while the Americans lost only four men, of whom two were frozen to death by the intense cold.

Some portions of the design were not so fortunate. A small party of militia, under Colonel Griffin, who were to pass the Delaware near Philadelphia, and to advance to Mount Holly, met with a check. Count Donop marched from Bordentown against these troops, and, having forced them to withdraw, returned to his post. Below Trenton, the river was so completely frozen over that the troops under Cadwallader, and another detachment under General Ewing, who was to co-operate with Washington, were unable to get across at the preconcerted times. Cadwallader, indeed, managed to land a battalion of infantry; but the artillery could not be dragged over the heaped-up masses of ice on the margin of the stream, and the men therefore returned. Ewing was altogether unsuccessful; and the failure of these two officers prevented the completion of Washington's plan, and facilitated the escape of those who had fled from the town. It also rendered advisable the speedy return of the victors to their own side of the Delaware. Some of the officers were disposed to follow up their blow by a further advance; but the Commander-in-Chief, though personally well-inclined to such a course, considered that it would be risking too much, as his men were exhausted with their fatigues, and the enemy was in force at Princeton and New Brunswick. Accordingly, on the evening of the 26th, he re-passed the Delaware, carrying with him his prisoners, and their arms, colours, and artillery. The British and Hessian troops posted at Bordentown and its neighbourhood, under the command of Count Donop, retreated to Princeton, thus breaking up the line of cantonments along the Delaware. Donop, in fact, was panic-struck at the blow which had fallen on Rahl's division, and sought safety by concen-

trating his forces, and removing farther from the river which had proved such an imperfect protection.

As soon as it came to the knowledge of Washington that his adversaries were falling back along the whole of their line, he once more crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and took up his quarters at Trenton, that he might be ready for further action. Cadwallader and the Adjutant-General at the same time succeeded in crossing from Bristol, at the head of one thousand eight hundred Pennsylvanian militia, who, with an equal number under General Mifflin, formed a junction with the main army. The position of the Americans had vastly improved since the morning of Christmas Day, and they began to recover heart when they saw the Hessian troops paraded through the streets of Philadelphia. The loyalists had at first denied the reality of the asserted triumph over the German troops, who had up to that time enjoyed an exaggerated reputation for prowess; but here they were visibly in captivity. The peace-party were discouraged, and the Quakers, who had thrown all their influence on the side of the Crown, found they could do nothing against the rising spirit of the nation. The people of New Jersey were also excited to martial enthusiasm, partly by the victory achieved on their soil, and partly by exasperation against the Royal troops, especially the Hessians, who had behaved with insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, during their time of predominance.* But the old trouble about the army had again to be encountered. In several regiments the term of service expired with the last day of the year, and the men were so worn with their exertions and hardships that they threatened to go off the very moment they were free. Many of them, however, were persuaded, by a bounty of ten dollars each, to remain six weeks longer; and this gave time for the creation of fresh regiments.

Sir William Howe was still at New York when intelligence arrived of Washington's brilliant performance on the Delaware. Cornwallis was on the point of departing for Europe, but Howe requested him to remain, and resume his command in New Jersey. He at once proceeded to Princeton, massing the scattered forces that had lately been dispersed; additional troops from Brunswick followed him; and on the morning of the 2nd of January, 1777, the Royal army advanced towards Trenton. At their approach Washington retired, and posted himself on some high ground behind the Assanpink rivulet, where, under cover of artillery, he awaited attack. After some cannonading on both sides, Lord Cornwallis suspended his operations, and encamped his troops near the rivulet, apparently with the intention of renewing the battle on the following morning. The Americans bivouacked on the ground they had assumed after retiring from their first position, and Washington turned his fertile mind towards the elaboration of some scheme by which he might evade, rather than encounter, the embattled hosts before him. He feared to risk a general action when the light should have returned; he knew that his enemy was superior to him in numbers and in discipline; and he more than questioned whether some of his men could be trusted to abide the shock. When, therefore, he met his officers in council early in the evening, he observed that, from the number of hostile troops then in front of them, it was reasonable to suppose that Cornwallis could not have left many in the rear. He accordingly proposed to move, by a secret night-march, to Princeton,—thence, if no insuperable difficulties presented themselves, to push on to New Brunswick,—and in this way to surprise the rear-guard, and capture their stores before the English General could come up. The plan was approved, and steps were immediately taken for putting it into execution. To secure his own baggage, Washington caused it to be removed to Burlington, and at midnight the march began. Every precaution was taken to mask the removal of the troops, and to deceive the enemy as to what was intended. Men were employed throughout the night digging an entrenchment close to the English sentries; the bivouac-fires were kept burning; and a certain number of guards were ordered to remain at the bridge and the fords until the approach of daylight, when they were to follow their comrades.

By a circuitous route, which was rendered comparatively easy by the hard condition of the frozen roads, Washington reached Princeton a little after sunrise on the morning of the 3rd. He found there three British regiments commanded by Colonel Mawhood, two of which were on their march to reinforce Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. A sharp and spirited encounter ensued. The Americans were at first thrown into some confusion by the vigorous resistance they encountered; but, by great personal exertions, in which his own life was almost recklessly exposed, Washington rallied his men, and in the end was rewarded by a partial

* Several statements were made at the time as to acts of horrible atrocity committed by the British and German soldiers. Relations of this kind are sometimes exaggerated, and sometimes wholly false; but it is to be feared that the conduct of troops in a conquered country is generally marked by much that is a disgrace to human nature.

success. One of the regiments desperately fought its way through the American ranks, and gained the road to Trenton; the other two retreated by different roads to New Brunswick. So much heroism was displayed by the British troops that one of the American officers exclaimed, "When will our men fight like those fellows?" The loss was serious on both sides; but the advantage gained by the insurgents was worth the price paid for it.

Cornwallis, perceiving the disappearance of the Americans when morning dawned, and divining the direction in which they had moved by the reports of artillery which soon reached his ears, felt apprehensive that the stores he had left at New Brunswick might fall into the hands of the enemy. He consequently retreated without loss of time, and moved towards Princeton with so much celerity that the rear of the American army had scarcely left that place when the van of the English forces appeared in sight. It was the desire of Washington to make a forced march on New Brunswick, and he did in fact pursue the regiments which he had broken up in the morning a considerable distance along the road; but the soldiers, who had been without rest, and very scantily supplied with food, for thirty-six hours, and of whom many were insufficiently clad, and barefooted, were so utterly worn out that the design could not be completed. After a brief pause for rest and refreshment, the American General advanced to Morristown, where he established his winter quarters. The pursuit by the British had ceased at Kingston, on the other side of the Millstone river, where the Americans broke down the bridge; and for the present Washington felt safe. His situation at Morristown was in some respects a very good one. The place was situated in a mountainous country, and was therefore protected by Nature herself from the advance of an enemy; yet it had a fertile country at its back, so that the army could be well supplied. It was destined to be the starting-point of a new campaign.



FALLS OF THE PASSAIC.

The first great result of Washington's march to Princeton, in the rear of the enemy's position, was that Cornwallis was obliged to relinquish his posts on the Delaware. But that was not all. From his vantage-ground at Morristown, the American Commander-in-Chief sent out detachments to harass the Royal troops. Giving them no rest, but repeating his blows with the greatest

rapidity in various directions, he compelled his opponent to abandon one post after another, and to withdraw towards the comparatively loyal province of New York. East and West Jersey were equally overrun by the Americans, who, in a little while, made themselves masters of the coast opposite Staten Island. As the winter progressed, not a British or Hessian regiment remained in the province, except imperfectly organised. Still, the gain had been neither slight nor fugitive. The tide was not yet at its highest, but it had begun to turn.

In the course of the winter, Washington issued a counter-proclamation to that of Sir William Howe. Some of the New Jersey people having hesitated about entering the militia, owing to the oath of allegiance to the King which they had taken, the



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

at New Brunswick and Amboy; and the frequent surprise and cutting-off of advanced guards created a wide alarm. For six months, however, nothing further of importance occurred. Howe remained at New York, tamely acquiescing in his loss of the Jerseys. The American troops at Morristown were encamped for the winter in temporary huts, and cantonments were established at various points. Thence the patriots could readily issue forth on their rapid excursions against the foe; but no general action was hazarded while the new army was as yet

American Dictator, as he may now be called, put forth an order, absolving the inhabitants from their engagements to Great Britain; commanding all persons who had received protections from the British Commissioners to repair to head-quarters, or to some general officer of the army, deliver up such protections, and take an oath of allegiance to the United States; yet at the same time granting full liberty "to all such as preferred the interests and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country" to withdraw themselves

and their families within the enemy's lines. Thirty days were allowed for complying with this order; at the end of which period, those who had neglected or refused to comply were to be deemed adherents of the King of Great Britain, and treated as enemies to the American States.* This proclamation did not meet with anything like universal approval; even in Congress there were those who condemned it. The New Jersey Legislature regarded it as an encroachment on their prerogatives; and it was argued that to require an oath of allegiance to the United States before the Confederation was formed, was an invasion of local rights. Washington, however, was not to be driven from his purpose by these objections; and he instructed his officers to enforce the order in every case.

During this period of comparative inaction, much discussion went on between the Americans and the British with respect to the interchange of prisoners, especially in reference to the case of General Lee. Sir William Howe insisted on regarding that officer as a deserter from the King's service, and therefore kept him in close confinement; the Americans, on the other hand, alleged that, as he had resigned his commission as an officer in the English army before joining the forces of the Republic, he could not be contemplated in that light. Washington had no prisoner of equal rank to offer in exchange. He therefore proposed six Hessian field-officers as a substitute, and required that, if this were not accepted, Lee should be treated according to his rank in the American army. Howe refused to alter his conduct towards the officer in question, and a long discussion in writing followed, without any satisfactory result. That Howe had some doubt in his own mind as to whether the resignation of his half-pay had not removed Lee from the operation of military law, appears from an admission which he made in a letter to the Colonial Secretary. In replying to this letter, Lord George Germaine said that, as the doubt had arisen, it was his Majesty's pleasure that the prisoner be sent to England by the first ship of war; but Howe was afraid of retaliations, should he execute this order, and Lee was still detained. After the failure of Washington's negotiations, Congress took up the matter, and ordered that reprisals should be inflicted, unless the English General altered his course. The Council of Massachusetts, moreover, was desired to detain in close custody Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who, at the head of some Highlanders, had been captured while sailing into Boston harbour, shortly after the evacuation of the city, and in ignorance of that fact. In consequence of this request, the colonel was thrown into a loathsome dungeon, not more than thirteen feet square, and was prohibited from entering the prison-yard on any consideration whatever. The attendance of a servant was denied him, and he was not permitted to receive visits. On Howe learning the circumstances, he remonstrated with Washington, who, with the characteristic fairness and justice of his nature, immediately wrote to the Massachusetts Council:—"You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers that General Howe shows to General Lee; and as he is only confined to a commodious house, with genteel accommodation, we have no right or reason to be more severe to Colonel Campbell, whom I wish to be immediately removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably." Washington also addressed the President of Congress in condemnation of what had been done.

Lee was kept in close confinement until the capture of General Prescott put an officer of equal rank into the hands of the Americans. On the 3rd of September, the Colonial Secretary wrote to Howe that his Majesty consented to Lee (though deserving the most exemplary punishment) being deemed a prisoner of war, in consideration of his having been struck off the half-pay list; he also permitted his being exchanged whenever it might be convenient. At the time the exchange was effected, the English had in their power nearly three hundred American officers, while the Americans had not more than fifty of the Royal officers. In January, 1777, the greater number of the American officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and billeted on the inhabitants at two dollars a week; but the unhappy privates were ill-lodged, and so badly fed and clothed, that many are said to have died of actual cold and hunger. They were frequently solicited to join the Royal army, and it was probably hoped that their sufferings would induce them to desert the national cause; but, in the greater number of instances, these expectations were disappointed. Washington wrote to Howe on the subject with great severity, and refused to return, in exchange for a number of emaciated and almost dying Americans, an equal number of healthy British or Hessians. The English General characterised this refusal as a violation of the rule for exchange of prisoners which had been mutually agreed to; and he declared that his captives had been treated as well as his means would allow. Washington defended the course he had taken,

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.

as essentially just and fair; but it is generally admitted that Howe was not aware of the ill usage of his prisoners, and that he was personally a humane and honourable man. When a member of the British Parliament, he had always supported the claims of the colonists, and opposed the despotic Acts from which they had suffered; and, although he had conceived that his duty as a soldier required him to suppress rebellion, he was not likely to act with vindictive rigour, since he had no feeling of revenge to gratify.

American affairs continued to engage the attention of the British Parliament throughout the session, and the Opposition were not always unsuccessful in their endeavours to check the arbitrary tendencies of Government. A Bill empowering his Majesty to detain and secure persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason, committed in North America or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy—the practical operation of which measure was to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in respect of several persons, in England as well as in America, who might be the objects of suspicion—was not passed without considerable modifications, of a nature to mitigate or circumscribe its effects. In the Upper House, however, Lord Chatham, who, after two years' retirement from illness, had again entered the political world, was unable to obtain many supporters of his motion for an address to the Crown, lamenting the unnatural war against the English colonies in America, and beseeching his Majesty to take the most speedy measures for arresting it upon the only just and solid foundation,—the removal of accumulated grievances. Notice of this motion had been given by Lord Camden in the name of his illustrious friend; and, on the 30th of May, the great orator of earlier days,—the great War Minister who had humbled the power of France and Spain,—appeared in his place, supported on crutches, and swathed in flannel. The two speeches which he then delivered —one in support of his motion, the other in reply to its impugners—were described by his son, afterwards the no less celebrated William Pitt, as remarkably eloquent and beautiful, full of force and vivacity; and many others testified to the same effect.

Taunting Ministers with their inability to conquer the Americans, and referring to their boasts as to the large forces with which they would disperse the rebel hosts, Chatham raised one of the supports to his gouty limbs, and exclaimed, "I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch!" Then he painted in the darkest colours the military position of the country as regarded America. "You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony," he said, "but forty thousand German boors can never conquer ten times the number of British freemen: they may ravage—they cannot conquer. But what would you conquer? —the map of America? And what will your troops do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what Ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointments. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war, and they are apt scholars. What you have sent are too many to make peace,—too few to make war. If you did conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they never can respect you." In specifically explaining what it was that his motion contemplated, Lord Chatham stated that he desired the repeal of every oppressive Act which had been passed since 1763. He threw on the British Legislature the blame of all that had happened. England had been the aggressor from the beginning. She had imprisoned the persons of the Americans, burned their towns, plundered their country and confiscated their property. The plan which he now proposed would, he believed, produce division in America, and unanimity at home. It would give the colonists an option which they had not previously had, and would open the way for a treaty, and for the restoration of peace. The majority of the peers, however, thought differently. They were influenced by the national or Imperial feeling that England must resist the demands of rebellion, whatever that resistance might cost. They rejected the Earl's motion by 99 votes against 28.

In the course of the debate on the motion, Lord Lyttelton made use of most insulting language towards the Americans. "The rebels," he said, "have added to all the horrors of war the brutality of savages and the treachery of cowards." Nothing could be more imprudent, more wicked, or more false than such expressions; but they had been in some measure provoked by the extravagant tone adopted by Lord Chatham. The Earl was either influenced by no small degree of factious partizanship, or had lost some of the penetration of his more vigorous years. His proposals were out of date, even if good in themselves. England, while being so openly defied, could not consent

to beg for peace while the chance of victory remained; and even if she had so begged, she would not have obtained it on any terms short of a recognition of the independence of the thirteen colonies. In May, 1777, there was no ground for supposing that any amount of concession would induce the Americans to return to their allegiance as subjects of the British Crown.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Effects of Washington's Successes in New Jersey—Misadventure of Major-General Heath—Doings of the Privateers—Covert Assistance to the American Cause rendered by France and Spain—Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee—A Dishonest Proposal—Money granted to the Insurgents—The Winter Months in the Two Opposing Camps—Minor Expeditions of the English and American Armies—Opening of the Spring Campaign—Washington's Misrepresentations as to the Strength of his Forces—Movements and Counter-movements of the Opposing Generals—Abandonment of New Jersey by Sir William Howe—Perplexity of Washington—Doubtful Movements of Howe—Washington at Philadelphia—Introduction of the American General to the Marquis de Lafayette—Incidents attending the Departure of that Nobleman from France—His Courteous Reception by Washington—Foreign Officers in the American Army, and Difficulties caused by the Want of a Common Language—Capture of General Prescott by the Americans.

NOTHING could exceed the effect of Washington's successes in the Central American States. In New Jersey especially, the alteration in public sentiment was most remarkable. Towards the close of 1776, the King had so many adherents in that province that the Republican army, in its retreat from New York to the Delaware, was received almost as a host of invaders. On numerous houses along the road, bits of red rag were seen nailed upon the doors, as tokens of attachment to the Crown; and the Royal troops who followed were greeted as if they had been deliverers. By the spring of 1777, all this had changed. The British and Hessian soldiers had behaved with such cruelty and arrogance that the people, in a few months' time, came to hate them. As Washington's forces regained possession of the State, they found abundant evidence that the people were no longer monarchical. Everywhere, the bits of red rag were being torn down from the houses with as much haste and enthusiasm as a Parisian mob, in the first hours of a barricade revolution, tears down the emblems of Royalty or Imperialism. The ill-behaviour of King George's troops, and the rapid successes of the Congressional arms, had rallied multitudes to the revolutionary cause. This was the case not merely in New Jersey, but in many other parts of the Confederated States. A feeling of confidence was re-born. The hopeless despondency of the previous months was dissipated. It was seen that the King's army was not invincible; that the soldiers of the Republic were capable of victory, and were being handled with skill and resolution. With the restoration of confidence, the feeling of nationality was proportionately strengthened. The recruiting of the army went on more rapidly than it had yet done; and several who had talked of leaving the ranks as soon as they were legally free to do so, now willingly remained, in the hope of future distinction.

From this date, the American army became worthy of the name, as it had hardly been before. Some infusion of a higher feeling, and of a more professional spirit, was assuredly required. The usual tendency to cover weakness and incompetency by boasting, and to evade hard work by theatrical demonstrations, was frequently apparent. An instance of this kind occurred early in the year. A detachment of the American forces, under Major-General Heath, was pushed forward beyond the Hudson in the direction of Kings Bridge, where the commander summoned Fort Independence, then in possession of the English, to surrender. This may have been all very well; but the summons was expressed in language of the most ridiculous rhodomontade, and that under circumstances which should have made Heath particularly cautious. "Twenty minutes only," said he in his message, "can be allowed for the garrison to give their answer; and should it be in the negative, they must abide the consequences." No answer at all was returned, and Heath took no further steps, or rather he took those steps which form a retrograde movement. According to his own account of the matter, he was in command of nothing but militia, who evinced a very poor spirit. This should have taught him a more circumspect mode of procedure; but he seems to have thought he could conceal his feebleness, and strike terror into the garrison, by strutting and bragging. Washington, who had

advised the expedition, was extremely vexed at the absurd nature of its collapse. In a public despatch to the General, dated "Morristown, 3rd of February, 1777," he remarked that, under the circumstances, he wished the summons had never been sent, as he was fearful it would expose them to the ridicule of their enemies. But at the same time he wrote a private letter to his subordinate, giving much stronger expression to his displeasure, and declaring that, by what had occurred, the army had been disappointed, and in some degree disgraced. He added:—"Your summons, as you did not attempt to fulfil your threats, was not only idle, but farcical, and will not fail of turning the laugh exceedingly upon us."* The rebuke was certainly merited, and no man had a greater right to make it, even apart from his official right, than Washington.

The Americans were by this time deriving great assistance from their privateers, which had now become numerous, and which were well-built, well-equipped, and commanded with courage and enterprise. Many rich cargoes fell to their lot, and the victors were permitted to dispose of their prizes in the ports of France and of the French West Indies. This was a direct breach of French neutrality, and the fact at length became so notorious that the English Government remonstrated with the Cabinet of Versailles. A plausible and courteous answer was returned; but the malpractices went on none the less, though with a little greater caution. That both France and Spain were secretly acting against the interests of England, and making ready for future war, was, indeed, evident in many ways. The policy which the French Minister, Vergennes, had so sedulously advocated, was being craftily pursued. The English Government could not fail to perceive this; and although, at the opening of Parliament in October, 1776, the relations of the country with foreign Powers had been referred to in the usual terms of formal reliance and civility, it was thought prudent to augment the national defences, and to prepare for those Continental embroilments which were only too likely to result from the rebellion of the American colonies. Franklin was now in Paris, working with Silas Deane for the promotion of American interests, and meeting with a reception which was certainly not discouraging. It was the business of these two envoys to urge the conclusion of a treaty with the Court of France; and at the same time Arthur Lee proceeded on a similar errand to Spain. They did not scruple to bid high for the support they needed. If France and Spain would, on their behalf, declare war against England, the United States would assist the former in the conquest of the British sugar islands, and the latter in the subjugation of Portugal.† It can be nothing but a source of regret that a cause which, at its outset, had so much to recommend it, should, by the necessities of an extreme position, have been compelled to make a proposal so unjust and impolitic one, moreover, utterly destructive of the principles on which the American revolution rested. The bait was not swallowed. Both France and Spain were very willing to injure England; but they were equally afraid of encouraging revolutionary principles, and of vindicating the claims of a colony to throw off its allegiance to the parent State.

As the motives and desires of the two Bourbon monarchs were similar, their conduct had much the same general characteristics. King Charles of Spain, however, was more cautious than his French kinsman. He sent word to Arthur Lee that he was to stop at Burgos, in the north of the peninsula, instead of proceeding to Madrid, where his presence might excite the suspicions of the English Ambassador, and lead to awkward interrogations. At Burgos, Lee was met by the chief Minister, Grimaldi—an astute Italian, who was not likely to commit his Royal master too much, and who in fact could not be induced to do more than grant a small sum of money for the purchase of military stores. France went a good deal farther. She had already made over to the insurgents a large number of fire-arms, which were to be convoyed by a man-of-war. She now granted them a subsidy of two millions of livres in quarterly payments, and secretly licensed four officers of the Engineers to accept commissions in the American army. These were covert acts of war; but they were accompanied by repeated asseverations to the English Ambassador of the most friendly feelings and intentions. Such were the morals of statesmanship in the eighteenth century.

The winter months of 1777 passed heavily away in the British camps at New Brunswick and Amboy. The divisions of the army stationed at these towns were kept constantly on duty, and suffered many privations, for the Americans maintained so vigilant a blockade that provisions and forage could only be obtained with difficulty. Sallies would occasionally be made, and, after more or less of skirmishing, would terminate in a little relief to the garrisons; but it was found impossible to drive off the enemy, or to change the general conditions of the military

* Sparks's Washington, Vol. IV., pp. 306–7.

† Franklin's Works, Vol. VIII., p. 207.

situation. In other directions there was some activity. A detachment of the Royal army from New York was sent out in March to destroy the American barracks and stores at Peekskill, on the Hudson, nearly fifty miles above New York—an enterprise which entirely succeeded. Near the end of the following month, a similar feat, on a much larger scale, was accomplished at Danbury; but the forces, on their retreat, were intercepted by a party of Americans, under Sullivan, Wooster, and Arnold, and, on two successive days, a good deal of fighting took place. Before the English could regain their ships, they had to traverse a road where they were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from houses and behind stone walls. Nearly four hundred were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; but the Americans also suffered considerably, and General Wooster was among the slain. About a fortnight earlier, Lord Cornwallis and General Grant, at the head of two thousand men, had attempted to surprise and carry off General Lincoln, who was posted with five hundred men at Boundbrook, seven miles from New Brunswick; but Lincoln, notwithstanding that he was almost surrounded, forced his way through the British lines, and escaped.

The Americans, on their part, were not inactive. On the 8th of May, they attacked the British post at Piscataway, but, after a fierce contest, were repulsed. Towards the close of the same month, they burnt some English vessels in Sag Harbour, Long Island, which was attacked by a party from Connecticut, who traversed ninety miles by sea and land in twenty-five hours, and exhibited remarkable energy and resolution. But all actions of importance were postponed until the return of spring. In the meanwhile, attempts were made by both belligerents to increase their military forces. Sir William Howe determined to avail himself of the services of the American loyalists, and several of these enthusiasts—many of whom, doubtless, were as honest in their devotion as the Republicans—were embodied in a separate corps, with the same pay as the British troops, and the promise of an allotment of land at the close of the rebellion. Tryon, the Royal Governor of New York, who had always been very zealous in his support of English authority, and who had taken great pains in raising and organising the force in question, was promoted to the rank of Major-General of the loyal provincialists; and it was he who commanded the expedition against Danbury. On the opposite side, Washington did his utmost to complete his new army for the ensuing campaign. In circular letters to the several States, he urged the necessity of sending him a large number of additional troops; and, although the responses were not always such as he could have desired, some progress was made as the year advanced towards the season of active operations.

The first indication of the opening campaign, as regarded the English forces, was the building of a bridge at New Brunswick, so constructed as to be laid on flat-bottomed boats. It was supposed that Howe intended to transport this bridge overland to the Delaware, and there employ it in crossing that river. Washington, having collected at Morristown the troops which had been enlisted in Virginia and the Middle States, ordered those from the east to assemble at Peekskill. As June approached, he drew his main army to a strong position at Middlebrook, nine miles north-west of New Brunswick, but south of his former quarters, so as to defend the Delaware, should the enemy move in that direction. The new army was very far from complete, and the numbers at Washington's disposal were small in comparison with his needs. The American commander has himself recorded that nothing but a good face and false appearances had up to that point enabled him to deceive the enemy as to his strength.* This method of misrepresentation was systematically pursued by Washington, and that not merely with respect to the adversary, but in regard to his own countrymen as well. He cautioned Congress to conceal from the public the real number of their forces. Writing to General Putnam on the 5th of January, he directed him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was. His motive for so doing was to guard against any communication between the disaffected and the English commanders, or any accidental revelation of the weak points in the American military system. It has been remarked, however, that this policy of deception operated in two ways; for, while it may have restrained the actions of the British by creating a false impression as to the American strength, it checked the efforts of the State Governments to provide those additional levies which Washington so sorely needed.†

Under the direction of Sir William Howe himself, the Royal forces, on the 13th of June, marched from New Brunswick, and formed a line which extended several miles into the country. Their right rested on the fortified position which they had just quitted, and they were secured in front by the Raritan, and on the left by the Millstone—two rivers which would have proved obstacles in the way of any

* Letter from Washington, quoted in Gordon's History, Vol. II., p. 467.

† Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.



ARREST OF GENERAL PRESCOTT.

hostile advance. The opposing armies were now only a few miles apart, and Howe hoped to provoke his adversary to a general action. Washington, however, knew too well the inadequacy of his army to risk his forces on so desperate a throw. He had not eight thousand effectives at his command, whereas the English General, who had been lately reinforced from home, could reckon on the services of thirty thousand good troops. It is true that Washington also had received reinforcements; but they were not very numerous, nor of the best quality, and it had been found necessary to divert several of the new recruits towards the north, to oppose a threatening movement from Canada. Howe was probably unaware of the weakness of his antagonist's regiments, or he would perhaps have advanced and given battle, though the position at Middlebrook was strong in itself, and well fortified by art. From this, his usual excess of prudence restrained him, and he accordingly employed every artifice to draw the enemy on to more exposed ground. Marching in two columns to Hillsborough, on the south side of the Raritan, he endeavoured to create an impression that he was about to advance to the river Delaware. But Washington declined to be tempted from his camp by this feint, and preferred to harass the English by skirmishing parties. Tired out by these tactics, Howe at length returned to New Brunswick, devastating the country on his line of march. From New Brunswick, on the 22nd of June, he fell back to Amboy, his other New Jersey post. While he was on the road, three regiments, under General Greene, fell upon his rear, and made a series of attacks, attended by considerable damage, all the way to Piscataway. Washington thereupon moved forward to Quibbletown with the main body of his army; and Howe, finding that he had left his stronghold, suddenly faced round, and advanced from Amboy to Westfield, on the north side of the Raritan, with the intention of turning the American left, gaining possession of the passes in the highlands, and so compelling the enemy to abandon the strong position in which he had lately been entrenched. On the morning of the 26th of June, Earl Cornwallis, with a detachment, proceeded against the Americans under Alexander (the titular Lord Stirling) and General Maxwell, and a hot engagement followed, ending in the rout of the insurgents, with considerable loss. Nevertheless, Washington was not outflanked, nor placed in any position of danger; for, retiring rapidly to Middlebrook, he once more reached the mountains, and took up a position in which Howe was not disposed to attack him.

The English Commander-in-Chief now resolved on a complete change of plan. Abandoning his original design of re-conquering New Jersey, he determined to go by sea to Philadelphia. He therefore withdrew his troops both from New Brunswick and Amboy, thus entirely quitting the province which at one time had been wholly in his possession. On the 30th of June he crossed over to Staten Island, and on the 5th of July embarked a portion of his army on board transports, that he might in this way transfer them to the new object of attack. The weather was at its hottest, the men were overcrowded, and much suffering was the result. The new movement was objectionable in many ways; for it imperilled the health of the soldiers, and, by the relinquishment of New Jersey, tended to encourage the insurgents by the appearance of hesitation and weakness. It had this advantage, however, that it caused great perplexity in the mind of Washington. The American General was of course ignorant of the direction which his opponent had taken, and, having received information that Burgoyne was approaching Ticonderoga from Quebec with a formidable army, he feared a junction of that commander with Howe. It had long been known to Washington, through information supplied by spies and deserters, that a fleet of large vessels and transports was being got ready at New York; and it was supposed, and correctly, that its destination was Philadelphia. But when the news of Burgoyne's approach reached the American head-quarters, considerable doubt was created as to the general intention of the campaign. It then seemed not improbable that the fleet was designed to carry troops up the Hudson, and that operations against New England were to be undertaken, with a view to creating a diversion in favour of Burgoyne. The English commanders had always shown great solicitude for the possession of the Hudson, as a means of securing their communications with Canada, and of separating the eastern from the southern States. Yet it was equally evident that Howe had for a long time been aiming at Philadelphia, and it would therefore have been highly injudicious to leave that position entirely open. To guard the Hudson, Washington despatched two regiments to Peekskill; but at the same time he kept a watch in the direction of the Delaware.

On learning that the British army had actually embarked at New York, the American General moved slowly northwards, but after awhile saw occasion to retrace his steps. Although the troops under Howe were on board their transports as early as the 5th of July, it was not until the 23rd

that they left Sandy Hook. Information soon reached Washington of the direction taken by the fleet, which, instead of sailing up the Hudson, was sent in a southerly direction along the coast of New Jersey. It seemed that there could no longer be any doubt as to the point at which the enemy intended to strike. The army was to be carried up the Delaware, and employed against the capital of Pensylvania, to which Congress had returned after the successes at Princeton and its neighbourhood. Without a moment's hesitation, Washington turned back, recalled his troops from the vicinity of Peekskill, and directed the whole army by various routes to the banks of the Delaware. By the 30th of July, Howe had reached the capes of that river; but, being then informed that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of the stream, he altered his course, continued in a southerly direction, and entered Chesapeake Bay. Washington had by this time taken up a position at Germantown, on the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware, where he was in the best position for defending Philadelphia. He himself went forward to Chester, south-west of the capital, where he soon learned the new direction of the invading fleet. This revived his feeling of perplexity; but until the destination of the British troops could be ascertained, it was impossible to make new arrangements, and the larger part of the American army accordingly remained at Germantown, in readiness to march at a moment's notice in any direction which might be found necessary.

While thus waiting for information, Washington passed two or three days at Philadelphia, consulting with the authorities there. It was then that he made the acquaintance of a young man destined to acquire distinction in America, and whom we have already had occasion to mention. This was the Marquis de Lafayette, who, acting on the generous emotion excited in his mind by the declamation of the Royal Duke of Gloucester on his visit to Metz in 1776, had come out to America to see what he could do in aid of the Republican cause. His enthusiasm was unbounded, and he was prepared to risk all for the furtherance of what he regarded with so much admiration. Before quitting France, he had sought an interview, at Paris, with Silas Deane, who promised that, if he would join the American forces, he should receive from Congress the rank of Major-General, though his age was then not much more than nineteen. He was to be accompanied by the Baron de Kalb, and by eleven other officers of lower rank than himself. Having secretly despatched an agent to Bordeaux, where he was to purchase and prepare a vessel for the voyage, he crossed the channel to London, to see his uncle, the Marquis de Noailles, French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Noailles presented his nephew to the King, who said to Lafayette, "I hope you mean to stay some time in England." Lafayette replied that it was not in his power to do so. "What obliges you to leave us?" asked the King. The question was startling, and Lafayette answered, rather disingenuously, that he had a very particular engagement, and that, if his Majesty were acquainted with it, he would not desire him to stay. George, not unnaturally, expressed displeasure at this reply when events had shown what was its real meaning; but it may have resulted from simple embarrassment, for Lafayette, by his own confession, was all his life a man of nervously awkward manners. The young enthusiast shortly afterwards informed the Ambassador of his speedy return to France, but not of his ultimate design with regard to America. At Bordeaux he learned that Lord Stormont, having discovered his purpose, had complained of it to the Government, which had in consequence issued a *lettre de cachet* for his arrest. Resolving not to be defeated, he crossed the Spanish frontier in the disguise of a courier, and embarked in his vessel from Pasages.

When the truth with regard to Lafayette came to the knowledge of the English court, it was believed that the Marquis de Noailles had from the first been cognisant of the design, which, however, appears not to have been the case. The Ministers took care to let the French Ambassador see that they suspected him; but he seems to have been really annoyed at the escapade. Several years after, when Noailles, then Ambassador at Vienna, was visited by his nephew, he said to him, "Now, Lafayette, I hope you have not come here to play me another such trick as you did in London."* The French Government were apparently sincere in their desire to restrain the young devotee; for, finding the *lettre de cachet* of no avail, they sent two vessels after the fugitive, but without any result. Lafayette got safely across the Atlantic, and towards the middle of June landed on the coast of South Carolina, whence he proceeded to Philadelphia. The members of Congress seem not to have received him very warmly, and to have regarded Silas Deane's promise that he should be made a General as rather extravagant. Ultimately,

* These facts with regard to Lafayette and his uncle are mentioned by Mr. James Grahame, in the Notes to Vol. IV. of his "History of the United States," on the authority of information given to him at Paris, in 1829, by Lafayette himself.

however, they ratified that promise, on the French nobleman declaring his willingness to serve as a volunteer, and that he would accept no pay. This was on the 31st of July. The first introduction of Lafayette to Washington took place shortly afterwards at a dinner-party, where several members of Congress were present. Mr. Jared Sparks, in his collection of Washington's writings, has published, from information derived from the Marquis's own lips, an interesting account of the meeting of these two famous men. When they were about to separate (says this narrative), Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him very kindly, complimented him on the noble spirit he had shown, and the sacrifices he had made in favour of the American cause, and then told him that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief his home, establish himself there whenever he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family; adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort, but that, since he had become an American soldier, he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the character he had assumed, and submit with a good grace to the customs, manners, and privations of a Republican army. His horses and equipage were immediately sent to camp; and ever afterwards, even when he had the command of a division, he kept up his intimacy at head-quarters, and enjoyed all the advantages of a member of the General's family.*

It does not appear how the conversation at this first interview was carried on; for Washington did not understand French, and Lafayette, at that date, had only a very slight knowledge of English. This want of a common language was always a great trouble in the American camp, where many foreigners had now assembled. A knowledge of French was at that time not very common in England, but it was still more rare in America. A certain Captain Walker is described as the only officer in the American army who could speak French, unless Hamilton could be accounted a second. Walker acted as aide-de-camp to Baron Steuben, a Prussian who had served under Frederick the Great, and who joined the Americans a few months later than Lafayette. The Baron was extremely useful in improving the discipline of the inexperienced provincials; but his small command of English sadly embarrassed him, not only in conveying his instructions, but in venting his temper when those instructions were misunderstood, or not properly carried out. An American biographer relates of him that, on such occasions, after he had exhausted all the execrations he could think of in German and French, he would call to Captain Walker, "Venez, Walker, mon ami! Sacré de gaucherie of dese badauds; je n'en puis plus! I can curse dem no more!" Pulaski, the Pole, was similarly troubled, and some notes of his are preserved, which profess to be written in English, but which are scarcely intelligible.

During the pause in the main operations of the American army which was necessitated by the uncertainty of Washington as to the movements of the English under Sir William Howe, a spirited and successful enterprise was conducted towards the north by a band of Rhode Island volunteers. In that part of the Union, General Prescott was in command of the Royal forces. His head-quarters were on the west side of the island, near Narragansett Bay, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and at some distance from any body of troops. His situation, in fact, was similar to that of Lee a few months earlier, and he shared a similar fate. He trusted for protection to the numerous cruisers which were constantly passing to and fro along the shore, and to a guard-ship which lay in the bay opposite to his quarters. But this reliance proved illusory. At the head of forty men, Colonel Barton proceeded by night, on the 10th of July, from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, eluded the British ships, and about midnight reached the General's quarters undiscovered. Securing the sentinel, they surprised the General in bed, and, without giving him time to put on his clothes, hurried him on board their vessel, and conveyed him to Providence. This was a very happy stroke, since it enabled the Americans to exchange General Prescott for General Lee, who returned to the service of his adopted countrymen. His reputation, however, had by this time fallen very considerably. As some people have no opinion of a physician who cannot keep himself in good health, so it was now generally held by the Americans that an officer who could not save his person from the clutches of the enemy was not very likely to save the Republic. They began by overrating him; they ended by doing him an injustice. With all his faults, Lee was a man of ability, of varied experience, and of powerful mind.

* Appendix to Vol. V. of Washington's Writings, pp. 454–5.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Days of Doubt and Anxiety — Howe continues to sail Southward, turns up Chesapeake Bay, and lands at the Head of the Elk River, in Maryland — Washington falls back behind the Brandywine, on the Borders of Delaware and Pennsylvania — Battle of the Brandywine, and Defeat of the Americans — Inquiry into the Conduct of Sullivan and Deborre — Fresh Powers granted to Washington — Bad Condition of his Army — Movements in the Vicinity of Philadelphia — Minor Successes of the British — Second Removal of Congress from Philadelphia — Washington's Attack on the Enemy's Position at Germantown — Defeat of the Americans, after a sharp Engagement — Incidents of the Battle — Opinion of the Count de Vergennes on the Military Conduct of the Americans — Bon-mot of Franklin — Operations of the English Army and Navy against the Forts in the Delaware — Clearing of the River — The Thirteen Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union — Summary of the Principal Heads of those Articles — General Character and Tendency of the Federation thus established.

When Lafayette was consulting with Franklin and Silas Deane on the advisability of his proceeding to America, the two representatives of the United States were in so desponding a mood as to the success of their countrymen that they at first endeavoured to dissuade him from risking anything on such a venture. It appeared to them that the cause of American liberty was irretrievably lost, for they were not aware of the successes achieved by Washington. Even had they known of them, they might well have doubted whether the gleam of good fortune was not merely transient; whether the forces of the Revolution were strong enough to cope with such an army as that which the King of England then commanded on American soil. Washington himself was sorely troubled during those weary days of waiting, hesitation, and anxiety. He knew not in what direction the next blow would fall, and it is possible that he credited his adversary with greater powers of strategy than he really possessed, or at any rate was then exhibiting. However, he made a display of his military strength in the streets of Philadelphia, that he might overawe the adherents of the Royal cause, who were still numerous in that city; and he consulted with the members of Congress as to the best mode of procedure under the perplexities of the time. He found them in better heart than they had been at the close of the previous year. The recovery of New Jersey had acted like a cordial, and they believed in the final triumph of their adroit and energetic captain. The pause, it was clear, could not continue long. It was embarrassing, but it must soon be broken up by renewed action. In the meanwhile, Washington kept a close look-out in every direction, and suffered not his vigilance to relax for an hour.

During several days there was an entire failure of intelligence with respect to the fleet containing Howe and his army. Then it was again seen near the coast about sixteen leagues south of the Capes of Delaware. Another long period ensued without any news arriving, and the General and his officers became so persuaded that the troops were proceeding to Charleston that it was resolved to give up all pursuit, and to march towards the Hudson, with a view either to act against Burgoyne, or to attack New York. The army was on the very point of starting, when, on the 24th of August, an express arrived with intelligence that the fleet was coming up Chesapeake Bay, and had already ascended two hundred miles from its mouth. After all, then, Philadelphia was the object which Howe had in view, though Washington could not tell why he had chosen so circuitous a route, since the obstructions in the Delaware were not at that time very formidable. On being thus relieved from doubt, the American recalled his detachments from New Jersey, where they had recently been engaged in an unsuccessful attack on Staten Island, and, at the head of his entire army, marched to Wilmington, in the northern part of Delaware. The next intelligence was to the effect that the British had landed a little below the head of the river Elk, close to the borders of Delaware, but within the State of Maryland. From want of horses, many of which had died on the voyage, and from other causes, Howe was unable to move forward until the 3rd of September. It then became apparent that he designed to outflank the American right; and Washington, fully conscious of the great inferiority of his army to that by which he was opposed, fell back from his first position, after a few skirmishes, in which his troops were not altogether unsuccessful, and withdrew behind the Brandywine, a small river (called by the Americans a creek) which falls into the Delaware near Wilmington. Taking possession of the high grounds near Chad's Ford, he awaited the attack of the enemy. The fords above were guarded by his right wing, under General Sullivan; and the position on the left was held by General Armstrong, at the head of the Pennsylvanian militia.

An obstinate and prolonged battle, ending disastrously for the colonists, ensued on the 11th of September. At dawn on the morning of that day, the American army was ranged along the eastern side of the Brandywine, while the English

forces lay some way off on the opposite bank. Sir William Howe formed his troops into two divisions. One, under the German commander, Knyphausen, was to take the direct road to Chad's Ford; and the other, led by Earl Cornwallis, was to follow the course of the river or creek, to pass round by the forks of that stream where it divided into two branches, and to take the enemy in flank. The Commander-in-Chief accompanied the latter of these bodies, which occupied the left of the line. The action began with an attack on Knyphausen's division by a body of light troops under General Maxwell, who, after a sharp encounter, was forced to retreat behind the Brandywine. A heavy fire of artillery was interchanged across the river, but Knyphausen did not then attempt to pass the ford. His object was to engage the attention of the division immediately opposed to him, while Cornwallis should be making his way to the right flank and rear of the American army. Washington soon suspected this design, but he could do nothing to counteract it till he had received exact intelligence from the patrols who had been sent to watch the roads leading to the upper fords. When at length he was informed that the enemy had been seen marching towards those fords, he ordered Sullivan to push across the river, and do the utmost that was possible, while he himself attacked Knyphausen



VIEW ON THE BRANDYWINE.

in front. The American Commander in Chief, as well as Sullivan, was afterwards confused by contradictory intelligence, brought in by scouts who had been posted in various directions, and who seem, in several instances, to have been deceived by appearances which they could not rightly drove the Americans before him in confusion. Knyphausen at the same time crossed the river, and assaulted the American entrenchments at Chad's Ford. General Wayne, who defended this post, exhibited signal gallantry, but, being greatly overmatched in point of numbers, was compelled to give



HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA IN WHICH THE FIRST CONGRESSES WERE HELD.

construe. At length, however, all was rendered clear by the noise of firing on the right flank; but Washington's plans were by this time deranged. Cornwallis had made a wide circuit, had marched seventeen miles, and had crossed two branches of the Brandywine above the forks, before he gained the heights in front of Sullivan's division; but he now attacked with great impetuosity, and way. The retreat of Sullivan, which was little better than a disorderly rout, was covered by Greene, who marched to the spot with remarkable celerity, and, occupying a pass near Dilworth, maintained a warm engagement till dusk. By this movement he checked the pursuit; yet the results of the day were serious. Among the wounded was Lafayette, who, while endeavouring to rally the fugitives, was

struck in the leg, and obliged to retire from active service for a couple of months. Seven or eight pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forces of the Revolution again fell under the dispiriting shadow of defeat.

The scene of this battle was on the borders of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and, in the course of the ensuing night, the scattered remnants of the American army, which had sought safety by different routes, were re-united at Chester, situated within the latter of those two States, while the exhausted English remained upon the field. The ill-success of the Americans was by many attributed in great part to mistakes made by General Sullivan, and to his want of vigilance in reconnoitring the movements of the enemy in the direction by which Cornwallis approached. Sullivan was certainly a man of very slight military talents; but he does not seem to have been justly blamable for the failure of the 11th of September, and, after an investigation, Congress acquitted him with honour. At the same time, an inquiry was made into the conduct of Deborre, a French general of long service in the army of his own country, who commanded, in Sullivan's division, the brigade which first gave way before the British onslaught. Deborre was so much offended at this inquiry that he resigned his commission, saying that he had done all he could to rally his men, that he was wounded in the attempt, and that, if American troops would run away, it was unjust to censure him for the consequences. This was not a little impertinent, and in some respects unfair too. However ill certain of the regiments behaved, others fought with much valour under circumstances of great disadvantage. But Deborre had made himself very unpopular in the army, and all were glad to get rid of him.

The American failure on this occasion may perhaps be in some degree imputed to a defect in the military genius of Washington which his fellow-countryman, Jefferson, pointed out many years after. His judgment, according to that statesman, "was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where, hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no General ever planned his battles more judiciously. But if deranged during the course of action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in a readjustment. The consequence was, that he often failed in the field, and rarely against an enemy in station."*

* Quoted by Mr. Tucker in his Life of Jefferson.

There is much in this which explains the defeat at the Brandywine.

On the 12th of September, Washington retreated to Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown, a few miles beyond the Pennsylvanian capital. Congress determined to do the utmost to retrieve the disaster that had overtaken the national cause, and to this end ordered a concentration of troops in the vicinity of Howe's army. Washington was again invested with extraordinary powers, similar to those which had been conferred on him at the close of the preceding year, but of which the prescribed term had now run out for several weeks. Amongst other things, he was to remove, or secure for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which might be serviceable to the enemy—a clause designed to guard against the intentional remissness of the Royalists, who might possibly leave their property unprotected, in the hope that it might fall into the hands of the British, and contribute to the success of the ends they had at heart. The middle provinces still abounded in these Royalists. Washington has himself said that the country he was then occupying was disaffected "to a man." This is doubtless not to be taken literally; yet it was no great exaggeration of the truth. The situation was indeed perilous. Many of the soldiers—at least a thousand—were actually barefooted, and had for some time been marching in that condition. In addressing the President of Congress on the 23rd of September, Washington mentioned this fact as a sufficient reason why he could not execute forced marches, which just then were very desirable; and he made urgent requests for a supply of shoes. Yet the General was still animated by so confident a spirit that, after giving his men a day's rest at Germantown, he recrossed the Schuylkill on the 13th, and advanced towards the left of the British army, with the intention of offering battle. An engagement was on the point of taking place, at a distance from Philadelphia of twenty-three miles, when a heavy descent of rain put a stop to active operations. Washington then withdrew to the Yellow Springs, and some days later retired to the other side of the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford.

Successes came in rapid order to the army of Sir William Howe. On the evening after the Battle of the Brandywine, a party proceeded to Wilmington, seized the person of Mr. M'Kinlay, Governor of the State of Delaware, took a shallop loaded with effects, and carried off the public records of the county. Eight days later—on the 20th of September—the American General Wayne, who, with a detachment of 1,500 men, had posted

himself in the woods on the British left, with a view to harassing the adversary, was surprised in the evening by a detachment under General Grey. No precautions had been taken to guard against attack, and the consequence was a considerable loss. The onslaught was made with the bayonet, and was completely successful. Three hundred men were killed or wounded, nearly a hundred were captured, and all the baggage was seized, with but slight loss to the English commander. These disasters forced on Congress the necessity of again leaving Philadelphia. On the 18th of September, the members determined on removing to Lancaster, where they met on the 27th, and on the same day adjourned to York, beyond the Susquehannah, at which place they reassembled on the 30th. The English forces crossed the Schuylkill, at Fatland and Gordon's Ford, on the 22nd and 23rd of September, and on the 26th took possession of Philadelphia, where they were cordially received by the Quakers and other Royalists. They at once proceeded to erect three batteries near the river, to protect the city against any naval attack. Before these batteries could be finished, two frigates, a sloop, and several galleys and gondolas, moved up to Philadelphia, and began a cannonade on the morning of the 27th; but two of the vessels grounded, and were compelled to strike their colours, so that the attempt ended in failure.

The arrival of General Howe at Philadelphia was followed, at the beginning of October, by the sailing of the fleet under his brother, Lord Howe, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, that it might be employed in forcing the defences of the latter river. To aid this work, a detachment of troops was stationed on the left bank of the Delaware, in New Jersey. A large part of the army was at Germantown, and the remainder at Philadelphia. This divided state of the Royal forces suggested to Washington the idea of a sudden attack on his opponent, such as might enable him to recover the capital of the State—the metropolis, it might be called, of the insurrection. The British encampment extended across the village of Germantown, at right angles with the main road. Fourteen miles off, the enemy was posted near Skippack Creek, one of the affluents of the river Schuylkill. The Americans began their march on the evening of the 3rd of October, divided into four columns, which were to approach the English by four distinct routes, and simultaneously burst on their right, left, centre, and rear at Germantown. Howe's forces were evidently unprepared for such an attack, which took them completely by surprise. The action began a little after daybreak with a bayonet-charge of great vehemence. The fighting was for a time very hot at the centre and on the American left; but the attempt was destined to be as little successful as others which had preceded it. So thick a fog prevailed at the time—and it soon got thicker from the smoke of the firing—that, at a distance of thirty yards, it was impossible to distinguish one army from the other; and this led to bewilderment and confusion. The failure of the enterprise is described by Washington in a letter to his brother, where he writes:—"After we had driven the enemy a mile or two,—after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying before us in most places,—after we were upon the point, as it appeared to everybody, of grasping a complete victory,—our own troops took flight, and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this, I know not; unless the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened." Want of ammunition in the right wing, which began the engagement, contributed to the discomfiture of the American design. Each man took with him forty rounds; and, in the course of the two hours and a half during which the fighting continued, these were completely exhausted.

Considerable courage and good conduct had been shown at the commencement of the action, and the English regiments were at first thrown into disorder; but, having recovered themselves with the steadiness of veterans, they inflicted terrible blows on their antagonists. "In a word," says Washington to his brother, "it was a bloody day." The American loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was, on the General's own admission, as many as a thousand; and, of the missing, he thought it probable that many had taken "advantage of the times," and deserted. Howe reported his loss at seventy-one killed, four hundred and fifty wounded, and fourteen missing. His troops had not prevailed without paying heavily for it, as at times the contest was furious. The 40th Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, was in the first instance driven in; but Musgrave contrived to keep five companies of his regiment together, and, getting into a large stone house in the village, which stood in front of the enemy's main column, detained for a long while nearly half the attacking force. Several assaults on the building were made by the Americans, without success; and the delay contributed in no slight degree to the final triumph of the British. It gave time for the main body to get under arms; and when General Grey

had hastened to the assistance of Colonel Musgrave, and the action had become universal, Sullivan's division fell back upon the second line, and the whole American army was mobbed. Yet, defeated though they were, the Americans were not entirely losers by this transaction, which showed that they were equal to bold and daring enterprises in the open field. The effect from a political point of view was also important. When the American commissioners in Paris had their first interview with the Count de Vergennes, to talk over a treaty of alliance, the French Minister complimented them on the favourable prospect of affairs in their country, and on the conduct of the American troops; adding that nothing struck him so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army,—that to bring an army raised within a year to this, promised everything.* The Americans, on the whole, were in spirits as to their prospects. They even regarded the taking of Philadelphia by the enemy as a circumstance likely to tend more to the disadvantage than to the advantage of the English, who, to maintain possession of the city, would be obliged to lock up a large proportion of their troops. "It is not General Howe who has taken Philadelphia," said Franklin on hearing the news; "it is Philadelphia that has taken General Howe." His residence in Paris seems to have taught him the art of French epigram.

Foiled in his attempt at Germantown, Washington retreated to White Marsh, a strong position distant fourteen miles west from Philadelphia. The English General and Admiral were now at liberty to pursue without interruption their operations against the forts on the Delaware. The Americans had recently constructed on an island in that stream some works and batteries which they designated Fort Mifflin. Nearly opposite to this island, on the eastern or New Jersey shore, Fort Mercer had been built at a place called Redbank; and a third fort was still being proceeded with at Billingsport, lower down the river on the same side. Several ranges of *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk in the middle channel; and numerous armed vessels belonging to the Americans were stationed at various posts. On the 21st of October, some Hessians were sent against the fort at Redbank; but the attack was unsuccessful. Nearly two hundred of the assailants were killed, and their commander, Count Donop, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. When he lay dying in his miserable captivity, he said to a French officer who was attending him, "My career ends early. I shall die a victim to my own ambition, and to the avarice of my sovereign." It is to be hoped that these words found their way to the huckster who sold his subjects' blood, and that he had grace enough to feel remorse.

The attack on the Delaware defences did not progress favourably. Two large ships ran aground on sandbanks created by the artificial obstructions in the river; on the following morning, one of these was set in flames by fire-ships, and blew up with some of the crew, and the other was abandoned and burnt, after ineffectual attempts to get her off. Several weeks passed in preparations for further attacks; batteries were erected by the English on the Pennsylvanian bank, and on Province Island; guns were dragged with difficulty over the swampy soil; and at length Fort Mifflin was turned, and, a heavy fire being opened upon it on the 15th of November, the defenders were compelled to retire. Two days afterwards, the post at Redbank was evacuated also, the garrison retreating before a division sent against them under the command of Lord Cornwallis. On this, the American shipping in the river withdrew up the stream. Some of the vessels escaped the batteries at Philadelphia during the night, and for a time got off; the rest were burnt. The Delaware was now re-opened; but the defence of the river had been so resolute that a considerable part of the season was consumed in removing the obstacles to an advance.

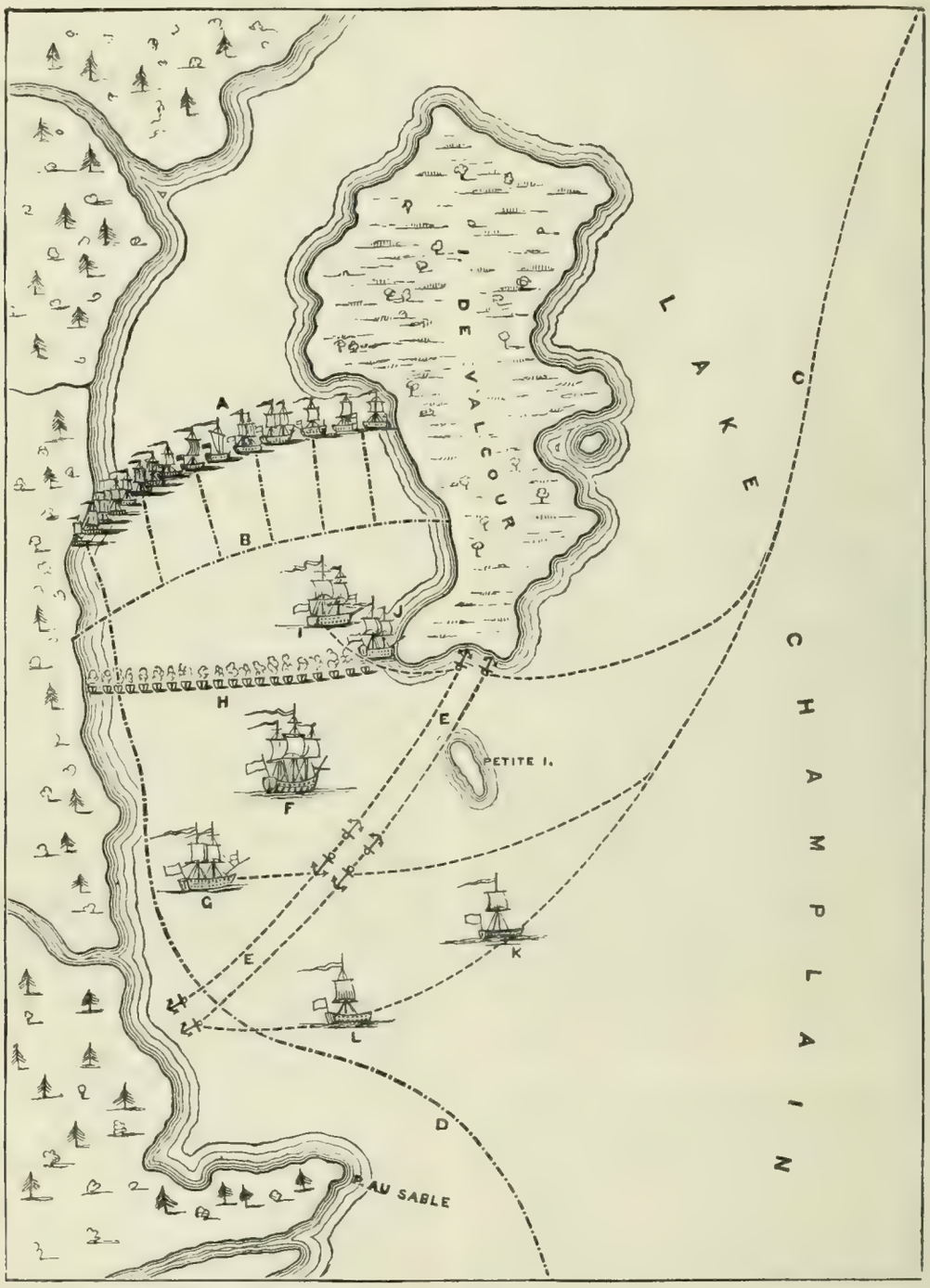
During the progress of these events, the political constitution of the young Republic underwent prolonged discussion. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union finally resolved themselves into thirteen, which were debated at thirty-nine sittings, and ultimately adopted by Congress on the 15th of November, 1777—the day on which Fort Mifflin was abandoned by its garrison. By these Articles (which had been considerably altered since they were first submitted to Congress), it was agreed that each State should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which was not by the Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled; that they should enter into a firm league for mutual defence; that the free inhabitants of any of the States should be entitled to the privileges and immunities of free citizens in any other State; that any traitor or great delinquent, fleeing from one State and found in another, should be delivered up to the State having jurisdiction over the offender; that full faith and credit should be given in each of the States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of every other State; that delegates should be annually chosen, in

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.

such manner as the Legislature of each State should direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, with power to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead; that no State should be represented in Congress by less than two or more than seven members; that no person should be a delegate for more than three out of six years, nor should any delegate hold a place of emolument under the United States; that each State should maintain its own delegates; that in Congress each State should have only one vote; that freedom of speech should be enjoyed by the members, who should be free from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace; that no State, without the consent of Congress, should receive any Ambassador, or enter into any treaty with any foreign Power; that no person holding office in any of the United States should receive any present, office, or title from any foreign State; that neither Congress nor any of the States should grant any titles of nobility; that no two or more of the States should enter into any confederation whatever without the consent of Congress; and that no State should impose any duties which might interfere with stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States with any King, Prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties previously proposed by Congress to the Courts of France and Spain. This last clause was intended to propitiate foreign Powers generally, but especially the two Bourbon Monarchies, from whose assistance so much was hoped. The efforts of Franklin, Silas Deane, and the other foreign agents, were about to be crowned with success; and it was necessary to be especially careful as to the relations of the American States with the Governments of Continental Europe.

The possibility of any State setting up a distinct existence for itself was guarded against by the proviso that no member of the Union should be suffered to maintain vessels of war or bodies of troops in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, should be deemed necessary. Each State, however, was to keep up a regular and well-disciplined militia, and to provide, and have constantly ready for use in the public stores, a due number of field-pieces, arms, ammunition, &c. No State was to engage in war without the consent of Congress, unless such State were actually invaded by enemies, or should have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger were so imminent as not to admit of delay till Congress could be consulted; and the expenses of any war that might arise out of the common defence or general welfare were to be defrayed from a common treasury, supplied by the several States according to the value of land in each. Taxes were to be imposed and levied by authority and direction of the several States within the time prescribed by Congress. To that body pertained the sole and exclusive right of deciding on peace and war, of sending and receiving Ambassadors, and of entering into treaties. Congress was likewise to be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences between two or more of the States, concerning boundaries, jurisdiction, or any other cause. It was to have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by its own authority, or by that of the respective States, fixing the standard of weights and measures, regulating trade, establishing post-offices, appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States (except regimental officers), appointing all officers of the naval forces, commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States, making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations. During any period of recess, affairs were to be managed by a Committee of the States, to consist of one delegate from each State. Congress was to have power to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, to appropriate and apply the same, to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, to build and equip a navy, to fix the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State. The consent of nine States was requisite to any great public measure of common interest. Congress was to have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States; but the adjournment was not to exceed six months. The proceedings of Congress were to be published monthly, excepting such parts as related to treaties, alliances, or military operations which in the judgment of the delegates might require secresy. Whenever Congress was in recess, the Committee of the States, or any nine of them, were to exercise such powers as Congress should think fit to confer. Canada, if willing, was to be admitted to all the advantages of the Union; but no other colony could be admitted, unless such admission should be agreed to by nine States. It was also determined that all bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, or debts contracted by Congress before the Confederation was established, should be charges on

the United States; that every State should abide by the determination of Congress on all questions submitted to it by the Confederation; that the several articles should be inviolably observed by every State; and that no alteration in any article should not fully given until March, 1781. The Federal Legislature, however, had sanctioned the terms on which the Union was to exist, and it was probable that the local bodies would follow in due course. The Constitution thus framed and established bore



PLAN OF THE DEFEAT OF THE AMERICAN FLEET, UNDER BENEDICT ARNOLD, ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, OCT. 11, 1776.

A. American fleet of fifteen vessels.
B. American line during the attack.
C. Course of the British fleet from St. John.
D. Track of American ships which escaped to Ticonderoga.
E. Position in which the British fleet anchored during the night.
F. Inflexible.
G. Schooner Maria.
H. Twenty gun-boats.
I. Schooner Carleton.
J. The Royal Savage on shore.
K. Thunderer.
L. Gondola Loyal Convert.

be made, unless agreed to by Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every State.

These were the principal provisions of the Thirteen Articles by which the colonies formed themselves into a Federal Union. The agreement had still to be ratified by the several States; and this ratification, partly obtained in July, 1778, was some resemblance to that of the United Colonies of New England, which formed a species of Federation in the year 1643.* It differed, of course, in several respects, because the Union of 1643 was simply colonial, and did not pretend to establish a sovereign Power, dealing with other Powers on a

* See Vol. I. of this History, pp. 148–9.

footing of entire independence. But the general principles were the same, and the earlier Federation must be regarded as the prototype of the later. It might, indeed, even be said that the colonial spirit appeared to excess in the first Constitution of the United States. The political forms then created left too much to the individual members of the bond, which were too loosely held together, too little subjected to the pressure of general interests. "The Confederation, from its outset," says an American authority who possesses both a personal and an hereditary claim to respect, "was placed on a wrong basis. It was a league of States, creating a mere outward form of sovereignty, with all effective powers reserved to themselves"†—that is, to the States individually, and not collectively, and to the State Legislatures, rather than to the people directly. This tendency to local rather than general considerations lay at the root of a decision to which John Adams was always strenuously opposed. Congress finally determined that all the States should have an equal vote in the Federal Assembly, whether their area was great or small, whether their population was numerous or scanty. Adams prognosticated, from this decision alone, that the Confederation would not be lasting; and the event justified his prophecy. In ten years' time it was found necessary to frame a new Constitution, by which the members of the House of Representatives were elected directly by the people in proportion to population, and in which various errors of the earlier arrangement were rectified.

Another question on which particular interests were too greatly favoured had reference to the apportionment of the public charges. These were based exclusively on land and buildings; the Southern States objecting, and successfully objecting, to their slaves being considered as property from the tax-gatherer's point of view. On this subject, the whole of the New England members were against the arrangement which commended itself so powerfully to the South; but they were outvoted. Both questions were decided in obedience to sectional prejudices, and in defiance of reason and justice; and both were revised at a later day, when the experience of some years had made still more apparent the mistakes which ignorance and selfishness had united to commit. The earlier Constitution was also defective in its general working powers. It combined, in one and the same body, legislative, executive, and judicial functions. It admitted of no President independent of Congress itself; it suffered the administration



GENERAL BURGOYNE ADDRESSING THE INDIANS.

† Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston, 1856.

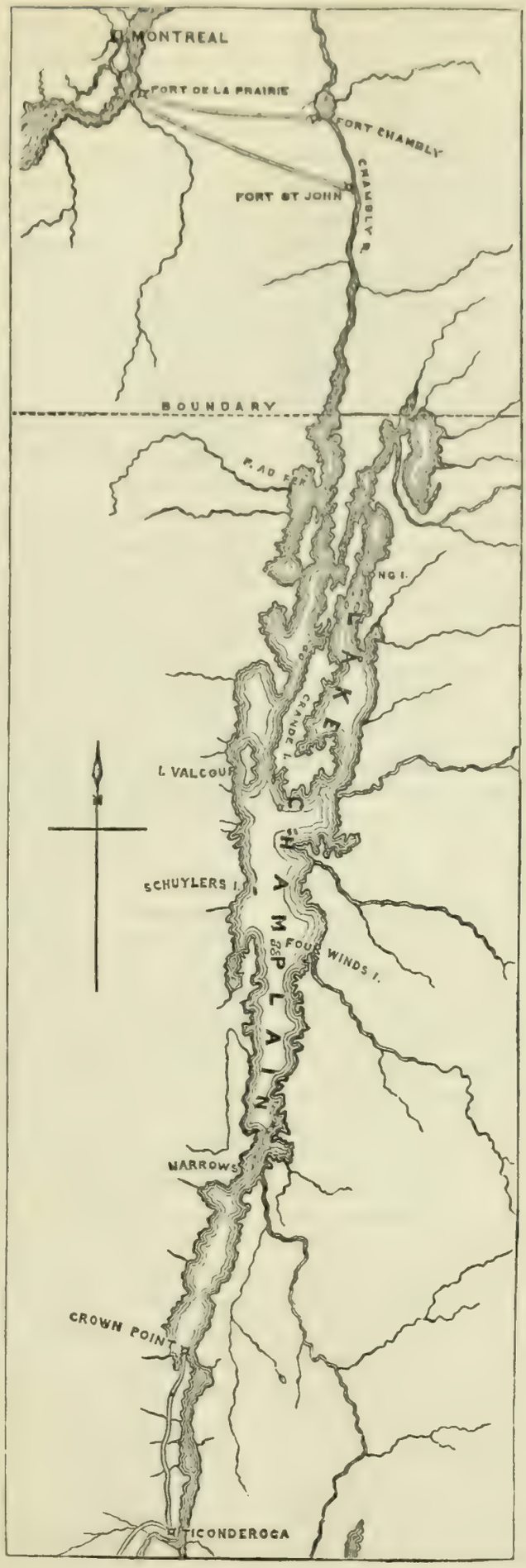
of Federal affairs to remain in the hands of committees appointed by the Assembly; it made no provision for supreme courts of justice; and it left to the Legislatures of each State, instead of granting to the people themselves without any interposition, the election of the delegates to serve in Congress. The opinion of Thomas Jefferson on this makeshift Constitution has been very clearly expressed. Though the arrangement was mainly due to the influence of the Southern members, and Jefferson was a Virginian, he saw the great shortcomings of what had been established. He remarks in his "Autobiography" that, as long as the dangers of the war kept his countrymen together, the spirit of the people acted as a supplement to the formal Confederation, but that, on the restoration of peace, less attention was paid to the calls of Congress. "The fundamental defect of the Confederation," he proceeds, "was that Congress was not authorised to act immediately on the people, and by its own officers. Their power was only requisitory, and these requisitions were addressed to the several Legislatures, to be by them carried into execution, without other coercion than the moral principle of duty. This allowed, in fact, a negative to every Legislature on every measure proposed by Congress; a negative so frequently exercised in practice as to benumb the action of the Federal Government, and to render it insufficient in its general objects, and more especially in pecuniary and foreign concerns. The want, too, of a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary functions, worked disadvantageously in practice." In short, as the grandson of John Adams observes, in relating the life of his illustrious ancestor, the States, never having advanced to the recognition of any common system of performing obligations, gradually receded to the fulfilment of none at all. The provincial spirit was strong in them; the national spirit had yet to be created by the agonies of war, and the less concentrated, though hardly less serious, trials of a distracted peace.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Cessation of Active Operations in Pennsylvania—The Division between North and South—John Adams distrustful of Washington—His Plan for dividing the Military Power with General Gates—Insubordination of some of the Commanders—Incessant and Onerous Labours of John Adams—His Opinions during the Progress of the Struggle—The American Garrison at Ticonderoga—Plan of the English Government for invading the Rebellious Colonies from Canada—Burgoyne appointed to the Command of the Expedition—His Proceedings at Crown Point, and March to Ticonderoga—Elaborate Defence of Ticonderoga by the Americans—The Position invested by Burgoyne—Abandonment of Ticonderoga by the Americans—Disastrous Retreat—Difficult March of Burgoyne towards Fort Edward—Want of Provisions—Bad Conduct of the Indians—Burgoyne's Unsuccessful Raid on Bennington—The Command of the Northern American Army transferred to Gates—St. Leger obliged to raise the Siege of Fort Stanwix (otherwise Fort Schuyler)—The Murder of Miss M'Crea—Correspondence on the Subject between Generals Gates and Burgoyne—Military Efforts of New England—Perilous Position of Burgoyne—His Advance towards Stillwater—Battle of Behmus's Heights (Sept. 19th)—Approximation of the British and American Positions—Proceedings of the Americans in the Neighbourhood of the Lakes—Alarming Situation of Burgoyne—Severe Trials of the Soldiers—Second Battle of Behmus's Heights (Oct. 7th)—Energy and Courage of Benedict Arnold—Partial Defeat of the English—Burgoyne determines on a Retreat to Saratoga—Weary and Depressing March—The Royal Forces surrounded—Holding of a Council of War—Negotiations for a Capitulation—The Terms finally agreed upon.

After the Battle of Germantown, and the proceedings of the English army and fleet for the reopening of the river Delaware, no military events of importance took place in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys during the remainder of the year 1777. Early in December, Howe, at the head of his entire army, moved towards White Marsh, where Washington was then encamped, and tried to draw his enemy into a general engagement. But the American commander refused to be thus tempted, knowing his weakness in the open field. Howe manœuvred with much skill and pertinacity, but nothing ensued beyond a little skirmishing. Washington was in a position of considerable strength, and would not be seduced from it by any amount of defiance. Both armies had been lately reinforced, and neither could now complain of paucity of numbers. The American forces, however, were greatly inferior to the British in equipments, in discipline, and in the necessaries of life. They were also terribly wanting in the sentiment of unity. Much jealousy continued to exist between North and South; and the troops from the Central States, so far from acting as intermediaries, appear to have done nothing more than introduce a third element of discord and trouble. A year before,

John Adams had expressed a doubt whether Washington himself did not contribute to this state of things by always dwelling upon circumstances which told to the discredit of the New England men, while he seldom mentioned anything of the kind with respect to regiments drawn from other parts of the Continent. "Does every man to the southward of Hudson's River," he asked Colonel Knox, "behave like a hero, and every man to the northward of it like a poltroon, or not? The rumours, reports, and letters which come here upon every occasion represent the New England troops as cowards running away perpetually, and the southern troops as standing bravely. I wish I could know whether it is true. I want to know for the government of my own conduct." In a letter to General Greene, Adams observed that the southern colonies were not very military; that they had never known much of war, and that it was not easy to make a people warlike who had never been so. This seemed to imply that all the martial genius of the country was to be found at the North. Yet, on the 26th of September, 1776, he wrote with anguish of the cowardice of New England men before New York. The distinction of North and South should at such a time have been unknown; but it amounted to a distinction of nationalities. Though this feeling had in some degree mitigated by the latter end of 1777, it had far from disappeared.



MAP OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

During the earlier part of the war, Adams was at the head of the military administration. It appears certain that he was in some degree distrustful of Washington. As a New England man, he may have felt a little vexed at the Commander-in-Chief being a Virginian, though it must not be forgotten that he had himself proposed his election to that post; but what influenced him more was a fear that Washington might turn his dictatorial powers to the injury of the commonwealth. He and Samuel Adams had hesitated about conferring such powers on any one; and John Adams is thought to have given more of his confidence to the Englishman, General Gates. Both the Adamses were eager in promoting the formation of a northern army, which should not only divide the forces of the enemy, but should also subtract somewhat from the predominance of Washington; and to the command of this army Gates was appointed. The event, as we shall presently see, justified their forethought from a military point of view. It cannot be doubted that the Generalissimo of the American forces had no enthusiastic supporter in

John Adams; and this added to the troubles of the commander.

Adams had his own troubles in the insubordination of several officers. Greene wrote to him, in the course of 1776, that he (Adams) was playing a desperate game, and he repeated the expression in 1777, though he added that this would make no difference in his resolution to see the game out. In March of the latter year, the Board of War considered it necessary to censure General Schuyler for the tone assumed by him in writing to Congress. A little later, Greene, Knox, and Sullivan simultaneously threatened to resign on hearing a rumour that a French engineer officer had been engaged by Silas Deane in Paris, and was to be set over their heads. There was really no intention on the part of Congress to sanction such an appointment, which would certainly have been unfair and injudicious; but it was determined to reprove the Generals for their attempt to intimidate, and an expectation was expressed that they would make proper acknowledgment of their error. It does not appear that they offered the least apology, and Congress could not venture on removing them. At this period, John Adams was as much the soul of the Government as Washington was the soul of the army. The labours of the great New Englander, in more than one department of the State, were incessant and most onerous. He told his wife that he was "oppressed with public cares," and at times his spirit drooped within him. He admitted to General Greene that his feelings were somewhat less sanguine than they had been. Yet he did not fail to note that there was no general defection of States in consequence of the American defeats; and therefore, he said, he did not yet despair. He wrote to Mrs. Adams from Philadelphia, early in August, 1777 :—"If Howe comes here, I shall run away, I suppose, with the rest. We are too brittle ware, you know, to stand the dashing of balls and bombs." In another letter to his wife, he said:—"If it should be the will of Heaven that our army should be defeated, our artillery lost, our best Generals killed, and Philadelphia fall into Mr. Howe's hands" (by "Mr. Howe" he meant General Sir William Howe), "still, America is not conquered. America would yet be possessed of great resources, and capable of great exertions, as mankind would see. It may, for what I know, be the design of Providence that this should be the case; because it would only lay the foundations of American independence deeper, and cement them stronger. It would cure Americans of their vicious, luxurious, and effeminate appetites, passions, and habits—a more dangerous army to American liberty than Mr. Howe's."* But all this looked rather like fortitude than hope.

The first positive success—that which, before any other, seemed to presage the final triumph of the Americans—occurred in the north, and, strange to say, it was accomplished under the directions of an Englishman. In November, 1776, the fragments of the army which had attempted the invasion of Canada, and had miserably failed in that design, were stationed at Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain. Very shortly before, they had sustained a severe defeat in those parts. With a view to dispossessing them of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, situated on that inland water, Sir Guy Carleton sent a fleet against the American vessels which had been collected on the lake under the general direction of Benedict Arnold. On the 11th and 13th of October, 1776, a hotly-contested action took place, in which the provincials fought with great courage, but were in the end defeated. The loss on both sides was heavy, and six of the American vessels were abandoned and blown up. Others were taken by the British, who on their side lost three gondolas. In consequence of this action, the Royal troops established themselves at Crown Point, and proceeded to strengthen the fortifications, but afterwards abandoned the station, and retired into Canada. As the terms of service of the Americans expired during the ensuing winter, a large number quitted the ranks, and returned home. The garrisons in the various forts of that region were reduced to mere skeletons, and they were in great dread of an attack by the British as soon as the ice was strong enough to allow the passage of troops over the lakes. On the other hand, the cantonments of the Royal army in the north were so distant from one another—being in fact drawn out from Isle aux Noix and Montreal to Quebec—that, without concentration, the English forces in Canada could not be regarded as very formidable. This concentration it was now determined to give them. An invasion of the rebellious colonies from the loyal province then ruled by Sir Guy Carleton, seemed to the English Government not merely a righteous retribution for the inroad upon Canada, but a good piece of military strategy, with a view to the successful termination of the civil war. The chief command of the army was given to General Burgoyne, much to the annoyance of Carleton, who conceived himself so much aggrieved that he offered to resign his post as Governor. Burgoyne had been in England during the early months of 1777, and had there concerted with the Ministry a plan

* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson.

of the campaign. The army placed at his disposal consisted of more than seven thousand regulars (English and German), together with a great number of Canadians and Indians. The operations of this army were to be aided by the division under Clinton, which had for some time been stationed at New York, but which was now to advance in a northerly direction. Moreover, a naval armament, under Commodore Lutwych, was to accompany the expedition of Burgoyne.

It was the 16th of June when Burgoyne, having sent forward a detachment which was to make a diversion towards Lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, quitted St. John's, and sailed up Lake Champlain. A few days later, he landed and encamped at Crown Point, where he met his Indian allies, gave them a war-feast, and, in a grandiloquent speech, sought at once to excite their courage and curb their disposition to ferocity. Burgoyne and Carleton had both doubted the propriety of employing these barbarians; but it was part of the Ministerial scheme that their assistance should be sought. Many incidents of the ensuing campaign showed how deeply criminal, in effect if not in motive, was the use of savage warriors in a contest between two branches of a civilised race. But both sides had been eager to obtain the discreditable alliance, and it can only be said that the English were more energetic than the Americans in carrying out their intentions. Burgoyne also issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, in which he threatened vengeance against the people if they opposed the Royal troops, and alluded to the fury of the Indians, who were ready to butcher the friends of independence. The General was very confident as to the results of his campaign, or at least affected to be. In an order of the day addressed to the army, he said :—"The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress, occasions may occur in which nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." It did more than retreat; it surrendered.

The army started from Crown Point on the 30th of June, and advanced along the channel which connects Lakes Champlain and George, but which by the Americans is generally held to be a portion of the former lake—the English on the western shore, the Germans on the east, and the naval squadron in the centre. Ticonderoga was reached on the 1st of July, and it was then perceived that the original lines of the French had been strengthened by the Americans, who had fortified Mount Independence, a high circular hill situated on the east side of the channel between the lakes, which is there from three to four hundred yards wide. The garrison had here erected a number of very formidable works, and had connected the two sides of the stream by a wooden bridge, supported by two-and-twenty strong pillars, the spaces between which were filled up by floats, fastened to each other, and to the pillars, by chains and rivets. The side of this bridge next to Lake Champlain was defended by a boom formed of large pieces of timber, bolted and bound together by double iron chains. The defenders of the position could in this way pass between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and at the same time the passage of vessels up the strait was prevented. Burgoyne had not expected to find such formidable obstructions to his progress; but it was not long ere he discovered the weak points in the enemy's position. A little to the south of Ticonderoga, a sharp angle of land is formed by the confluence of the waters pouring from Lake George with a stream called at that point the South River, and higher up (that is to say, farther south) Wood Creek. Out of the angle rises a steep and rugged height, denominated Sugar Hill—an elevation which commands both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. This hill had not been overlooked by the Americans; but General St. Clair, the commandant, regarded his forces as insufficient to occupy the ground, and, moreover, believed that the difficulty of the ascent would preclude any endeavour to gain possession of it. He therefore took no precautions against its falling into his adversary's hands. The number of men under St. Clair did not quite reach three thousand; but, although these were inadequate to active operations, the American General felt secure within his entrenchments, and, taking it for granted that Burgoyne would try to carry the fort by assault, conceived that he should have no difficulty in maintaining his position. The English commander, however, adopted a much more cautious method. He proceeded to invest the stronghold of his antagonist, and, on the 5th of July, took possession of Sugar Hill. The besieged did not feel strong enough to interrupt these operations; and when the fort was nearly surrounded, it appeared both to St. Clair and his officers that they had no alternative but to surrender, or to evacuate the whole line of works. Only the route by the South River remained open to them; and even this would be closed ere long. During the night between the 5th and 6th of July, the garrison escaped in a southerly direction towards Skeenesborough.

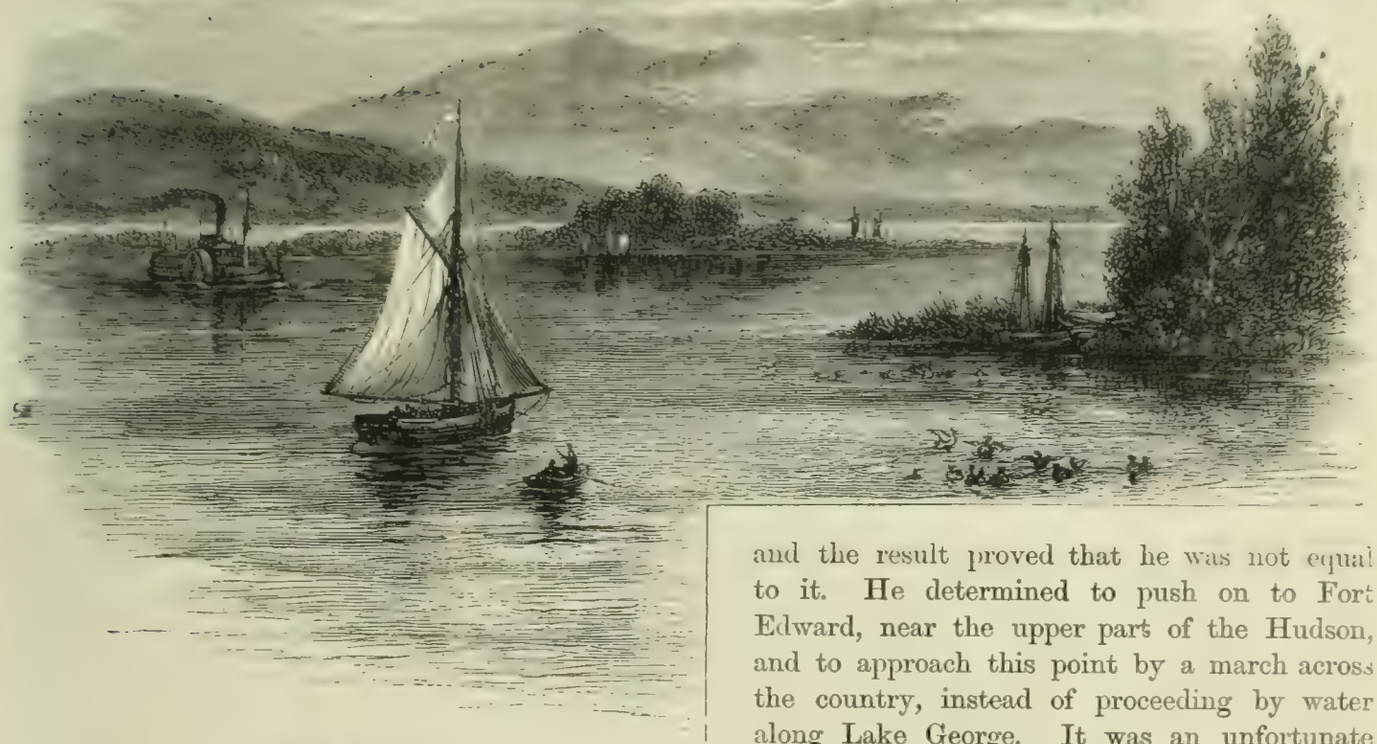
The retreat was discovered while it was yet in course of execution, owing to the imprudence of



LONG ISLAND, LAKE GEORGE.

some of the Americans, who set fire to a house. Burgoyne instantly determined on pursuit. Commodore Lutwych began to remove the obstructions in the stream, and so energetic was his action that the channel was clear by nine o'clock in the morning. A number of gun-boats which were sent up the South River overtook a body of the fugitives near the Falls of Skeenesborough, and inflicted on their small fleet very serious losses. This particular detachment then continued its retreat to Fort Anne, on Wood Creek. St. Clair, with the major portion of his army, succeeded, by a forced march of thirty miles, in reaching Castletown before the close of the day; but his rear-guard was overtaken near Hubbardtown, on the 7th, and defeated after a sanguinary engagement, in which some of the American troops behaved with signal gallantry, whilst others basely deserted their comrades. Alarmed at his position, St. Clair threw himself into the woods, and, after a harassing march, in which his men suffered much from want of food, joined Schuyler at Fort Edward on the 12th of July. The same position was also reached, shortly afterwards, by the detachment which had for awhile paused at Fort Anne. By these rapid and vigorous movements, Burgoyne had in a few days gained possession of the strong forts on the lakes, destroyed a number of the enemy's vessels, and taken a hundred and twenty-eight pieces of artillery, besides a large quantity of provisions, stores, and materials of war. His success spread the utmost alarm throughout the northern part of the Republican Union, and, in the same degree, raised sanguine hopes in England that the rebellion was about to be crushed.

But Burgoyne had an arduous task before him,



LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

and the result proved that he was not equal to it. He determined to push on to Fort Edward, near the upper part of the Hudson, and to approach this point by a march across the country, instead of proceeding by water along Lake George. It was an unfortunate choice. The natural difficulties of the route were considerable, for the land was so broken by streams and swamps that the English army had to construct on their march as many as forty bridges, one of which—a causeway rather than a bridge—was thrown over a morass two miles in length. To these obstructions were added many which the Americans had themselves contrived. Large trees were found to have been felled on both sides of the track, so as to fall across it with their branches mingled; and at every turn some new obstacle was discovered, which could only be surmounted with great loss of time. This had been done by order of General Schuyler, who also directed that the horses and cattle of the district should be driven out of reach of the Royal army. Schuyler,

indeed, exhibited praiseworthy energy in preparing for the defence. He solicited reinforcements of regular troops, and called on the militia of New England to join the army. New England furnished a body of irregulars, under the command of General Lincoln; and Congress made every effort to increase the army in that quarter. The harassing nature of Burgoyne's march gave time for these preparations. The Royal army was compelled to halt for some time at Skeenesborough, to obtain a little rest, and to enable the General to re-assemble the scattered divisions of his force, which had been disordered by the rapidity of his movements. It was likewise necessary for him to re-victual, to provide himself with tents, and to bring forward his artillery and baggage.

The weather was very hot; the labours of the army were extremely trying; and the swarms of mosquitoes which had proved such a trouble to the great navigator, Hudson, when he ascended the river that now bears his name, added to the sufferings of the soldiers. They were in the best of spirits, however, because of their late success, and, after a brief rest at Skeenesborough, resumed their march towards Fort Edward, which was reached on the 30th of July. It was found that Schuyler had evacuated the position a few days before, and had fallen back to the vicinity of Stillwater, lower down the Hudson. Another pause at Fort Edward became necessary, for Burgoyne began to find himself very much in want of draught-horses for his guns, of boats for the navigation of the Hudson, of provisions, stores, artillery, and other necessaries, which he could only obtain from Fort George, across nine or ten miles of difficult country, now rendered almost impassable by violent floods of rain. For his provisions he was obliged to reckon chiefly on the stores of salt meat brought from England into the St. Lawrence, and thence conveyed across Lake Champlain. He also found that he was to receive no assistance from the auxiliary expedition which he had sent out, under Colonel St. Leger, to operate against Fort Stanwix (called by the Americans Fort Schuyler), on the Mohawk River. St. Leger, who, after reducing the fort, was to join the Commander-in-Chief, met with so firm a resistance on the part of the garrison that he was unable to make any progress with his design. Another source of trouble was the bad conduct of the Indians. Even as early as the 11th of July, Burgoyne had written to the Colonial Secretary (Lord George Germaine) that the savages were only to be managed by indulging them in all the caprices and humours of spoiled children, yet that, if they were not in some respects restrained, they would commit enormities too horrid to think of, and involve the guilty and the innocent, women and children, in a common fate. As soldiers, these sanguinary barbarians were worthless. They simply encumbered the army by superfluous numbers, and disgraced the cause for which they pretended to fight.

The situation of Burgoyne was embarrassing. His left flank and rear were threatened by General Lincoln, who was endeavouring to cut off his communications with Lake George, and who even contemplated an attempt to recover Ticonderoga. The failure in the supply of provisions grew every day more serious; and at length the English General conceived the idea of procuring what he wanted by a sudden raid. The American forces were at that time receiving live cattle from New England. These were collected at Bennington, twenty-four miles east of the Hudson, and within the borders of Vermont, where large stores of other necessaries had also been deposited. Burgoyne therefore moved down the east side of the Hudson, encamped nearly opposite Saratoga, sent his van across the river by a bridge of rafts, and, in the opposite direction, despatched Colonel Baum, a German officer, to surprise Bennington. Baum found himself opposed by a much larger force than his own. General Stark, the officer in command of the Americans, who consisted in great part of New Hampshire militia, lost no time in taking advantage of his superiority. The German, on seeing how much he was overmatched, sent an express to Burgoyne for reinforcements, and, drawing up his small body of men, fortified his position as well as he could. But on the 14th of August he was threatened by the advance of the militia under Stark, and it was determined by the Americans to make a vigorous attack next day. The 15th proved to be rainy, and the assault was therefore postponed to the 16th. On that day, a prolonged and desperate engagement took place, ending in the complete rout of Baum's small division, and of some reinforcements, under another German officer, sent by Burgoyne to the assistance of the first. Together with a large number of arms, seven hundred prisoners were taken by the Americans; among them, Baum himself, mortally wounded, and not far from death.

It was at this period that the command of the northern American army was taken from General Schuyler, who had acted as a lieutenant of Washington, and placed in the hands of General Gates, who, as we have seen, was set up rather as a counterpoise to the great Virginian than as a subordinate. Schuyler had recently shown much ability in the conduct of military affairs; but he

had never been popular with the New Englanders, nor yet with Congress, where the genius of the Adamses prevailed. The heads of the War Office condemned the surrender of Ticonderoga, and the retreat of the American army down the Hudson. A subsequent inquiry proved that St. Clair was not to blame, and he and the other Northern officers were honourably acquitted; but in the meanwhile Schuyler had been superseded by Gates. The latter General arrived at the camp near Stillwater on the 19th of August. Three days after, St. Leger was compelled to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix, retiring with so much precipitation that he left his tents standing, abandoned his artillery, and suffered a great part of his baggage, ammunition, and provisions to fall into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which pursued his discomfited soldiers. The credit of this American success is due to the fortitude and courage of the defenders, and to the excellent arrangements of Schuyler, who despatched Arnold with a body of regular troops to relieve the fort. A great deal of fighting took place before the walls; but the final retreat of St. Leger, on the 22nd of August, was to a large extent caused by desertions from among the Indians who formed a considerable element in the attacking force.

Shortly after Gates had assumed the command, several communications of an angry character were exchanged between him and Burgoyne. On the 30th of August, the latter wrote to his adversary, complaining of the harsh treatment of loyalists by the insurgents, and hinting at retaliation. Gates replied on the 2nd of September, and enlarged with much vehemence on the atrocities that had been committed by Indian allies of the Royal troops. He dwelt in particular on the case of Miss M^{c}Crea, the daughter of a gentleman attached to the Royal cause who resided near Fort Edward. This young lady was engaged to be married to an officer in the British provincial troops, who, the better to secure her safety, as he thought, engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to escort her from her home to the British camp, where the marriage was to take place. An ancient Greek dramatist could have desired no better instance of the way in which mortals, in their blindness, abet the unseen purposes of Fate. The very means which the young officer had taken to protect his betrothed, proved the occasion and the means of her death. He had promised the person who should bring her safely to him a keg of rum. On the way, two of the Indians quarrelled as to which of them should present the lady to her bridegroom, and so receive the promised reward. At length, one of them, roused to fury, struck Miss M'Crea on the head with his tomahawk, and killed her on the spot, being resolved that, if *he* could not obtain the rum, neither should his companion. General Gates, in writing to Burgoyne on the subject, alleged that Miss M'Crea "was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and then scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all treated with the same inhumanity while quietly residing in their once happy dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was particularly aggravated by her being dressed to meet her promised husband; but she met her murderers employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children have perished by the hands of the ruffians to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood." Burgoyne, in responding to this letter, indignantly denied that he had paid a price for scalps. One of his first regulations was that Indians should receive compensation for prisoners, because it would prevent cruelty, and that a strict account should be demanded when scalps were produced. The practice of scalping was strictly prohibited, and the persons of aged men, of women, children, and prisoners, were pronounced sacred, even in assaults.

The case of Miss M^{c}Crea was bad enough, without any additions; but Gates appears to have exaggerated the facts, though perhaps more from ignorance than from design. That women and children were taken out of a house together with Miss M^{c}Crea, and murdered at the same time, with accompanying mutilations, seems not to have been the truth.* It was also an absurdity, as well as an injustice, to fasten any guilt on Burgoyne in connection with the slaughter of that unhappy young lady, since she and her lover were both adherents of the Royal cause. But the tragical incident, if correctly related, was another proof of the impropriety of employing savages. Burgoyne unquestionably did all he could to restrain the ferocity of the tribes—to such an extent, indeed, as to lose their good-will, and ultimately their services. Yet it is clear that he did not entirely succeed, though he may not have failed to the extent that partisan writers set forth. As regards Miss M^{c}Crea, Burgoyne compelled the Indians to deliver up her murderer, and would have hanged him, had not his

* The statement, persistently made by the Indians, that Miss M^{c}Crea was accidentally killed by a stray bullet when they were fired upon by their pursuers, is accepted by some modern investigators, and has at any rate two strong points in its favour, viz., that they did succeed in getting her mother, a very large woman, safely into camp, and that it would have been far more to their interest to save her life than to destroy it.

comrades agreed to terms, conditional on his being pardoned, which the General thought would be more efficacious than an execution in preventing similar enormities.

After the failure of his attempt to obtain supplies from Bennington, Burgoyne was obliged to fetch his provisions once more from Fort George, and at last, by great exertions, succeeded in collecting a stock sufficient for thirty days. He was soon unpleasantly convinced that his recent repulse had had a very bad effect on the population generally. The disloyal were encouraged; the loyal disheartened. The latter had begun to enlist in the English service; but they now hesitated and held back. The revolutionists were of course all the more inclined to take up arms. From day to day, the patriotic levies grew in number and waxed in spirit. The New England men enlisted in large bodies; many not waiting for any authoritative summons. In a few weeks Burgoyne had in his front a force of thirteen thousand irregulars—admirable marksmen with the rifle, if they were nothing else. An officer in Burgoyne's army has recorded that in many poor habitations the people of Massachusetts parted with one of their blankets, where they had but two, for the use of the soldiers. In New England, the feeling was almost, if not quite, unanimous. The masses were prepared to suffer anything, rather than submit.

The forces of General Burgoyne were now further weakened by his being compelled to supply a garrison for Ticonderoga, which fort he had previously expected would be manned by troops supplied by Sir Guy Carleton. He therefore determined on recalling from Saratoga the vanguard he had sent across the Hudson under the orders of General Fraser. Heavy rains had carried away the bridge of rafts by which they gained the town, and Fraser's men had much ado to repass the river in such boats and canoes as they could find. Having collected his forces, Burgoyne formed a project of advancing to the town of Albany, which was not more than fifty miles from Fort Edward, and considerably less from the point where he then was. At Albany he hoped to obtain adequate supplies, and in this case he could probably have awaited in safety the promised co-operation from New York. It was also believed that in that neighbourhood a number of loyal subjects would have been found, who would have done everything in their power to establish and strengthen the army. The execution of the design was delayed nearly a month by the collection of provisions from Fort George; and the interval acted to the advantage of the Americans, by enabling them to bring together, and in some degree to organise, their forces. We have the testimony of the English General himself as to the energy of the insurgents at this period. In a private letter written to Lord George Germaine on the 20th of August—during the time of waiting—he observed that wherever the King's forces appeared to be moving, militia, to the number of three or four thousand, would assemble in four-and-twenty hours, bringing with them their subsistence; and, the alarm over, they returned to their farms. The Hampshire Grants—a country unpeopled, and almost unknown, during the previous war—now abounded, according to Burgoyne, in the most active and rebellious race in America; and these men hung like a gathering storm upon his left. The utmost industry had been exhibited by the people in driving cattle and removing corn; and of the messengers sent out by the English commander, in the endeavour to open communications with Sir William Howe, two were known to have been hanged, while the fate of the others remained a mystery. The Royal army had certainly reason to feel apprehensive of the result.

On the 13th and 14th of September, Burgoyne crossed to the west side of the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany. Gates was at Stillwater, and not more than twelve miles now intervened between the two armies. The bridges between them, however, were broken down, and the roads were so bad that the British, encumbered by their train of artillery and numerous waggons, could only move with extreme slowness. Thick woods burdened the country, and, by their melancholy shadows, now deepened by advancing autumn, added to the depression of the troops. Frequent skirmishing took place, but the advance of the British was not checked. On the evening of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, which was drawn up in front of Stillwater along a range of low hills called Bemus's Heights. This encampment had been planned by the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, of whom Washington had spoken as "a gentleman of science and merit." On the 19th of September, Burgoyne placed himself at the head of the right wing, and marched against his foes, who, not waiting to be attacked, moved forward also, as soon as they perceived the approach of the British, which was for some time hidden by the intervening forest. Gates, who was well served by a number of active scouts, detached Colonel Morgan, the dashing ranger already distinguished for his courage before Quebec and at other places, to observe the motions of the opposing forces.

Morgan encountered the vanguard of the advancing column, and drove it back; but the men were soon rallied, and, in their turn, compelled the Americans to give way. The engagement shortly afterwards became general. The Republicans first attempted to turn the right flank of the British line, but, being foiled in this, attacked the left of Burgoyne's right wing. Reinforcements were hurried up on both sides, and, in the course of the afternoon, General Arnold, with nine Continental regiments and Morgan's riflemen, was closely engaged with the Royal troops. Most of Burgoyne's artillerymen were killed at their guns, and the carnage generally was terrible. The battle continued until sunset, when the Americans retreated to their lines, and the English remained masters of the field. During the action, Burgoyne had exposed himself with almost reckless courage, and it is surprising that he should have escaped unhurt. Several of the Americans climbed trees in the rear of their countrymen, and, whenever the volleys ceased for a few minutes, and the air cleared of smoke, took aim at the English officers, of whom, in one regiment, more than two-thirds were killed or wounded. The loss on both sides had been severe, and neither had gained any decisive advantage.

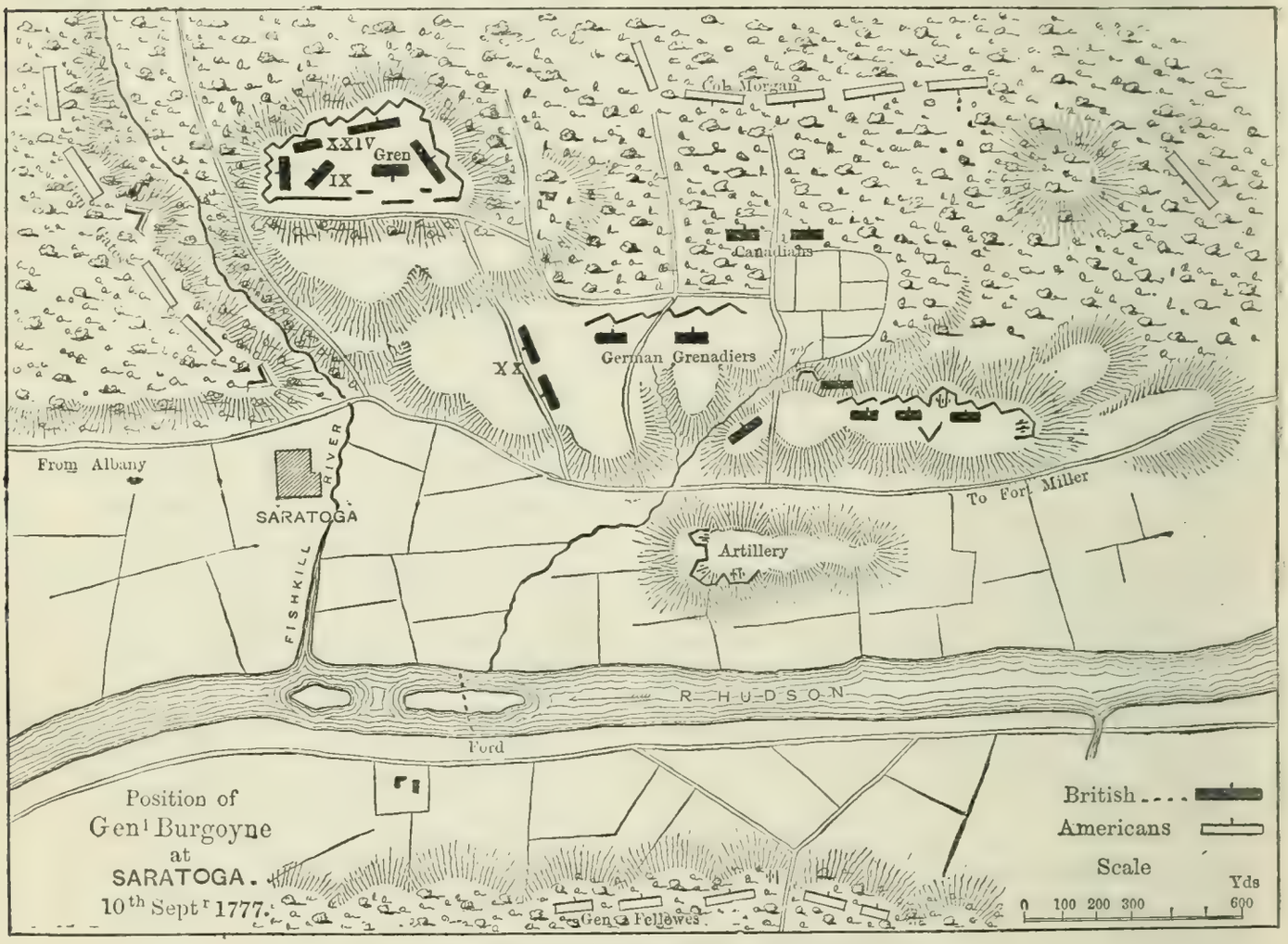
On the whole, however, the Americans were in the better position, though they had left the ground in possession of their antagonists. It was apparent to Burgoyne, from what he had himself observed, and from information supplied by prisoners and deserters, that his adversary had the superiority in point of numbers. He therefore felt it unwise for the present to make a fresh attack, though on the morning of the 20th he took up ground nearer to the American lines. Shrinking from the inhumanity of abandoning his wounded, he refrained from any attempt to cut his way to Albany. He was now almost within cannon-shot of the enemy, and a pause ensued, during which both combatants fortified their camps. The Americans were greatly inspirited by hearing that General Lincoln had assembled a formidable body of New England militia, and, by a skilful disposition of them in the neighbourhood of the lakes, had cut off Burgoyne's retreat towards Canada. Before the end of September, a portion of this force, amounting to two thousand men, arrived in Gates's camp, and added still further to his strength; and at the same time several of the British outposts near Ticonderoga were taken by the New Englanders, together with many gunboats and other vessels, which were afterwards destroyed. An attack on Ticonderoga itself, and another on Diamond Island, where Burgoyne had deposited all the stores he had collected at the south end of Lake George, were repulsed, but altogether the Americans had greatly improved their prospects by these operations. The most sanguine anticipations were formed throughout the United States; and they were not disappointed.

Burgoyne had little to comfort him in the straits to which he was now reduced. He endeavoured to open communications with Howe and Clinton, but without success. From Clinton, however, on the morning of the 21st of September, he received a letter in cipher, intimating that the New York highlands would be attacked about that time. In a narrative of his expedition which he afterwards published, Burgoyne stated that he was in hourly expectation of that measure having the effect of dislodging Gates from his position, or of obliging him to detach a large portion of his force. He reckoned upon either of these events opening his way to Albany, and accordingly waited in his fortified camp for that which never came. Food was running so alarmingly short that it was found necessary to put the troops on diminished rations—a deprivation which they bore with exemplary good-will. During that trying period, neither officers nor soldiers ever slept but in their clothes. The two armies were so near one another that not a night passed without frequent attacks on the advanced piquets. One night, the soldiers were kept under arms for several hours, in consequence of a great noise, as of the howling of dogs, which it was thought the enemy had set up to cover some meditated attack. On the following night the noise was much greater, and a detachment of Canadians and Anglo-American provincials was sent out to reconnoitre, when it was found to have arisen from large droves of wolves seeking after the dead bodies. "They were similar to a pack of hounds," said an officer, writing to his friends of the events of this time; "for, one setting up a cry, they all joined, and, when one approached a corpse, their noise was hideous till they had scratched it up."

No news of the expected co-operation having arrived, and the situation becoming every day more desperate, Burgoyne, on the 7th of October, determined to make a movement to the enemy's left with a portion of his force, hoping to discover a favourable point for forcing a passage through the opposing lines. He also wished to divert the attention of the American forces while another part of his army was sent on a foraging expedition. This led to the second battle of Bemus's Heights. The English troops were met on their way by a large detachment from Gates's army, and a furious combat burst forth. Gates, as on the 19th of Sep-

tember, remained behind in his encampment, that he might superintend the general operations of the day. Benedict Arnold was there also; restrained from any share in the fighting by order of the Commander-in-chief, between whom and himself a quarrel had arisen some days before. In consequence of this quarrel, Arnold was deprived of his command; but his martial ardour could not be long controlled. As, on the morning of the 7th, he heard the firing grow louder and louder, he fretted with impatience, and at length, mounting his horse, rode off to the field of battle. Gates sent an aide-de-camp after him, to bring him back. Arnold, finding himself followed, set spurs to his steed, and, by dint of hard riding, managed to outstrip his pursuer. Mingling with the combatants, he rode from regiment to regiment, searching out the hottest parts of the action, and issuing orders which, unauthorised though they were, met with a ready obedience, and contributed largely to the success of the day. A writer of the time has recorded that Arnold was "next to military-mad;" that, in the heat of the engagement, he seemed so beside himself as scarcely to know what he did; that he struck several officers with his sword, without any apparent reason; and that when called to account next day by these officers, he declared that he remembered nothing at all about it.* The British at length retreated, but in good order, though compelled to leave behind them six pieces of artillery. The fight had been fierce and murderous, and among the mortally wounded was General Fraser, who was shot down by an American rifleman, stationed high up among the branches of a tree.

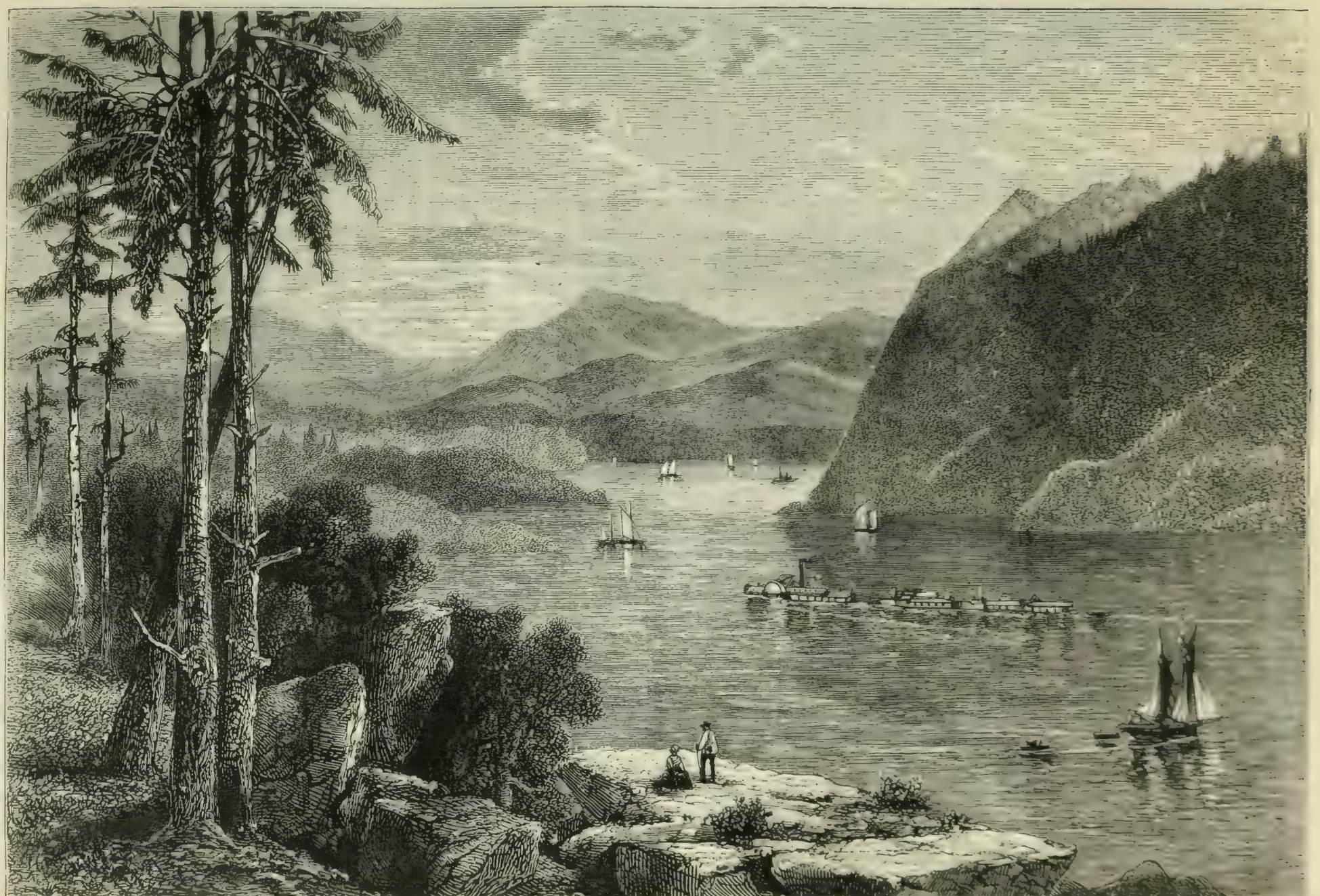
Arnold was resolved to push his advantage still farther. He gave directions that the British lines



PLAN OF BURGOYNE'S POSITION ON THE HUDSON.

should be stormed, and, under cover of a raking fire of grapeshot and musketry, the Americans flung themselves against the entire length of their opponent's works. Charging at the head of the assailants, Arnold again distinguished himself by his fiery courage and resolution, but was ultimately wounded in the same leg which had been injured at Quebec. General Lincoln also was seriously hurt. The Americans had by this time forced their way into the left of the English encampment, but were ultimately driven out by its defenders,

* Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. II., p. 563.



THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS.

acting under the immediate orders of Burgoyne. The right, composed of Germans, commanded by Colonel Brehman, who was killed, was outflanked by the attacking party of Colonel Brooks, who stormed the works, drove back the Germans, and at the close of the day retained possession of the ground which he had won. Though only partial, the success of the Americans had been great. They had gained a position on the English right and rear; they had disabled many of their adversaries; they had made more than two hundred prisoners, including several officers of distinction; and they had taken nine brass guns, all the baggage and camp equipage of the German brigade that had been defeated, and a large supply of ammunition, which they greatly needed. The state of affairs was so threatening for the Royal troops that in the course of the night they quitted their encampment, and took up a fresh position on some neighbouring hills, with their right extending up the river. This change of front relieved Burgoyne from immediate peril, but brought him no nearer victory. It was the first occasion during the war on which, without the advantage of protecting works, without any ambuscade or surprise, in the open field, and by the operations of a regular pitched battle, the colonists had proved themselves more than a match for veterans.

In their new position the English remained throughout the 8th, offering battle to the enemy, who however declined to accept it, but made every arrangement for getting still more in the rear of Burgoyne's divisions. The English General, on discovering this movement, saw that he had no alternative but a retreat to Saratoga. Such was the sorry result of an expedition which had been prefaced by the lofty announcement that "this army must not retreat." Burgoyne was a man of brilliant courage and of good acquirements as an officer; but one of his besetting sins was a love of rhodomontade. There was something more French than English in his tendency to grandiloquence; and he paid the penalty in a consequent aggravation of his failures. His troops were in motion by nine o'clock on the evening of the 8th. The sick and wounded he was compelled to leave behind in hospital, commending them by letter to the kindly consideration of General Gates, which in the event was not found wanting. The distance to be traversed was barely ten miles; but the march was of a most laborious and painful character. Burgoyne was determined not to relinquish his artillery; yet to convey it was a matter of extreme difficulty. Very few of his draught-horses remained, and the roads were heavy with rain, which now fell persistently. The guns were slowly dragged across the intervening country, and the progress of the army was retarded by this solicitude, and by the necessity of protecting the boats upon the Hudson which contained their scanty stores of provisions. The forces did not reach Saratoga until the following night. "Such was their state of fatigue," wrote Burgoyne at a subsequent date, "that the men, for the most part, had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes, upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain." It was the main body of the army which arrived on the 9th. Some of the troops, and the whole of the artillery, were so much delayed that they did not pass the fords of the Fishkill until the early morning of the 10th.

No real advantage had been gained by the removal. A division of the American forces, marching with greater rapidity than the weary English, had already got beyond Saratoga, and had occupied the fords and other strong positions leading to Fort Edward. Another had crossed the Hudson, from the opposite shore of which so brisk a cannonade was maintained that it was found impossible to keep the provision-boats upon the river. The stores of food were therefore landed on the western side, and Burgoyne looked about him to see what new dispositions he could make. The prospect was depressing and terrible. On the hills round Saratoga, the enemy was posted in force, so as to command the roads in many directions. For a time it occurred to the English commander that his regiments might, by casting aside all their impediments, escape by night to Fort Edward, with a few days' food upon their backs. To prepare the way for this movement, he sent forward a company of artificers, escorted by troops, to repair the roads and bridges, but was soon compelled to recall them, owing to the appearance of a large body of the Americans, ranged so as to indicate an intention of attacking the Royal army. Another scheme that suggested itself to Burgoyne was to take advantage of the great reduction of the enemy's forces towards Bemus's Heights, to retrace his ground, and to make a push for Albany. But, upon mature consideration, it appeared only too obvious that such a manœuvre could not be accomplished. The army from which so much had been hoped was caught in a trap, and the necessity of surrender became clearer with every hour.

On the 13th of October, Burgoyne called a council of war, to which were summoned not only all the general officers, but the field officers as well, and even the captains commanding corps. The

Americans (whose numbers were probably more than double those of the English) were by this time in still greater strength than at first. They were on the ford of Saratoga; they had taken positions on both banks of the Hudson; they were between the British army and Fort Edward; they had thrown up entrenchments, provided with artillery, on the high grounds between that fort and Fort George. On three parts of a circle they were strongly posted; the fourth part, though open, offered but slight chances of escape, since the enemy would at once have closed in and pursued, had any movement taken place. The situation of the Royal army was so absolutely commanded by the American cannon that no spot could be found for holding the council of war which was not exposed to the fire of artillery and small arms. Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than six thousand men, of whom not many more than half were British;* nearly all his Indians had deserted him; and of provisions no more remained than would suffice for a week or eight days. Addressing his officers, the General declared that nothing would induce him to propose terms to the enemy unless he had the full concurrence of his companions-in-arms, and that he was ready to take the lead in any measure that might be thought necessary for vindicating the honour of the British arms.

The council was unanimous for treating, provided that honourable terms could be obtained. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with General Gates, and on the 14th of October Major Kingston delivered to him a message, which ran:—"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms." A cessation of arms was accordingly agreed to, and Gates sent in a list of proposals, the first of which stated that "General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c., their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they can only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war." Burgoyne replied that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands. Another of Gates's proposals (embodied in the sixth article) set forth that, on the terms being agreed to, the British troops might be drawn up in their encampments, where they would be ordered to ground their arms, and might thereupon be marched to the river-side, to be passed over on their way to Bennington. Burgoyne answered:—"This article is inadmissible in any extremity. Sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." Again, further on, he wrote:—"If General Gates does not mean to recede from the sixth article, the treaty ends at once. The army will, to a man, proceed to any act of desperation, rather than submit to that article." Gates, seeing the folly of driving his adversary to despair, and knowing that Burgoyne would assuredly fulfil his threat if exasperated, qualified the severity of his original terms. On his own side, Burgoyne submitted a series of conditions, which were ultimately accepted; and the preliminaries were at an end.

The terms were—That the army should march out of the camp, with all the honours of war, to an appointed place at the river-side, where, at the word of command from their own officers, their arms were to be piled; that a free passage to Great Britain should be granted them, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the existing contest; that the port of Boston should admit the transports for that purpose, at any time desired by General Howe; that, meanwhile, during their march to Massachusetts, or their stay in quarters, provisions should be supplied for their use; that, on the march, the officers should not be separated from their men, and, in quarters, should be lodged according to rank; that roll-calling, and other duties of regularity, should not be hindered; that the officers should be admitted on parole, and allowed to wear their side-arms; that no baggage should be searched or molested, General Burgoyne pledging his honour that it contained no public stores; that all persons, of whatever country, appertaining to or following the camp, should be fully comprehended in these terms; and that the Canadians should be sent back to Canada, bound, by the same condition as the British, not

* There is much discrepancy in the several accounts as to the number of Burgoyne's forces just before the surrender; but the above estimate is based on the General's own return at the time. (See Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. II., pp. 577–8.) Of regular soldiers, however, Burgoyne had only 3,500; the rest were Canadians, boatmen, artificers, and other camp-followers.

to serve again in North America during the war.*

The agreement of which these were the principal heads, was, by the express stipulation of Burgoyne, entitled a Convention, not a Capitulation. A precedent for this verbal concession to the feelings of the conquered was found in an unfortunate event in the military career of the Duke of Cumberland. Gates made no objection; and that which was really a surrender was draped in a vague expression, which softened the harshness of the actual facts. The Americans had made their first truly great success; and Burgoyne—a man of gallant spirit, of intellectual acquirements, and of kindly and honourable character—was beaten by a defective commissariat, by delay in co-operating movements on which he had been led to calculate, and by a too great rashness in the pursuit of designs which, after a certain date, had become impracticable, and which should then have been relinquished.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton against Forts Clinton and Montgomery—Taking of those Strongholds by Storm—Further Successes of General Clinton—Effect of these Successes on the Mind of Burgoyne—Signing of the Treaty of Saratoga, and Surrender of the British Army—The March out of the Defeated Troops—Noble Conduct of General Gates and of the American Soldiers—Generosity of Schuyler—Treatment of General Burgoyne in England—His Defence of Himself, and Testimonies to his Conduct—Washington and Gates—Ill-usage of the English Prisoners in Massachusetts—Violation of the Convention by Congress—Conway's Cabal against Washington—Meeting of the British Parliament in November, 1777—References to America in the King's Speech—Chatham's Opposition to the Address—Effect in England of the News of Burgoyne's Surrender—General Determination to Prosecute the War with Vigour—Resolution of the French Government to Recognise the Independence of the United States—Chatham and Rockingham—Letter of Gates to the Earl of Thanet—Position of the English People towards America—The Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North.

The articles of the Convention between Generals Burgoyne and Gates were settled on the 16th of October, and they were to be mutually signed and exchanged at nine o'clock on the following morning. On the night of the 16th, however, the English commander received a piece of intelligence which created some doubt in his mind as to whether he should sign the formal treaty on the 17th. He was informed of the commencement of those operations by Sir Henry Clinton on which he had so long been calculating. The proceedings of that General had been delayed by the necessity of awaiting reinforcements from England, and the reinforcements were very slow in coming. Howe, between whom and Clinton there was some coldness, had left his subordinate at New York with but a small force, and had at the same time strictly cautioned him against endangering his possession of the city where he was then stationed. At length, at the end of September, Clinton was joined by seventeen hundred fresh troops from England, and, at the head of three thousand men, ascended the Hudson, with a view, in the first instance, to reducing Forts Clinton and Montgomery, recently built close to one another on the western bank of the river, the passage of which they obstructed. The former of these forts was designated, not after Sir Henry Clinton, but from an American General of the same name; for, strange to say, a Howe and a Clinton were to be found on both sides. The American troops in that direction were commanded by General Putnam, who, apprehending that his adversary meant to attack Fort Independence, four or five miles below the twin forts, and then to march towards Albany, retired to the heights in his rear, and neglected to strengthen the garrisons of the more important positions. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were planted on high ground, difficult of access, about fifty miles to the north of New York; and the natural strength of the situation was increased by the elaborate obstructions which had been drawn across the river. Sir Henry Clinton landed at Verplank's Point, a little below Peekskill, on the 5th of October, while the accompanying naval squadron, under Commodore Hotham, moved higher up the river. Having left a detachment behind him, to guard the position that had been assumed, Clinton proceeded in boats to Stony Point, marched across the mountains to the forts he had in view, and took them both by storm on the 6th. The river was then opened by the English vessels; the American galleys were fired by their

* Stedman's History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War (London, 1794); Gordon's History; Impartial History of the War; Earl Stanhope's History of England; &c.

crews; and Forts Independence and Constitution were abandoned by the defenders. Soon afterwards, the batteries at Esopus Creek were reduced, and the small town of Esopus was burnt to ashes. Continuing their ascent up the river, the English had arrived within forty miles of Albany, when Clinton, hearing of the Convention of Saratoga, judged it advisable to return.

Burgoyne was subsequently of opinion that, if these successes had been gained a few days earlier, and if he could have received tidings of them any time between the two actions on Bemus's Heights, he would have been able to force his way to Albany, and would thus have succeeded in the general object of his campaign. However this may have been,—and the point is one of those speculative questions of military science which may be argued in many ways,- it is undeniable that both Putnam and Gates were alarmed at the progress which Clinton was making. The latter was now threatened in his rear, and the former wrote to him, during his retreat, that he was unable to do anything to arrest the march of the enemy, and that he would advise him to prepare for the worst.

On receipt of this intelligence, Gates felt uneasy, and did his utmost to hurry on the signing of the treaty. Burgoyne, on the other hand, was dubious about signing it at all. Having, together with the intelligence of Clinton's advance, received a report that a considerable force had already on that account been detached from the American army, he sent a message to Gates, asking if the report were true, as such a fact would be "subversive of the principles on which the treaty originated,—namely, a great superiority of numbers in General Gates's army." The American General answered by pledging his honour that no detachment whatever had been made during the negotiation of the treaty. It is pretty certain that Burgoyne would have been better pleased had his antagonist replied in the contrary sense; for he greatly desired to make a renewed attempt to break through. On the morning of the 16th, he convened his council of war for the last time, and placed before them a question of the greatest moment.

"Is the treaty in its present situation," he asked, "binding on this army, and is the General's honour engaged for the signing of it?" A majority of the council declared that in their opinion the public faith was already pledged. Burgoyne himself held the contrary view very strongly, but deferred to the greater number, adding, however, on the minutes of the council:—"The Lieutenant-General's opinion being clear that he is not bound by what has passed, he would not execute the treaty upon the sole consideration of the point of honour, not with standing the respectable majority against him." What really determined his thoughts was a consideration of the actual circumstances under which he was placed. The news of Clinton's triumphs was only hearsay, and might possibly be erroneous. The soldiers were by this time accustomed to the idea of a Convention, intimations of which had gone forth amongst them; and any struggle for their extrication would have a desperate, and perhaps a fatal, character. The matter was therefore considered as settled, and Burgoyne made up his mind to sign the melancholy document.

With the morning of October 17th, the feeling of anxiety on the part of Gates increased. He got everything in readiness for attacking the Royal army, should the negotiations break down at the last moment; and, the time for signing having arrived, he sent Colonel Greaton on horseback to Burgoyne, with a message requiring the General to append his name at once. He allowed this officer no more than ten minutes in which to go and come, and, standing with his watch in his hand, awaited his return. Greaton was back in time, with the treaty signed.* All hostile demonstrations then ceased, and the Americans marched into their lines, where they were kept until the British troops had marched out, and deposited their arms at the place appointed by the treaty. This was a spot near the river, where the old ford was situated. At the same place they received from American commissaries their supplies of fresh provisions (of which they stood much in need), and sadly began their march to Massachusetts. Nothing could be more admirable than the conduct of General Gates, who would not permit his men to witness the piling of the British arms. In a letter written a few days later to the Earl of Thanet, in London, he referred to himself as one who gloried in the name of an Englishman; and, in writing to his wife, he spoke admiringly of one of his prisoners—Major Acland—as "an Englishman to all intents and purposes." He was therefore not likely to gloat over the humiliation of the English troops, out of any defect of national sentiment. But, in addition to this, he was an eminently humane man, whose instincts, on matters touching the feelings and the rights of the unfortunate, were generally on the side of kindness and consideration. Let it here be recorded that a few years before his death, in 1806, the conqueror of Saratoga emancipated all his slaves, and provided for such as were unable to support themselves.

* Gordon's History, Vol. II., pp. 573–4.

The high and chivalrous spirit of General Gates was fully shared by his troops. They felt that they were one in blood with the soldiers whom they had defeated, and that any exhibition of triumph would have been not only ungenerous, but self-stultifying. An English officer who was present on the occasion has recorded that when he and his comrades, after piling their arms, passed the American regiments, they saw not one gesture, heard not one word, of disrespect. There was not even a taunting look: all was mute astonishment and pity.* Gates received Burgoyne with much cordiality. "I am very happy to see you," he said: words which were certainly well-intentioned, though Burgoyne seems for the moment to have understood them differently. "I believe it," he rejoined, with an epigrammatic turn which had something of sharpness; "the fortune of war is entirely yours." Such, at least, is the account given by a French writer. The reply has a rather suspicious flavour of Gallicism; yet Burgoyne, as a writer of comedy, may have found it come naturally. The first feeling of awkwardness soon passed away, and General Schuyler, by the kindness and delicacy of his behaviour, aided the efforts of Gates to set the captive at his ease. To Schuyler more than ordinary praise must be given. He had, in a pecuniary sense, suffered very seriously by the proceedings of Burgoyne, who, on his retreat to



AMERICAN MARKSMAN UP A TREE.

* Lieutenant Anburey's Travels in North America, quoted by Earl Stanhope in his History.

Saratoga, had thought it needful, for the security of his position, to burn certain houses, saw-mills, and store-rooms belonging to Schuyler, by which he had sustained a loss of nearly £10,000. That officer, though not now holding any command, was one of the first persons who greeted Burgoyne after the Convention had been signed; and the latter expressed his regret at what had happened, and the reasons which occasioned it. Schuyler desired him to think no more of the act, saying that it was quite justified by the principles and rules of war, and that he should himself have done similarly under the like circumstances. Subsequently, Schuyler sent an aide-de-camp to conduct the English commander to Albany, in order to procure him better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. He was in fact taken to the residence of Mrs. Schuyler and her family, where he remained during the whole of his stay at Albany, experiencing a hospitality as delicate as it was cordial.*



SARATOGA LAKE.

From Albany, on the 20th of October, Burgoyne addressed to Lord George Germaine, the Secretary for the Colonial Department, a despatch announcing the great disaster by which he had been overtaken. He transmitted this despatch to England by his aide-de-camp, Lord Petersham (afterwards the third Earl of Harrington), and its contents necessarily produced a startling effect both on the Ministry and the nation. Great expectations had been entertained as to the results of the northern expedition, and its first successes had increased those anticipations in no small degree. The feeling of anger was consequently all the greater when the mournful truth became known; and General Burgoyne was visited with unmeasured censure. On his return to England in the following year, the King refused to see him, and he was denied a court-martial. Debarred from the ordinary forms of justice in military affairs, he joined the ranks of the Opposition in Parliament, and made himself formidable. The Ministry endeavoured to exclude him from the House, on the ground that, as a prisoner of war, he had no right either to speak or to vote; but the Speaker, on being appealed to, decided in his favour. In 1779, when a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the conduct of Lord and General Sir William Howe (an inquiry leading to no result), Burgoyne was allowed to

* These facts were gratefully recorded by Burgoyne himself in a speech in the House of Commons, May 26th, 1778.

produce evidence in exculpation of his own conduct. On this occasion, several of his officers spoke very highly as to his courage, judgment, and abilities; and, in particular, the Earl of Balcarras, commander of the British Light Infantry under General Fraser, who was killed at the second battle of Bemus's Heights, affirmed that in every situation of danger and difficulty General Burgoyne possessed himself, and enjoyed the confidence, the respect, and the esteem of the army. He had never heard one officer or common soldier complain of him for his return to England; but he had heard the whole army express a wish that he should be the man to inform his Majesty of their conduct, and point out in the closet the men who had most particularly distinguished themselves in the expedition. "Although," added the Earl, "his return in personal disgrace, and without the usual distribution of preferment to the principal officers, could be of no avail to them in their captivity, yet, in so far as he had, through the whole expedition, shared fatigue, danger, and calamity in common with them, they looked upon him as their friend, and they would have received him with the sincerest pleasure." Such, indeed, was the general testimony of the witnesses examined.

That Burgoyne committed no errors of judgment during the whole of his campaign, is doubtless more than will be alleged by any. He appears to have pushed his advance too far, and, in the hope of reaching Albany, to have involved himself in a perplexing and savage wilderness, when a prudent regard for his communications with Canada would have counselled a retreat. The expedition should probably have been abandoned after the defeat of the attempt on Bennington, for it was then that the failure in the commissariat became alarming. But, if we consider all the circumstances by which Burgoyne was surrounded, and refrain from judging too much by subsequent knowledge, we shall see that a great deal is to be said in excuse for this unfortunate commander. So much was expected from the expedition that the General was naturally loth to relinquish it while there seemed any probability of snatching a triumph from the very jaws of difficulty and danger. It should be recollected that the plans which Burgoyne was bound down to follow had been minutely prescribed for him by the Ministry, and that in many respects they contributed to the disaster that ensued, having, it is said, been based on inaccurate maps and doubtful reports, yet being at the same time so strict that, according to Fox, the General did not think himself at liberty even to call a council of war upon the subject of retreating.* Moreover, Burgoyne reckoned, and was entitled to reckon, on the co-operation of Clinton; and had Clinton been a little earlier, the result might have been different. Burgoyne, in fact, was out-numbered; he was encountered by an enemy much stronger than he had any reason to foresee; he was involved in a country that, from its many woods, rivers, and marshes, was most embarrassing; his supplies were exhausted in the progress of vain endeavours to extricate himself; and in the end he was forced to capitulate when his men were brought within no distant prospect of famine. The Convention of Saratoga is one of the saddest events in the military history of England; but it was in no respect disgraceful.

The great success of the Americans in the north, achieved under the direction of a General who was practically independent of Washington, seems to justify the policy of John Adams and his coadjutors in appointing that almost separate command. But it is a painful fact that this policy, excellent as it may have been in itself, was made the occasion of a good deal of factious feeling towards the chief American soldier of that day. Washington ought to have been kept well-informed as to the proceedings of Gates, and to have received from that officer himself early intelligence of his movements, especially of the signal triumph which he had obtained over Burgoyne at Saratoga. Yet Gates addressed all his despatches to Congress, and not until seventeen days after the signature of the Convention did he even allude to the great event in any letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. The allusion was then purely incidental, and contained in a communication on a different subject. Gates made no doubt that his Excellency had long ago received from Congress all the good news from the neighbourhood of the lakes. Congress had in fact transmitted no such news, and Washington had abundant reason to consider himself very disrespectfully treated. With great mildness, however, he wrote to Gates, while congratulating him on his victory:—"At the same time, I cannot but regret that a matter of such magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only, or through the channel of letters not bearing that authenticity which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact."† The desire, on the part of some leading men in Congress, to reduce the importance of Washington, and to raise up a rival to his

* Charles James Fox to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 16th, 1777.

† Letter of Oct. 30th, 1777.

power and influence, is but too evident. It proceeded, doubtless, from an honest fear of military dictatorship; but it was carried to very objectionable lengths.

The unfortunate captives of Saratoga continued their march to Massachusetts. Arriving there, they found that the kind treatment they had hitherto experienced was at an end. So strong was the feeling in Boston against all loyal Americans that the wife and daughter of Captain Fenton, of that city, were seized by some women of the lower orders, during the absence of the captain in England, stripped of their clothes, tarred and feathered, and carried as a show about the town. If such was the treatment of women, and of fellow-countrywomen, English soldiers might fairly expect still worse. They certainly received it. Some were actually stabbed by a Colonel Henley, who, at the instance of Burgoyne, was brought to trial before a court-martial for these offences. The Judge-Advocate, in summing up, acknowledged, as if it were a great concession to justice, and a sacrifice of merely patriotic feeling, that Colonel Henley had acted in the affair "with a degree of warmth which his best friends could not defend." But the prisoner was acquitted, and for a few days was reinstated in his command. The English officers complained that they were overcrowded, and denied proper quarters; and on Burgoyne forwarding a remonstrance on the subject to Gates, and observing that by such treatment the public faith was broken, Congress declared that this indicated an intention on the part of Burgoyne to raise a pretext for violating the treaty, and going with all his troops to reinforce the army under Howe. Burgoyne denied that he had any such intention, and pledged himself that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the Convention; but Congress maintained its first view, and raised other objections of a more or less captious nature. It was especially contended that, as certain cartouche-boxes and other military accoutrements had been retained by the captives, the treaty had been broken in respect of that article which stipulated that all arms should be given up. The ruling authorities founded on these cavils a refusal —for the time at least—to allow the embarkation of the English troops from Boston, in accordance with the terms of the Convention. This refusal was deliberately repeated after the receipt of a letter from Burgoyne insisting on a due execution of the treaty; and at the same time another pretence was raised. It was resolved that the embarkation should be "suspended" until a proper ratification of the Convention should have been notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress. This ratification—in itself a great triumph for the Americans, since it implied a partial acknowledgment by England of the independence of the United States—was granted in the course of 1778, when British Commissioners were in America; but Congress quarrelled with the mode of ratification, and the unfortunate prisoners were still detained, in violation of a solemn engagement by which their freedom had been promised. It was only by means of exchanges, and after a long delay, that the captives were released.

This is a very disagreeable feature in the history of the American Revolution; but not more so than another which belongs to the same period. Towards the close of 1777, a cabal for the removal of Washington from the supreme command was discovered by the object of this secret intrigue. It was headed by an Irishman, named Conway, who had been from his youth in the French service, and boasted of having had thirty years' experience of military affairs. By Congress he had been appointed to the rank of Brigadier; but he did not bear a good character, and Washington regarded him with so much distrust that he remonstrated against a design of promoting him. Whether in revenge, or in the prosecution of ambitious ideas tending to his own advancement, Conway lost no opportunity of decrying Washington, and of suggesting that all the American failures were due to his want of skill, knowledge, and enterprise. The only officers implicated in the plot were Conway himself, Gates, and Mifflin; but a party in Congress favoured the ungenerous attempt. Shortly after the capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga, a new Board of War, with very large powers, was instituted; and Gates was placed at the head of this Board, with Mifflin for one of his coadjutors. An expedition to Canada was speedily planned by Gates and approved by Congress, without any intimation of the project to Washington. The first he heard of it was through Lafayette, who was appointed to the command of the expedition, but who refused to be thus bought over to a betrayal of his friend. One of the finest characteristics of Lafayette was his devotion to Washington, whose great qualities he recognised immediately, and held in reverence to the end of his life. He lost no time in showing the letter to the General, and in assuring him that he should decline the appointment. Washington persuaded him to alter his determination, and he started for Albany, where he was to join the army designed for this exploit; but the expedition never got beyond the bare conception, and was soon given

up altogether. Lafayette returned to the Commander-in-Chief; but in the meanwhile he had seen still more of the workings of that cabal by which it was hoped to displace Washington. Fortunately for the latter, he had a good friend in Henry Laurens, who had now succeeded John Hancock as President of Congress, and who kept the General informed as to what was going on. Had Washington been removed, or irritated into a voluntary resignation, it is probable that the supporters of Gates would have endeavoured to put that officer in his place; though several members of Congress appear rather to have fixed their regards on Lee, the other Englishman who had thrown in his lot with the revolution. But the conspiracy, which extended some way into the year 1778, was doomed to complete discomfiture; and, a few months later, Conway, while supposing himself at the point of death, in consequence of a wound which he had received in a duel, wrote to Washington, expressing a high admiration of the virtue and greatness of his character.

The surrender of Burgoyne's army rendered impossible the further retention by the English of the forts on the lakes. The works at Ticonderoga and its dependencies were therefore destroyed; the heavy artillery was thrown into the water; and the regiments holding those posts retreated to Isle aux Noix and St. John's. Such was the disheartening state of affairs when the British Parliament met on the 20th of November, 1777. The disaster at Saratoga was not then known in England; but both the Ministry and the country generally were aware that Burgoyne was in a position of great difficulty and danger. In the Speech from the Throne, the King referred to the necessity of continuing the war, and spoke, in terms of rather forced hopefulness, of the colonies returning to their allegiance as soon as the remembrance of their former happiness, and a sense of their present misery, had sufficiently worked on them. The reference to foreign Powers revealed great distrust; and it was intimated that, as the armaments of France and Spain were being augmented, it was right that those of England also should be enlarged. Additional interest was given to the prospects of the session by the announcement that Lord Chatham, whose health was thought to be fully restored, would appear in his place, oppose the Address, and advise the recalling of the troops from America, and the sending over of liberal terms of accommodation. Motions to this effect were in fact proposed in both Houses—in the Commons by the Marquis of Granby, and in the Lords by Chatham. The amendments to the Address were of course defeated by large majorities; but the speech of Chatham produced a prodigious effect. He painted the military prospects of the country in the darkest colours, and referred, in language which was afterwards held to partake of a sort of prophetical sagacity, to "the sufferings, and perhaps total loss, of the northern force." He denounced in unmeasured terms the means that had been adopted for carrying on the war, and especially the employment of Germans and wild Indians; and then proceeded to consider the question of independence. This he was not prepared to grant. He again contended, as he had done on many previous occasions, that the supremacy of the mother country must be unflinchingly asserted. Here, however, was the weak point in Chatham's speech; for, if the independence of the colonies was to be prevented, it could only be by force of arms, to which the speaker was all the while vehemently objecting. His assertion that the Americans were even then eager to return to their allegiance, and were only waiting for sufficiently generous terms to throw themselves into the arms of the old country, was idle or disingenuous. Either Chatham had very bad information, or he glossed over facts in order to save himself from the charge of inconsistency.

Commenting on the Government plans of subjugation, he exclaimed:—"My Lords, you cannot conquer America. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells or sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign Power; but your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so, from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies. To overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms; never—never—never!" * England, he said, was in a perfectly defenceless state. "What," he asked, "can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies? Scarcely twenty ships of the line, fully or sufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of. The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies! The seas swept by the American privateers; our Channel trade torn to

* This was an anticipation of the famous "Jamais—jamais—jamais!" of M. Rouher, with reference to the French occupation of Rome, in December, 1867.

pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home and calamity abroad, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed,—where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation, or from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face!"

In reply to Chatham's statements with regard to the weak defences of the country, the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Sandwich) averred that the English navy was more than a match for that of the whole House of Bourbon. Lord Suffolk, the Northern Secretary, defended the employment of savages, and, after urging (what was certainly true) that, had they not been used *by* the English, they would have been used *against* them, he advanced the very questionable argument that, even apart from such considerations, they were justified in taking advantage of every means for the suppression of rebellion that God and Nature had put into their hands. This elicited from Lord Chatham a passionate and glowing retort, in which he said:—"My Lords, I did not intend to encroach again upon your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. We are called upon, as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the Throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. 'That God and Nature have put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife; to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my Lords, eating—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!" Chatham's eloquence on this subject may have suggested a caricature of the time, entitled "The Allies—*par Nobile Fratrum*," and representing an Indian and King George III. gnawing the two ends of a human bone. The employment of Indian tribes in this internecine war was unquestionably a grave error, leading to some terrible and revolting facts; but the colonists also were well disposed to accept the aid of the tomahawk. Some months later, Congress made overtures to several parties of Indians, and Washington said he thought they might be useful as scouts and light troops, mixed with white men.*

The earliest rumour of Burgoyne's surrender reached London on the night of December 2nd. It was at first nothing more than a rumour, derived from statements of deserters, which had been transmitted to Ticonderoga, and from Ticonderoga to Quebec. On the 15th, a duplicate of Burgoyne's despatch from Albany arrived by way of Canada; and Lord Petersham, with the original draft, followed shortly after. Ministers, a little before the receipt of this melancholy news, had begun to talk of conciliation and concession; but they were now placed in a very embarrassing position. The Christmas recess came opportunely to their relief, and they were glad to postpone the re-assembling of Parliament until the 20th of January. The King was terribly affected at the intelligence from Saratoga, and the nation was agitated to its depths by the unwonted humiliation of its arms. Nevertheless, the prevalent feeling was undoubtedly one of resolute determination to retrieve, if possible, the disgrace of Burgoyne's surrender. The King had no cause to complain of want of loyalty, nor the Government of want of support. Private subscriptions were set on foot for raising fresh regiments, and fifteen thousand men were provided by voluntary efforts. At the same time, the Opposition opened a subscription for the American captives in English prisons, who were said to be suffering great privations; and, to the credit of the nation, this benevolent work was well seconded by the people at large, even apart from any sympathy with the colonial cause.

Not less grave was the effect of Saratoga on the councils of France. The disposition of that Power, long entertained, and to some extent furtively acted upon, towards an alliance with the Republic of the West, was naturally increased by so marked a proof of the ability of the colonists to maintain the independence they had asserted. France was eager to avenge the humiliation which England had inflicted on her in Canada—not by the reconquest of that dominion, of which indeed there seemed no hope, but by the destruction of English rule in provinces of English growth. To this end, the able but not very scrupulous Ministers of Louis XVI. had been working for some years, and they at length saw their opportunity for throwing off the mask. They became less reserved in their communications with the American agents, and, towards the close of the year, gave them a public reception. It was now officially announced to those gentlemen that the King of France was prepared to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to undertake that if this recognition, as was probable, should involve him in a war with England, he would not ask or expect any compensation whatever for the expense or damage

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 56.

he might sustain on that account, but would only stipulate that the States so recognised should not give up their independence in any future treaty, nor, under any circumstances, return to their subjection to the British Crown. The preliminaries of a treaty to this effect were settled on the 16th of December; but the treaty itself was not concluded until several weeks later.

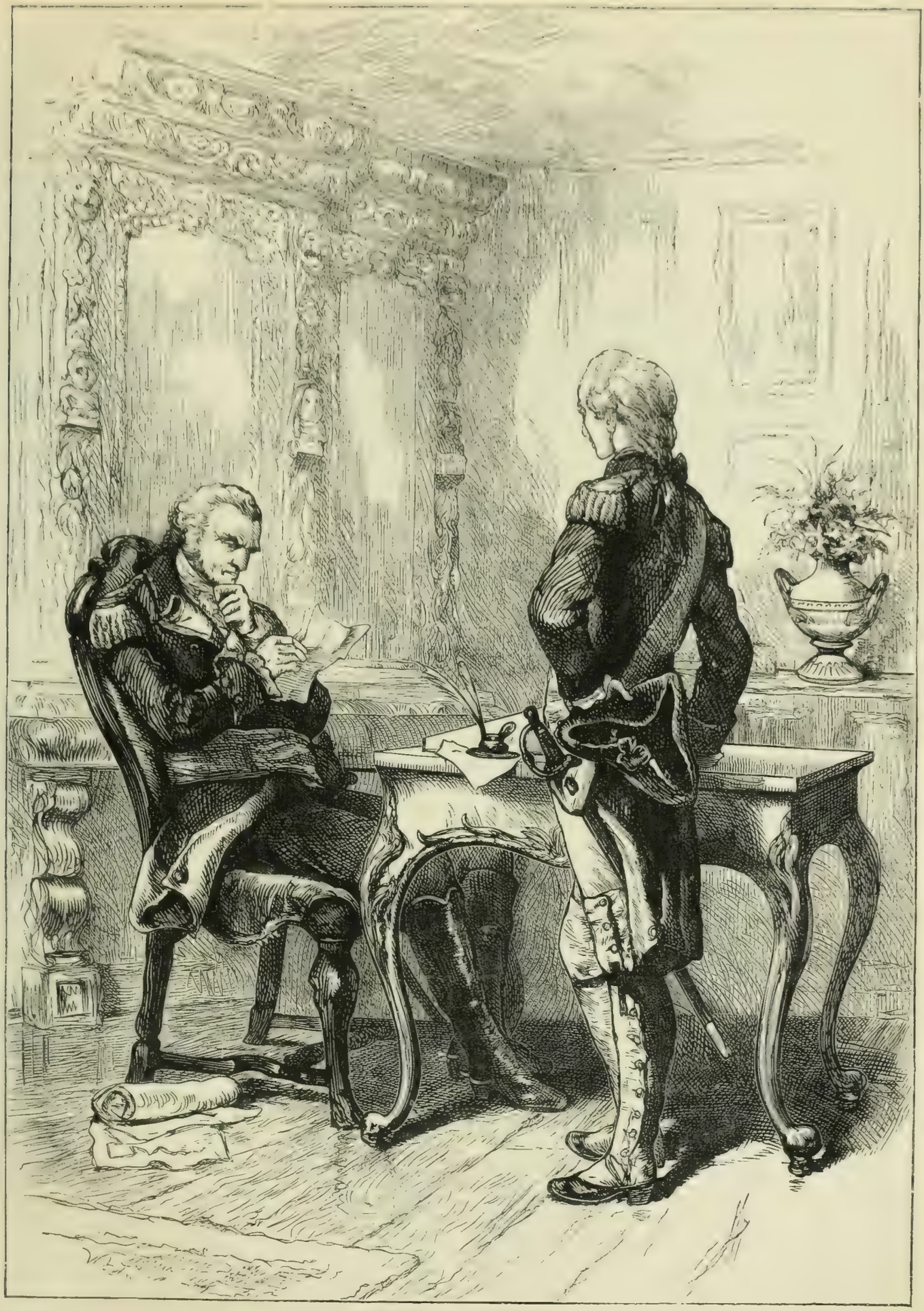
attacks of the Opposition. Several vigorous assaults were led by Fox, Burke, and others; but they were defeated by large majorities, and seem to have found as little support out of doors as in. The efforts of the Opposition were impaired by a division in their ranks on the very important question whether or not the independence of the colonies should be recognised. Chatham, notwith-



GENERAL BURGOYNE.

Some hints of the negotiations preceding this treaty reached England in a very short time, and by the end of January, 1778, George III. and Lord North were agreed that every letter from Paris made more clear the probability of a speedy war with France. The King characterised the French as an "insidious nation;" and certainly, in this matter of the American war, the conduct of the French Ministers had been insidious indeed. When Parliament reassembled on the 20th of January, Government had once more to withstand the fiery

standing the warmth of his sympathy with the Americans, and the fervour with which he denounced the Parliamentary injustice which had led to rebellion, still declared that nothing should induce him to admit the separation of the dependencies from the mother country. The Marquis of Rockingham, on the other hand, believed that the malcontents could be neither conciliated nor conquered, and that therefore it would be wiser to let them depart. This opinion appears to have been the one most generally accepted by the Opposition;



LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON.

but the views of Chatham, to which he pertinaciously adhered, created some hesitation in the ranks. Pownall, the former Governor of Massachusetts, who had now for some years sat in the House of Commons, lost no opportunity of asserting that, until the English Government was prepared to treat with the United States as an independent, sovereign Power, it was a matter of indifference what plans of conciliation might be proposed, since peace would not follow from them. But to some Englishmen even of this party the relinquishment of so grand a colonial empire seemed too great a sacrifice to be demanded or entertained. Such was undoubtedly the opinion of the majority, both in Parliament and the country; yet the idea of independence was becoming familiar to the public mind, and the adherents of that view daily increased in number. Shortly after the affair of Saratoga, General Gates wrote a remarkable letter to his friend, the Earl of Thanet—that in which, as already related, he spoke of his pride in being an Englishman. The object of his letter was to urge the encouragement of affectionate feelings towards England on the part of Americans, by at once abandoning a hopeless contest. "Spurn not the blessing which yet remains," he wrote. "Instantly withdraw your fleets and armies. Cultivate the friendship and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek it in a commercial alliance. Seek it ere it be too late, for there only must you expect to find it." The letter was shown to Lord Chatham; but it did not in the slightest degree modify the opinion he had formed.

At the comparatively passionless distance of a century, it is not difficult to see that it would have been better to relinquish the struggle after the Convention of Saratoga. But if we place ourselves in the position of the men of that day, it will require no great effort of imagination to realise the bitterness of such a resolution. We judge too much, as we are apt to do in all these cases, by the light of subsequent events; and, knowing that at length we were compelled to acknowledge in 1783 what we might have acknowledged in 1778, hastily conclude that the reasons were not merely as strong, but as apparent, at the earlier as at the later date. But in 1778 it was not certain that success was impossible; and surely it was natural in a high-spirited nation, not wholly in the wrong, though grievously to blame at the outset of the quarrel, to disdain submission beneath a heavy blow. This may be pride; but it is a kind of pride in which great nations have never yet been wanting, nor ever will be until men shall have attained that degree of moral perfection in which they will prefer goodness to power. It was because Lord Chatham was known to entertain this sentiment of Imperial dominion very strongly, and yet to be inclined towards a conciliatory policy, that he was now generally looked to as the man best fitted to assume the direction of affairs, especially in the probable event of a renewed war with France. The matter began to be talked over in political circles, and Chatham was sounded by some of his friends as to his willingness to accept office, if the King should send for him. Even Lord North himself hoped for such an arrangement, and informed his Royal master that it was his earnest wish to retire from a post the difficulties of which beset him sorely. He was resolved, however, first of all, to carry through the conciliatory proposals of which he had given notice.

The King was very eager that these proposals should be submitted to Parliament before the intention of France to support the Americans should be openly declared. It was on the 17th of February that Lord North disclosed his ideas on the subject to the House of Commons. After a speech of considerable length, in which he reviewed and defended his policy with respect to the colonies during the time he had held office, he asked leave to introduce two Bills tending to the settlement of the troubles in America. The first was entitled "A Bill for removing all Doubts and Apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies." This Act expressly repealed the obnoxious tea-duty, and declared that in future the King and Parliament of Great Britain would not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever in the colonies, except only such as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony in which they should be levied. Thus—but too late—was the mischievous and despotic fiscal policy of Grenville abrogated and renounced. The object of the second Bill was to enable his Majesty to appoint five Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat with the insurgent colonies. These Commissioners would be authorised to confer with Congress as if it were a legal body, and competent by its acts and negotiations to bind all the colonies. They would be empowered to treat with the Conventions, Provincial Assemblies, or Colonial Congresses, and with individuals in their actual civil capacities or military commands; and they were to have the power of suspending hostilities, intermitting the operation of laws, granting pardons, rewards, and

immunities, restoring charters and constitutions, and nominating Governors, judges, magistrates, &c., till the King's pleasure should be known. Instructions were to be given to the Commissioners to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the Empire when reunited. Such contribution, however, was not to be insisted on as a *sine quâ non*; but, should the Americans refuse it, they were not to complain if in future they received no support from the British Government. The Commissioners, in short, were to accept—subject to Parliamentary sanction—almost any terms of reconciliation not amounting to absolute independence.

The effect of these proposals on the House was at once startling and chilling. It had not been supposed that Lord North would concede so much to the demands of the insurgent colonies—would so amply confess, in effect if not in terms, that his own and previous Ministries had sinned, and that the Americans were justified in the war which they were waging. For the concessions of Lord North amounted to all this, or were tantamount to what was even worse—namely, to a confession that England was impotent to assert her rights, and must perforce submit to treason, rebellion, and spoliation. No wonder the House looked grave, dejected, and thunderstruck. No wonder that some among the usual supporters of Government protested against what they regarded as a humiliation. No wonder the Opposition declared that with such a complete change of policy the Government ought to resign. The measures, however, were passed through both Houses without any actual resistance, together with a third, repealing, expressly and by name, the Massachusetts Charter Act. On the 11th of March, the King, seated on the throne, gave to all three Bills the Royal assent; and from that date the struggle entered on a new but not more prosperous stage.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Announcement by the French Ambassador in London of the Conclusion of a Treaty between France and the United States—Lord North advises the King to send for Lord Chatham—Enmity of the King to the latter Nobleman—Debates in Parliament—Terms of the French Treaty—Popular Demand for Lord Chatham as Prime Minister—A Disputable Point—Renewed Illness of Chatham—His Last Appearance in the House of Lords, and Death on the 11th of May—The Command of the British Forces in America transferred from Sir William Howe to Sir Henry Clinton—Threatened Resignation of Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary—Sufferings of Washington's Troops in their Winter Encampment at Valley Forge—Neglect of the Army by Congress—Entertainment given by the English Officers to Sir William Howe previous to his resigning the Command—Arrival of the British Commissioners in America—Discouraging Reception of those Gentlemen—Futile Correspondence—Lord North's Conciliatory Proposals rejected—Charge brought by Congress against Mr. Johnstone, one of the Commissioners—Irreconcilable Spirit of American Party Leaders.

Two days after the Royal assent had been given to the Conciliatory Bills—viz., on the 13th of March—the French Ambassador in London delivered to the Southern Secretary, Lord Weymouth, a note formally announcing the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and commerce between France and the United States. The American colonies were here spoken of as "in full possession of independence," and words were added expressing the persuasion of the King of France that the Court of St. James's would find in this communication new proofs of his Majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace. It is impossible not to discern a touch of irony in these civil phrases; but absolute effrontery must have dictated what followed. The French monarch professed to feel assured that his Britannic Majesty would take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between French subjects and the United States from being interrupted. For some weeks, the negotiation of a treaty with Franklin, Deane, and Lee had been well known to the English Cabinet; but at length it was authoritatively intimated. The mask was removed, and France appeared openly as the ally and patron of the revolted colonies of England.

This important fact threw on Lord North the necessity of very gravely considering his position as First Minister of the Crown. He felt his inability to cope with the incessant attacks of the Opposition, which would now derive additional force from the serious turn events had taken. Perhaps also he shrank from the terrible responsibilities of the coming time, and desired to cast them on other and broader shoulders. At any rate, he wrote to the King on the 14th of March, offering his resignation, and advising his Majesty

to send immediately for Lord Chatham. The great Earl—the great Commoner, he used to be called in the old days of the war in Canada—was not a favourite of George III. He belonged to the Whig aristocratical faction, and George was a Tory, bent on concentrating a good deal of power in his own hands, and on curbing the predominance of the oligarchy. While he was yet Prince of Wales, the King had formed a high opinion of the elder Pitt, and was even disposed to like him, as far as the rather cold nature and somewhat exaggerated independence of the statesman would permit of such a feeling. But a closer acquaintance only served to develop the wide divergence of their characters and aims; and Chatham, since he had been again in opposition, had flung forth so many and such bitter invectives against the Court, that the dislike of the King increased with tenfold vehemence. Accordingly, in replying to Lord North on the 15th of March, he alluded with great asperity to the party whom he termed "Lord Chatham and his crew," and declared that he would on no account send for the Earl with a view to his becoming Prime Minister, but was ready to welcome him and his friends with open arms, if they were willing to be placed in office as the allies and auxiliaries of Lord North and the existing Government.* In a note of the following day, his Majesty characterised Chatham as "that perfidious man"—a view not calculated to promote harmonious working with the person so described; but in fact the matter came to nothing, and Chatham was then within a few weeks of his death.

The first effect of the French communication to the Court of St. James's was seen in the withdrawal from Paris of the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont. This was followed by the departure of the Marquis de Noailles from London. In both Houses of Parliament a Royal Message was read, communicating the French note, and assuring them that his Majesty was firmly determined to maintain and assert the honour of his Crown. Addresses to the King were moved in the Upper and Lower Chambers, and carried by large majorities, after warm and angry debates, in which the Opposition called on the Government to resign, and give place to Lord Chatham, the only man capable of encountering the united power of France and Spain, and of reconciling the colonies to the mother country. In the House of Commons, however, Governor Pownall, as he continued to be called, reiterated his former conviction that nothing but an unreserved acknowledgment of the independence of the United States would conciliate the Americans. If that acknowledgment were made, the colonists, he said, might enter into a federal treaty with the mother country—a treaty offensive, defensive, and commercial. This view found some supporters; but by far the greater number saw in any such concession, at the very moment when France was giving utterance to an implied threat, nothing but ignominy and disgrace. The temper of the nation was at boiling-point, and the advice of Opposition members did but add to its heat.

The treaty between France and the United States, which was signed at Paris on the 6th of February, provided that if Great Britain, in consequence of the alliance, should commence hostilities against France, the two countries should assist each other; that the independence of the United States should be effectually maintained, such being the essential and direct end of the alliance; that the two contracting parties should, each on its own part, and in the manner it might judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against the common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed; that in case either of the contracting parties should commence a particular enterprise in which the concurrence of the other might be desired, such concurrence should be granted, as far as circumstances might permit; that if any part of North America still professing allegiance to the crown of Great Britain should be reduced by the colonies, it should belong to the United States; that the King of France renounced for ever any claim to the Bermudas, or to those parts of the continent of North America which were ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763; that if France should conquer any of the British West India islands, they should be deemed her property; that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other; that they would not lay down their arms until the independence of the United States was formally or tacitly assured at the termination of the war; that there should be no after-claims for compensation, on one side or the other, whatever the event of the contest; that the King of France and the United States should invite or admit other Powers, who might have received injuries from England, to make common cause with them, and accede to the alliance; and that the two parties should guarantee mutually, from that time and for ever, against all other Powers, the possession of each other's territories in America, including whatever might be obtained from Great Britain by conquest during such war as might ensue.

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 57. The letter itself is printed in the Appendix to Vol. VI., pp. xxxvi.-vii.

It is impossible to conceive anything more steeped in hostility to England than this treaty; and it can excite no surprise that, when its terms came to be known in the country against which they were aimed, a feeling of the most fiery indignation was aroused. The bare idea of conceding independence to the colonies under such circumstances was not to be borne. If such a proposition might by possibility have been entertained a few weeks earlier, no such thing was now conceivable. The descendants of Englishmen had made common cause with the hereditary foes of England, and had entered into a conspiracy for the spoliation and ruin of the British Empire. Such was the almost universal feeling of that day; and, granting a similar set of circumstances to arise once more, it would undoubtedly be the feeling of this day too. That a war with France was imminent, could not for a moment be questioned; and in this extremity the popular demand for Lord Chatham as the head of the State became every day more urgent. It was not a very wise demand. People forgot that the Lord Chatham of 1778 was a very different person from the William Pitt of twenty years earlier; that he was now old and infirm, weary and out of heart. His powers, physical and mental, had been decaying for some time, and, although he was still equal to a brilliant and effective speech, it is certain that, even had his life been spared, he could not have supported the incessant labours and anxieties of the Premiership at such a crisis, but that he would have broken down again as he broke down during his Administration of 1766–8. Still, most people concurred in regarding him as the fittest man for the emergency, and informal negotiations were carried on with the Earl in his retirement at Hayes, in Kent. Lord North communicated with him on his own account; several members of the Rockingham party also sent to him the expression of their earnest wishes. It is worthy of note that General Gates, in the letter to Lord Thanet before cited, spoke of Chatham as "the great State physician" whose skill alone could cure the maladies of England and America. Lord Mansfield, who had been in rivalry with the statesman, now declared to Lord Holderness, with tears in his eyes, that, unless the King sent for the Earl of Chatham, the country would assuredly founder. The Earl himself, directly it became obvious that another war with France was about to commence, had permitted his eldest son, Lord Pitt, to re-enter the army, from which he had withdrawn him on the outbreak of the civil war in America; and the same patriotic devotion made him willing, notwithstanding the enfeebled state of his health, to assume the cares of government. But he would only take office as chief of the Administration—a demand which his previous services, and the high reputation he had acquired, gave him every right to make. The King, however, in whom firmness was generally carried to the extent of obstinacy, held to his resolve not to send for the Earl; and Lord North remained in power.

English historical writers have debated whether Lord Chatham, supposing him to have then taken office, and to have lived for a few years longer, could have succeeded in restoring the goodwill of the Americans, and in re-establishing the connection of the colonies with the old country. It has been urged in support of the affirmative view that Chatham was universally regarded in English America with love and veneration; that proposals which would have been rejected if made by any other public man would have found acceptance as coming from him; that the Congress had recently fallen very much in popular estimation, and was in many quarters held in actual disgust, on account of its factious spirit, its vindictive persecution of political opponents, and its cabals against Washington; that America was growing impatient of the burdens of the war, of the losses incurred by trade, and of the rapid depreciation of the paper money; that many, even among the patriots, were beginning to think peace desirable at some sacrifice; that the New Englanders, at any rate, could not like fighting side by side with Papists; and that the very fact of a treaty having been concluded with France might, with judicious management, have been made to rekindle the old filial sentiment towards England.* On a review of all the circumstances, however, there seems little probability that even Chatham, at that date, could have brought back the colonies to their forsworn allegiance. A few years earlier, he might perhaps have done so; but the political leaders of America were by this time too much accustomed to the idea of independence to relinquish it voluntarily. After the great success of Saratoga, and the flattering triumph of a treaty with France, it is most unlikely that the prize which had been striven for during several years, and which now appeared almost within grasp, would have been abandoned, even at the solicitation of an old friend and patron. Short of absolute independence, which he was pledged never to grant, one does not see how Lord Chatham could have offered more than Lord North was now offering; and Lord North's Commissioners, as we shall

* History of England, by the late Earl Stanhope; who quotes, on the contrary side, Croker and Macaulay.

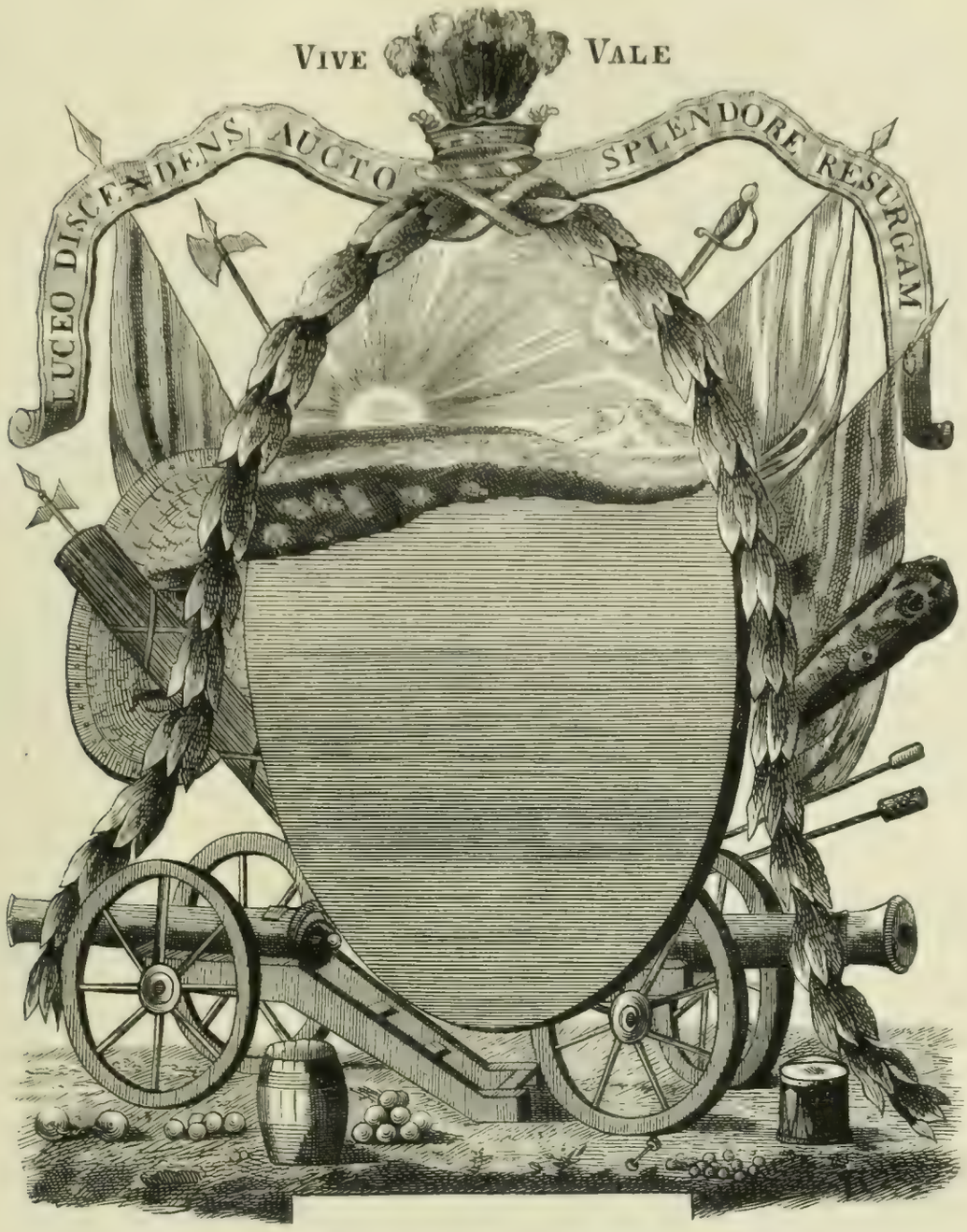
presently see, were able to effect nothing. There were undoubtedly persons in America very desirous of a compromise; but they were the least influential of the politicians of that day.

Providence, however, had so ordered that the attempt was not to be made by Chatham. Had that statesman continued to live, the reiterated demands of the nation might have finally overcome the vehement antipathies of the King, and have carried him to the summit of power; but the career of the famous Earl was now hastening to its close. He was again ill with an attack of his old enemy, gout, when he heard that the Duke of Richmond was, on the 7th of April, to move an address to the King, entreating his Majesty to withdraw his fleets and armies from the revolted provinces of America, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their good-will. Against such a motion Chatham was determined to speak, although, as he was only beginning to recover, his family and friends warned him against the danger of so much physical fatigue and mental agitation. On the appointed day he appeared in his place, pale, feeble, and ghostlike, partly swathed in flannel, and supported on one side by his illustrious son (as he was afterwards to become), and on the other by Lord Mahon. The speech which he delivered on that memorable occasion indicated in many ways the broken and disturbed condition of his mind; yet it glowed in parts with the old fire, and was as energetic as ever in the expression of a distinctly national policy, as opposed to the ambition of France. The Duke of Richmond replied in a somewhat irritating speech, of which the main argument was, that, as it was no longer possible to have the Americans as subjects, it was good policy to try to obtain them as allies. When he had finished, Chatham rose again, in some excitement, to make a few remarks in response; but the effort was too much. He pressed his hand to his heart, staggered, and fell back. He had been seized with a fit—of what nature is not precisely known, but one from which he never recovered. On the 11th of May he expired at Hayes, in the seventieth year of his age.

Among the troubles of the Ministry, in connection with American affairs, was the threatened resignation of Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary, whose irritable and imperious temper had brought him into frequent collision with the chief officers of the army employed in the colonies. He had provoked Sir Guy Carleton into so sharp an expression of annoyance and anger that that high-spirited soldier had, as a consequence of his insubordination, been removed from the Government of Canada. Sir William Howe, at the same period, was highly incensed at being left without the reinforcements which had been promised him, and which were necessary to the success of his measures. He therefore, early in the winter, requested permission to resign his command. The request was granted, and Howe was succeeded by his colleague, Sir Henry Clinton. It was on the 4th of February that Lord George Germaine wrote to Howe, informing him of the change; and a few weeks later the Colonial Secretary himself threatened to resign, because the King had conferred on Sir Guy Carleton a sinecure post, and had thus, in the estimation of Lord George, insulted him by rewarding his adversary. Lord George was a man difficult to work with; but he had official abilities and Parliamentary influence, and, having been charged with the conduct of American affairs for more than two years, he had acquired a mastery of them, which would have made his resignation at such a juncture peculiarly embarrassing.

During the progress of these events in England, the Commander-in-Chief of the American armies was remaining in a state of enforced idleness, awaiting the season when active operations could be resumed, and when his regiments should be in a better condition to encounter the English troops. Towards the close of 1777, he had fixed his winter quarters at Valley Forge, in Pennsylvania, a strong position among the woods and hills on the banks of the Schuylkill, within about twenty miles of Philadelphia, where the British under Howe were then posted. This camp he caused to be well fortified, and the soldiers were housed in huts built for the purpose with logs of wood, and ranged, wherever practicable, in parallel lines, so that the whole had the appearance of a town, with its streets and ways. Troops from the same State inhabited the same street or quarter; for the feeling of sectional jealousy was still so great that it was found necessary to keep men of different origin apart from one another. On the land side were entrenchments; and a bridge across the Schuylkill afforded communication with the open country to the north. The army remained here for nearly the first half of 1778, and during the winter months the sufferings of the soldiers were extreme. There was a serious want of blankets and of shirts; the lack of shoes and stockings was still so great that, before the troops went into the encampment, the snow over which they marched was reddened by the blood of their bare feet. Nearly three thousand are stated to have been in this condition, and otherwise insufficiently clad. The Quartermaster-General's and Commissary-General's departments had been removed from the control of Washington; and he

complained to the President of Congress that no man had ever had his measures more impeded than he had had by every department of the army. The failure of provisions was so serious that on one occasion a dangerous mutiny broke out, which was not repressed without difficulty; and the General a winter campaign, and protested that the troops should not have gone into camp at all. The committee appointed by Congress saw how well founded were the General's complaints; yet succours arrived but slowly. On the 20th of March, Washington wrote to one of his officers that by death and



FAC-SIMILE OF THE TICKET FOR THE MISCHIANZA.

was compelled to make a compulsory requisition, which of course created universal alarm. Washington, indeed, appears to have been shamefully neglected; but at length, after many representations, he induced Congress to appoint a committee to proceed to Valley Forge, and examine for themselves into the terrible deprivations which the men were suffering. Inconsiderate critics severely condemned the inactivity of the army, clamoured for desertion he had lost a good many men since he had been at Valley Forge, and had encountered every species of hardship that cold, wet, hunger, and want of clothes, were capable of producing. The soldiers had two or three times been days together without provisions, and once six days without meat. Of the unfortunate horses, many died from sheer want. It was a perpetual marvel to Washington that the whole army did not dis-

perse. Between two and three hundred officers had in fact resigned their commissions in the course of a few months, and many others were with difficulty dissuaded from following the example. When it is added that at this very period Washington knew of those conspiracies against him which were favoured in certain circles at the seat of Government, the reader must needs admire the strength and constancy of his patriotism in not flinging up his commission in anger and despair.

This miserable state of things was in part relieved, about the middle of April, by the arrival at Valley Forge of intelligence that General Gates was about to be removed from the Board of War, and sent to resume his former command at the north. At the same time, Washington received the first draft of Lord North's Conciliatory Bills, which he at once forwarded to the President of Congress, with remarks to the effect that they might exercise an unfortunate influence in disinclining the people to the further prosecution of hostilities, and to the cause of independence. Early in May, the Commander-in-Chief heard of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States; and his joy was expressed in the warmest terms in a general order appointing a day of thanksgiving. The army cried "Long live the King of France!" —little thinking that the alliance on which he was then entering would prove to be one of the many causes which precipitated his violent death; and salutes were fired in honour of the great event. All this while, the English forces were comfortably housed in Philadelphia, troubled with nothing but tedium, which they endeavoured to relieve with gambling and discreditable amours. The soldiers generally, and many of the officers in particular, earned a bad name by the looseness of their lives; but Sir William Howe was much respected for his kindly nature and agreeable manners. On the 18th of May, just before his departure for England, twenty-two of his field-officers combined to entertain him at a festival to which they gave the Italian name of *Mischianza*,—a medley. It took the form of a tournament, and greatly astonished the sober Pennsylvanians, who knew nothing of the gorgeous pageantries of mediæval Europe. All the old observances were strictly followed. Knights and squires splendidly dressed, richly-caparisoned horses, heralds with trumpets and banners, mottoes and emblems, all were there; and ladies in Turkish habits, wearing in their turbans the articles which they intended to bestow on their knights, sat apart in pavilions, to adjudge the prizes. The lists were formally opened, and the knights fought for the honour of their damsels. A grand entertainment followed the games, and Philadelphia, in spite of its gravity, rang with wonder at the splendid show.

Howe's successor, Sir Henry Clinton, was a man of greater enterprise than the General whom he followed in the command, and equally respectable for his high and blameless character. He assumed the chief direction of the army at a difficult time. England was about to be involved in a war with France, and the negotiations with a view to a compromise with the revolted colonies would be certain for awhile to fetter his hands. Only a few days after Howe had left, Clinton received instructions from the Government that he was to retire from Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York. These instructions had been given in consequence of the impending French war, and were based on the recommendation of Lord (formerly Sir Jeffery) Amherst. On arriving in America, the Commissioners were greatly annoyed at finding that this change in the military situation, of which they had received not the slightest intimation before leaving England, was already in process of execution; and they despatched a secret letter to Lord George Germaine, complaining of the concealment. The Commissioners (in addition to Lord Howe and his brother, if they were still in America when the others arrived, or Sir Henry Clinton in the absence of Sir William Howe) were Lord Carlisle, Mr. William Eden, and Mr. George Johnstone. The first of these was a man of fashion, not remarkable for business capacity or knowledge of affairs; the brother of the second had been Governor of Maryland; and the third had filled the same post in Florida, and was now a great opponent of Lord North. The Secretary to the Commission was Dr. Ferguson, a well-known Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh.

Nothing could be more disheartening than the reception of the Commissioners by the Americans. They were frowned upon from the first, and given to understand that their mission was vain. Joseph Reed, Washington's Adjutant-General, observed, in reply to a private note from Mr. Johnstone:— "I shall only say that, after the unparalleled injuries and insults this country has received from the men who now direct the affairs of Britain, a negotiation under their auspices has much to struggle with." Washington refused a passport to enable the secretary to proceed to Congress. Congress itself declined even to hold any conference with the representatives of the British Government, unless, as a preliminary, they should either withdraw the fleets and armies, or else, in express words, acknowledge the independence of the United States. Some correspondence, however, went on during the

summer months. The Commissioners addressed the President of Congress personally, begging of him to consider what they had to offer. They placed before him a most tempting set of terms, but might as well have demanded of him unconditional submission. They promised that no military forces should be maintained in North America without the consent of the General Congress, or of particular Assemblies. They were willing that measures should be taken to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation. They proposed that the States should be represented in Parliament; that England should send deputies to the several American Assemblies; and that each State should be allowed to settle its revenue, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and of internal government. In vain. Congress soon cut short even the faintest pretence of negotiation by resolving that no further reply should be returned.

A charge was then brought against Mr. Johnstone that he had attempted to corrupt and bribe some members of the Legislative Body. This gentleman had been a great friend of the original claims of the Americans, and, since his arrival, had entered into correspondence with some persons of position; but it does not appear that he had positively offered bribes, though some of his expressions were imprudent. It is clear, however, that he acted simply on his own account, and without the knowledge of his colleagues. Mr. Johnstone, on the charge being made, withdrew from the Commission, and notified the fact to Congress, whose conduct he severely condemned. But the leaders of the political world had resolved to stifle all discussion, and were glad of any pretext which would enable them to do so with a virtuous flourish. They were the more desirous of getting rid of the Commissioners, because those gentlemen had for some time been pressing very hard for the release of the prisoners of Saratoga. Congress was determined not to fulfil the terms of the Convention, and found it no easy matter to defend or excuse such a course. To a communication on the subject, written by Sir Henry Clinton on the 19th of September, and expressed in terms of injudicious, though assuredly not unprovoked, warmth, the Federal secretary replied that "Congress gave no answer to insolent letters;" and it was now no longer possible to hope for any conciliatory disposition on the part of men who were manifestly bent on perpetuating a quarrel which they might have composed.

As a final act, the Commissioners addressed to Congress, to the members of the General Assemblies, and to the people of the several provinces, a manifesto and proclamation, in which they gave a history of their negotiation, and threw on the ruling body the blame of their failure. They also declared that they were still ready to treat with deputies from all or any of the colonies, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their proclamation (the 3rd of October); promised pardon to all who, within the prescribed time, should cease to oppose the British Government, and return to their allegiance; and denounced vengeance against those who persisted in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. In a passage which was certainly very reprehensible, and in painful contrast with the rest of the document, they observed that the hopes of a reunion had previously checked the extremes of war, but that in future the contest would be changed; that if the British colonies were to become an accession to France, the laws of self-preservation would direct Great Britain to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy. Fox, and other members of the Opposition, severely condemned these phrases, which they construed as menacing a war of desolation; but Lord North, in a debate which occurred on the 4th of December, denied that Ministers intended to give the least encouragement to any new kind of war. Whatever the meaning of the Commissioners, their proclamation had no effect. A copy of the document was sent, by a flag of truce, to each of the thirteen revolted provinces; but no offers of submission nor applications for pardon were made. It is possible, however, that this was partly due to the fact that Congress had recommended the several States to seize or detain in prison, as violators of the law of nations, all persons who, under pretence of a flag of truce, should be found distributing the manifesto and proclamation; and that they also enacted that exemplary punishment should be inflicted on those individuals who might attempt to execute the severities threatened by the British representatives. Towards the end of the year, the Commissioners returned to England.

The feeling by which Congress was animated in refusing these attempts at a compromise, and in adopting in every way the most irritating conduct and language, had been expressed a little earlier in a report of the committee appointed to consider the Conciliatory Bills of Lord North. The aim of those Bills, it was here declared, was to create divisions in the States; and they were characterised as the sequel of that insidious plan which, from the days of the Stamp Act downwards, had involved the country in contention and bloodshed. "As in other cases, so in this," continued the report, "although

circumstances may at times force them [the British Government] to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty Empire of Britain." The members of the committee further reported it as their opinion that any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with Commissioners under the Crown of Great Britain, should be treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States. It was in consequence of this report that the British representatives were met with so much coldness and so many studied affronts. Congress was ruled by committees, and the country, it might almost be said, was tyrannised over by Congress. Washington, in a private letter written on the 21st of April, had admitted that the Americans, for the most part, were weary of the war; and Lafayette had confessed to Washington that he feared the Commissioners more than ten thousand men. In revolutionary seasons, affairs are generally moulded and managed by a few leaders of special vigour, capacity, and ambition. It was so in America at the period with which we are now concerned. The people were not consulted, and it is difficult—perhaps we should rather say it is impossible—to determine with certainty what would have been their choice, had the question of reunion with England, on liberal conditions, been placed before them. As it was, the war went on, and was prosecuted to a successful issue; but it is not conclusive that peace was declined by the majority of American citizens.

CHAPTER XL.

State of the American Army in the Winter of 1778—Jealousy of Congress with respect to the Military Power—Relative Strength of the American and English Forces—Motives of the British Government for Relinquishing Philadelphia—Retreat of the British through the Jerseys—Pursuit by the Americans—The Battle of Monmouth Court House—Court-Martial on General Lee, and Suspension of that Officer—His Character and Disposition—Arrival in America of a French Fleet, commanded by Count d'Estaing—Naval Operations—Disagreements between the Americans and their French Allies—Failure of the Americans to re-take Rhode Island—Sullivan's Reproaches of d'Estaing—Letter of Washington to Lafayette—Movements of Clinton's Army—Taking of Savannah, and Reduction of Georgia, by the British—Indian Warfare—The Tragedy in Wyoming—Massacres committed by Colonel John Butler and his Indian Auxiliaries—Retaliatory Measures taken by the Americans—Expedition of Colonel G. R. Clarke, of Virginia, against the British Settlements on the Mississippi—Capture of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent.

When the time had arrived for opening the campaign of 1778, Washington was in a less favourable position towards his adversary than he had been at the close of the previous year. His troops were in a great degree worn out by the severities of the winter, and the terrible deprivations which they had been compelled to undergo. Several of the soldiers, especially among those who were not native-born Americans, had availed themselves of any opportunities of escape which occurred, and had deserted to the English forces at Philadelphia, carrying their arms with them. Many loyalists had joined the British commander, and his army was thus increased, while that of the American General was considerably diminished. The Royal troops were well fed and cared for, while the Americans were starving. Washington was obliged to pay for what he purchased in a rapidly-depreciating paper currency, whereas the English at Philadelphia gave hard cash for whatever they consumed. It is true that several American detachments and patrols were posted in the vicinity of the city on almost every side, and that the furnishing of supplies to the British was regarded as an offence for which the punishment was severe. In this way, provisions from the country were often intercepted; yet, on the whole, the King's soldiers got what they wanted, when the soldiers of the Republic were obliged to go without. The American army, moreover, had not improved in discipline during the long and dreary repose of winter. The pay, both of officers and men, was very inadequate, and there was little to compensate for the hardships of the military life. Washington continued to urge the necessity of further reforms; and at length, though very reluctantly, some improvements were sanctioned. An efficient Commissary-General was appointed; other departments were re-organised; and it was agreed that the officers should receive half-pay for seven years after the termination of

the war, and that a gratuity of eighty dollars should be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier who should continue in the service to the end of the struggle. The jealousy of the army at all times manifested by Congress, and especially at the period to which we are now referring, gave the greatest pain to Washington, who saw how impossible it was to secure the independence of the country unless by a vigorous exercise of military skill. Many of the leading politicians of the day feared the establishment of a large standing army, of a privileged class, and of a pension-list; and, so thinking, they fettered the hands of their Commander-in-Chief in every way they could, even while he was engaged in a deadly struggle with one of the chief Powers of Europe. It was their policy, he observed in the bitterness of his heart, to be prejudiced against their soldiers, not merely in time of peace, but in time of war, though they were citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and in most cases property totally unconnected with their military pay.

While the committee appointed by Congress were at Valley Forge (where they remained during three of the winter months), it was agreed that the army should consist of forty thousand men, besides Artillery and Horse. On the 8th of May, it was found that the forces, including the detachments on the Hudson and in other directions, did not exceed fifteen thousand. The number at Washington's head-quarters was a little under twelve thousand. On the other hand, the British troops in Philadelphia and New York amounted to nearly thirty thousand, of whom almost two-thirds were in the former city. In addition to these, there were three thousand seven hundred in Rhode Island; so that the superiority of the English at this time was very great. Though it was not then known to the Americans, nor believed by them, that the enemy was in such force, it was considered much too hazardous an enterprise to attempt the recovery of Philadelphia. An advanced guard of the American army, consisting of more than two thousand picked men, with six pieces of artillery, under the command of Lafayette, had been very nearly cut off by the British on Barren Hill, to the east of the Schuylkill, and was saved only by the dexterity and skill of the young Marquis. This occurred on the 21st of May, and was the last movement of importance ordered by Sir William Howe. Such being the strength of the British, and such the weakness of the Americans, great must have been the delight of the latter when, from the information of spies, it appeared probable that the Royal forces were about to evacuate the capital of Pennsylvania. The motives for that step resulted from the recognition by France of the independence of the United States. The British Government had determined to make a descent on some of the French West India islands; and, in aid of this scheme, Sir Henry Clinton was to detach five thousand men from his army, to send three thousand more to Florida, and to withdraw the remainder to New York. It was feared, also, that a French fleet would shortly appear at the mouth of the Delaware, blockade the English shipping, and jeopardise the army, should it remain in Philadelphia. On these accounts it was resolved to withdraw to a locality less exposed to the chances of the altered condition of affairs.

Finding it impossible, owing to a deficiency of transports, to send the whole of his army to New York by water, Clinton shipped a portion (together with the loyalists who feared to remain) on board such vessels as were in the river, and conducted the rest through the Jerseys. The movement was executed with great ability, but was attended by much risk. The Americans were so close upon the British that the vanguard of the former marched into Philadelphia on the same day—the 18th of June—on which the rear-guard of the latter marched out. Washington had also sent several detachments to take up positions on the road which Clinton would probably pursue, and to hang upon his flanks and rear. The retreating army, with its artillery, waggons, and horses, extended in a line nearly twelve miles long; and, as all the bridges over the rivers and marshes had been broken down by the Americans, it was necessary to stop repeatedly in order to repair them. At Allentown, Clinton found it advisable to change his route, Washington being almost in his front. He had hoped to gain the Raritan, and to embark his troops at New Brunswick or South Amboy for New York; but he now turned to the right, and took the road leading to Monmouth and Sandy Hook. Washington at the same time sent forward Generals Lee and Lafayette, at the head of a strong force, to assail the English army on the first favourable opportunity, while he himself, at a distance of six or seven miles, held his main body in readiness to support the others, if need were.

On the 28th of June, Clinton, who had just changed the disposition of his line, placing his baggage-train in the front and his best troops in the rear, was encamped in a strong position near Monmouth Court House, with woods and marsh-lands about him. The design of attacking the English on their route, though highly favoured by Washington, had been opposed by many of his

officers, and especially by Lee, the second in command, who, however, after first declining to lead the advanced detachments, ultimately requested and obtained that position. Orders were sent to him, on the morning of the 28th, to move forward and commence the attack; and Washington himself pushed on with all speed to join him. The English had by this time begun to resume their march; but the hostile demonstration of Lee and Lafayette forced them to prepare for battle. Lafayette, with the eagerness of youth, had always desired to bring on an attack, and he now wished to execute a movement which appeared imprudent to Lee, who, with the pride of an Englishman addressing an ancient enemy, told the French Marquis that he did not know what British soldiers were. After a little manœuvring, Lee drew off his troops, but managed so badly that he was in point of fact carrying them towards the rear division of the enemy, when Washington—to whom Lafayette had sent a message urgently requesting his presence at the scene of action—arrived upon the ground. Severely reproving Lee for his conduct, he ordered the troops to be formed and brought into action. Lee obeyed, and a battle ensued, which resulted in the British, who had begun to pursue the retreating division, being compelled to retire within their camp, where it would have been madness to attempt to follow them. Both sides had lost a good many men, and several of these died of sunstroke in the intense heat of that midsummer day. The Americans lay on their arms during the ensuing night, and Washington proposed to renew the combat on the following morning. But at dawn it was discovered that Clinton had got off during the brief hours of darkness, and it was considered unadvisable to seek another engagement. Thus, although the battle was not decisive on either side, it terminated more to the advantage of the English than of the Americans, since the former had fought only to secure their retreat, which they did so effectually that their adversaries dared not venture again to molest them. Proceeding to Sandy Hook, the English commander found Lord Howe's fleet ready to convey his troops to New York, where they arrived on the 5th of July. Washington marched to the Hudson, crossed at King's Ferry, and took up a position near his old camp at White Plains.

The day after the action at Monmouth Court House, some very angry letters passed between Lee and Washington, the former accusing his chief of having insulted him on the field of battle, and the latter reiterating his complaints as to his subordinate's conduct in withdrawing the troops. Finally, Lee demanded a court-martial, and he was accordingly put under arrest, on charges of disobedience of orders, misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief. The court-martial sat from time to time for three weeks while the army was on its march, and finally declared that General Lee was guilty of the three offences with which he was charged. He was therefore sentenced to be suspended for a year from all command in the army of the United States; and the sentence was approved by Congress. On hearing of this approval, Lee, pointing to a dog, exclaimed, "Oh that I were that animal, that I might not call man my brother!" He never again joined the army, but expired at Philadelphia in October, 1782, at not much more than fifty years of age. Among the singular characters produced by the American revolutionary war, it would be impossible to find one more remarkable than his. He was indeed a strange and anomalous compound of good and bad. Embittered by many disappointments, he was often most offensive in his manners; yet he knew the art of making himself beloved by the officers and men whom he commanded. It is said of him that he was a steadfast friend and a vindictive enemy; and indeed all the qualities of his nature seem to have had a certain wilful intensity, which sometimes charmed, and sometimes disgusted. His acrid wit and railing tongue might have recalled the Thersites, the Apemantus, or the Timon, of Shakespeare. His love of dogs, several of which always accompanied him, gave point and antithesis to his hatred of mankind. With abilities of more than common order, he had strengthened, though not perhaps widened, his intellect by a study of the classics; and he had a large amount of general knowledge, as well as a particular acquaintance with all the most valuable treatises on the art of war, both ancient and modern. If acquirements and experience alone could indicate the true leader of men, Lee would have been the chief soldier of the young Republic. He had even a certain amount of genius; but it was genius of an erratic and desultory kind. Washington, a less brilliant man—a man of no very great experience in the practice of war previous to the outbreak of the Revolution—a man with an amount of book-knowledge small indeed in comparison with Lee's—was, nevertheless, the rightful head of the American armies, by virtue of a far stronger and higher character. Lee is thought to have coveted the chief place for himself, and jealousy of Washington had probably something to do with his wayward and irritable conduct. Yet in this final incident he seems to have been harshly treated. He had approached the British by some narrow

passes through a morass, and suddenly found himself confronted, not by the rear-guard, as he had supposed in his ignorance of Clinton's altered dispositions, but by the best part of the army. Though not skilfully conducted, his retreat was judicious in itself; for, had he been beaten in an encounter, as he probably would have been, he might have found retreat impracticable.



THE VALE OF WYOMING.

On the very same day when the English army arrived at New York, the Count d'Estaing appeared with a French fleet on the coast of Virginia; for, after the Ambassadors of France and England had quitted the Courts to which they were respectively accredited, the state of war was mutually understood to exist. The French fleet consisted of twelve sail of the line and six frigates. It was equipped at Toulon, or nearly so, before the declaration of France to the English Government that she had determined to recognise the independence of the United States. On board the flag-ship was M. Gérard, charged as Minister to the new Power; and it now became only too evident to the British authorities in America that they had an additional enemy to encounter. D'Estaing had hoped to surprise the English fleet in the Delaware; but he arrived too late. Following his enemy to the

vicinity of New York, and pausing off Sandy Hook, he thought of forcing the harbour, but was dissuaded by the advice of some pilots. He then steered for Rhode Island, and sailed up the river Newport, in order to concert with the Americans an attack on the British in that quarter. It was not long, however, ere he found himself pursued by Lord Howe, though the naval force under that gallant commander was inferior in strength to the squadron of d'Estaing. A violent storm separated the two fleets when they were on the point of engaging; and some scattered actions with single ships took place shortly afterwards, without any results of importance. The Americans had sent a detachment of ten thousand men, under General Sullivan, to co-operate with four thousand French troops in an attack on the British forces in Rhode Island; but d'Estaing now declared that his fleet was so much damaged by the tempest that he must put into Boston harbour to refit. Sullivan, Greene, and some other American officers, protested against this course in language of considerable bitterness; but the French commander persisted, and the Americans were thus forced to give up their enterprise against Rhode Island, after having besieged the English commander, Sir Robert Pigot, in his fortified camp near the town of Newport. The commencement of the Franco-American alliance was not auspicious; and, in consequence of this disappointment, the feeling of the Americans towards the French became so bitter that riots took place in the streets of Boston between the sailors of the two nationalities.

Abandoned by d'Estaing, and weakened by numerous desertions, Sullivan, on the 26th of August, determined to raise the siege, and retreat to the north end of Rhode Island. During the night of the 28th he silently escaped; but on the following morning the British started in pursuit, and overtook the fugitives in a strongly fortified position. A sharp contest followed, without any positive advantage, and on the evening of the 30th Sullivan again withdrew, and, embarking his army, with all its artillery, baggage, and stores, on board several boats, got across the intervening water to the continent, before Pigot had even suspected his intention to abandon the post. He had extricated himself from an awkward position, and only just in time; for Sir Henry Clinton was on his route, with four thousand men, to the assistance of his subordinate, and arrived on the very day after the Americans had left the island. Clinton had been detained four days in the Sound by contrary winds, but for which he would probably have been enabled to inflict a crushing defeat on the army that had thus contrived to elude its pursuers. None the less was it a sore disappointment to the Americans to be compelled to give up their expedition against Rhode Island, from which much had been hoped; and Sullivan vented his anger and annoyance in a general order containing some expressions which gave great offence to d'Estaing, but which their author subsequently endeavoured to explain away. The rupture threatened to be so serious that Washington and Congress did their utmost to soften the effect of Sullivan's blunt language. In a letter to Lafayette, the Commander-in-Chief observed:—

"I feel myself hurt at every illiberal and unthinking reflection which may have been cast upon the Count d'Estaing, or the conduct of the fleet under his command. Let me entreat you, my dear Marquis, to take no exception at unmeaning expressions, uttered perhaps without consideration, and in the first transport of disappointed hope. Everybody, sir, who reasons, will acknowledge the advantages which we have derived from the French fleet, and the zeal of the commander of it; but in a free and Republican government you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude. Every man will speak as he thinks, or, more properly, without thinking, and consequently will judge of effects without attending to the causes. The censures which have been levelled at the officers of the French fleet would more than probably have fallen in a much higher degree upon a fleet of our own, if we had one in the same situation. It is the nature of man to be displeased with everything that disappoints a favourite hope or flattering project; and it is the folly of too many of them to condemn without investigating circumstances. Let me beseech you, therefore, my good sir, to afford a healing hand to the wound that unintentionally has been made."

Clinton's army had been a good deal weakened by numerous desertions during the march from Philadelphia, and after its arrival at New York; but it was still formidable, and was handled with energy and resolution. Several expeditions were sent out in various directions during the months of September and October, after the return of Sir Henry Clinton from Rhode Island. A large part of Pulaski's foreign legion was cut to pieces in Little Egg Harbour, on the coast of New Jersey, a noted rendezvous of privateers; and on the coasts of Massachusetts, as well as in other places, many American ships were taken or destroyed, many storehouses were burnt, and sheep and oxen were seized for the use of the army. At Old Tappan, in the State of New York, a body of American cavalry,

sent out by Washington to observe the movements of the British, who were moving up both sides of the river Hudson, was routed, and a large number of the men were slain. The chief English commander in most of these expeditions was General Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, and father of the great statesman who carried the first Reform Bill. The desperate courage and energy of this officer were well known to the Americans, who gave him the designation of "the No-flint General," from his common practice of ordering his men to take the flints out of their muskets, and trust to their bayonets alone.* But these enterprises were only of secondary importance. Clinton was now bent on carrying the war into the Southern States, which as yet had felt but slightly the effects of the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies. His views on the subject were approved by the Home Government, and he despatched a body of three thousand five hundred men by sea to Georgia. The command of this army was conferred on General Prevost; but the greater part of its work was performed, under the able direction of Colonel Campbell, before the arrival of the superior officer. Savannah, the principal town of the State, was defended by the American General, Robert Howe, but without success. The city was speedily mastered; Augusta also was taken, and the whole province was reduced. It abounded in loyalists, who now took the oath of allegiance to the King in great numbers, and were enrolled into rifle-companies. A detachment of five thousand men was also sent from New York by General Clinton, in obedience to instructions from England, with a view to making an attack on St. Lucia, one of the French West India islands. Seven hundred troops were despatched to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and three hundred to the Bermudas; so that Clinton's forces at New York were weakened to a very serious degree, as the General pointed out in a despatch of the 8th of October.



MONUMENT ERECTED AT WYOMING.

The proceedings of savage warriors chequered from time to time the more regular operations of civilised armies (if, indeed, any armies deserve that appellation), and always disastrously. In the early days of the struggle, Stuart, the British agent for negotiating with the Indians, induced the Creeks and Cherokees, by promises of rewards and assistance, to interrupt their friendly relations with Virginia and the Carolinas. Stuart, however, was unable to fulfil his engagements, and the Creeks were paralysed for want of proper support, after they had begun to move. Having implored pardon from the colonists, and obtained it, they refused a subsequent offer of alliance from the Cherokees; but the latter resolved to act on their own account when the expedition of Clinton and Parker against South Carolina, in 1776, gave them sufficient courage to wield the hatchet. Horrible ravages were committed by these barbarians on the Virginian and Carolinian frontiers; but, after the repulse of the British from Sullivan's Island, they were attacked by the combined forces of the provinces affected, and, being defeated in various engagements, were ultimately compelled to evacuate the territory, and take refuge in Florida. The English authorities, however, still continued to intrigue with the natives. Having more money than the Americans, who were equally willing to accept such aid, they were more successful than their rivals; so that the western frontiers, from the borders of Canada to the southern States, were at different periods devastated by the murderous inroads of these painted savages.

In 1778, the young settlement of Wyoming was the scene of a tragedy, which has since been made the subject of one of the most popular and pathetic poems of Campbell. Wyoming is situated on the Susquehannah, and at that period was in a very

* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 58.

primitive condition. It was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania, but, though within the bounds of the latter, had been settled by emigrants from the former State, who had purchased their lands from the Indians. The colony contained upwards of a thousand families; but, unfortunately, they were not united in their political sympathies. The majority were in favour of the national cause, while a certain number supported the rule of England. The latter considered themselves harshly used, and, withdrawing from the settlement, sought refuge among the savages, or went to the British posts on the frontiers of Canada. They were under the general direction of Colonel John Butler, cousin of Zebulon Butler, who commanded the militia of Wyoming; and John Butler entered into intimate relations with the Indians, that he might promote the ends of his party. The remaining emigrants at Wyoming, suspecting danger, erected forts about their dwellings, and otherwise prepared for defence; but the Indians, after the manner of their race, protested that they meant no harm. On the 1st of July, however, a hostile force, consisting of three hundred red men, under their own chiefs, and upwards of a thousand Royalists, painted like savages, and commanded by John Butler, got possession of two of the forts. Zebulon Butler, with an armed force, and a number of women and children, retired into the principal fort, and, in answer to a summons to surrender, proposed a conference. A place at some distance from the fort was agreed on, and, at the head of four hundred men, Zebulon Butler proceeded thither, but found none of the opposite party. At the foot of a mountain, still farther off, he saw a flag displayed, and moved towards it; but it retired as he advanced. This should have made him suspect treachery; but with unquestioning good faith he still went on until he found himself surrounded by armed foes, who fired into the party of Republicans. The latter fought for some time with signal courage, but at length retreated to their place of refuge, leaving behind, either dead or wounded, by far the greater number of those who had sallied forth. Next day, the victors invested Fort Kingston; and, on Colonel Dennison, the commandant at that place, sending out a flag of truce to inquire what terms would be granted to the garrison on surrendering, John Butler savagely replied, "The hatchet!" In sheer desperation, Dennison fought till most of his men were either killed or wounded, when he surrendered at discretion. John Butler selected a few prisoners for preservation; shut up the rest, with the women and children, in the houses and barracks; and, setting fire to the buildings, literally burnt them alive. Others, in the remaining fort, were similarly treated; the country round was desolated with sword and flame; and three thousand persons, in a state of miserable destitution, fled for their lives through the surrounding woods.

The chief of the savages on this detestable expedition was a half-caste named Joseph Brandt, who had acquired a great name as a partisan leader. As some slight mitigation of the horrible crime committed by him and his associate, John Butler, it should not be forgotten that, for some time previous to their removal, the loyalists had been treated with great rigour by the opposite party, and made to suffer severely for their opinions both in pocket and person. Another massacre, under the direction of the same John Butler, took place at the small settlement of Cherry Valley, in the State of New York, on the 11th and 12th of November, but the Americans were by this time roused to action in their own defence. They sent several expeditions against remote Indian towns and outlying British settlements, and repaid in kind the injuries they had received. The most remarkable of these enterprises was that conducted by Colonel George Rogers Clarke, of Virginia. This energetic soldier took with him some of the western militia of his State, and, by a very protracted and wearisome march, penetrated to the British settlements on the Mississippi, and took the town of Kaskaskia, a dependency of Canada. Notwithstanding his success, his position was one of great peril; for he was a long way from assistance, and surrounded by many hostile tribes. Winter was approaching, with all the cruel severities of those regions; but Clarke, resolving not to turn back until he had fully accomplished his purpose, attacked the Indians in their villages with so much skill and vehemence as to strike terror far and wide.

While he was at Kaskaskia, Clarke seized on the written instructions which had been sent to the Governor from Quebec and Detroit with reference to the conduct of the war on those frontiers. It appeared from these papers that Colonel Hamilton, Governor of the latter of those cities, was engaged in many plans of Indian warfare; and in the month of December this officer advanced to St. Vincent, on the Wabash, in order to act against Clarke, and along the whole western line of Virginia. Colonel Clarke did the best he could to fortify himself at Kaskaskia; but, hearing shortly afterwards that Hamilton had sent off all his Indians on one of their devastating expeditions, and was himself posted at St. Vincent, with no stronger guard than about eighty soldiers, having three field-pieces and some swivels, he determined to attack

him. He could himself muster about a hundred and thirty men—a small number, but superior to the force at Hamilton's disposal. He began his operations in February, 1779, when he sent up the Wabash a small galley, mounting two four pounders and four swivels, manned with a company of soldiers, with orders to take up a station a few miles below St. Vincent, and to allow nothing to pass. With the rest of his little band he marched across the country between Kaskaskia and St. Vincent, forcing his toilsome way through woods and marshes, and often, when passing the drowned lands of the Wabash, being compelled to wade up to the breast in water. At length, after an interval of sixteen days, Clarke appeared before the object of his attack, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants, who at once submitted. Hamilton at first defended himself in the fort, but on the following day gave up himself and his garrison prisoners of war. He was considered by the Council of Virginia so great a criminal, owing to the atrocities of the Indians which he had incited and encouraged, that they threw him and some of his agents into prison, loaded with irons.

Clarke is entitled to the highest credit for the valour and judgment with which he conducted this expedition. It was a service to the country of no slight importance, for it destroyed the whole of Colonel Hamilton's projects, and discouraged the predatory raids of the Indians. The temptation to employ the savages was doubtless great; and it was a temptation which neither side had the courage and moral grandeur entirely to forego. But it was probably the English who first thought of these base allies as sources of power in the conduct of the war; and it was certainly they who chiefly made advances to the heroes of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. The whole narrative forms a discreditable passage of history, over which humanity shudders, and which she would willingly forget.

CHAPTER XLI.

Washington at Fredericksburg—His Troops put into Winter Quarters—Disposition of the Army—Admiral Byron's unsuccessful Attempts to engage d'Estaing—Washington on the Defective Composition of Congress—Abuses in the Federal Government—Recall of Silas Deane from Paris, and Despatch of John Adams as his Successor—Charges against Deane—His Quarrel with Congress—Thomas Paine and M. Gérard—Resignation of Henry Laurens—Vices of the American People—Lafayette in France—Project of Congress for the Subjugation of Canada—Washington opposed to it—The Plan abandoned—D'Estaing's Proclamation to the Canadians—Doubts as to its Objects and Intention—Agitated State of England—Paul Jones; his Origin and Career—Exploits by him on the Coasts of England and Scotland—His Capture of Two English Frigates—The American Campaign of 1779—Disordered State of Affairs in the Southern States—General Lincoln proceeds to the South—Prevost and Lincoln on the Savannah—Attempt to influence the Loyalists on the Western Frontiers—Disastrous March—Defeat of the American Colonel Ashe at Briar Creek—Vigorous Efforts of South Carolina to recover Georgia for the Union—March of General Lincoln—Prevost invades South Carolina, and Lincoln Georgia—Unsuccessful Attempt of Prevost to take Charleston—Retreat of the British to St. John's—Engagement at Stono Ferry—Further Retreat of the British, and Close of the Campaign.

Under an apprehension with regard to the Eastern States, consequent on the operations of General Grey along the coasts of New England, Washington had, in September, 1778, shifted his camp from White Plains to Fredericksburg, situated thirty miles from West Point, near the borders of Connecticut; had detached Generals Gates and M'Dougall to Danbury, in that State, that they might be in readiness to move as circumstances should require; and had sent General Putnam to West Point, to watch the passes in the highlands bordering on the Hudson. When it was ascertained that the enemy had no designs in those localities, the divisions were recalled, and Washington prepared to put his troops into winter quarters. He disposed of them in various directions at widely-separated points, but in such a way that a line of cantonments was formed around New York from Long Island Sound to Delaware, and that each division was capable of reinforcing others in case of an attack on any one point.* At the same time, General Lincoln was sent by order of Congress to take command of the Southern department. The greater number of Washington's troops were posted on the west side of the Hudson; but the east side also was carefully guarded. The soldiers were lodged in huts, as in the preceding winter; but the sufferings of that dreadful time were not now

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 11.



CLARKE AND HIS SOLDIERS CROSSING THE WABASH.

repeated. The organisation of the army had improved; the prospects of the country were much more hopeful than they had been a year before; the United States had been recognised by France, and that Power had sent a fleet to co-operate with the struggling nationality, and keep the English ships in check. In this respect, indeed, the Americans were now better off than their rivals. The fleet under Lord Howe was not very strong, nor in good condition. A reinforcement had been despatched from England under Admiral Byron; but the weather in the Atlantic was so boisterous during the summer months that the vessels were delayed, and finally dispersed. It was not until the 18th of October that Byron, having once more brought his ships together at New York, was ready to put to sea in search of d'Estaing. Nor did his misfortunes cease then. In the Bay of Boston he was again overtaken by a violent storm, which disabled his ships, and compelled him to go to Rhode Island to refit; and, during his absence, d'Estaing set sail on the 3rd of November, and escaped to the West Indies. In some respects, the fortunes of the Americans, towards the end of 1778, were looking brighter than those of the mother country.

During the comparative repose of winter, Washington had leisure to give a little more attention to political subjects, which always interested him, even when he was least able, by reason of his military occupations, to consider them deeply. He had for some time observed that the great national leaders—the men most renowned for character and abilities—were absenting themselves from Congress, which had in consequence become greatly reduced in numbers and impaired in reputation. It had sometimes happened, during the year then approaching its close, that scarcely five-and-twenty delegates were present for the despatch of business; thirty was considered a good average attendance; and several of the States were frequently unrepresented altogether. This condition seemed to Washington not a little alarming; and, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, dated December 30th, 1778, he set



PAUL JONES.

forth his views at some length. "It appears," he remarked, "as clear to me as ever the sun did in its meridian brightness, that America never stood in more eminent need of the wise, patriotic, and spirited exertions of her sons than at this period; . . . . that the States, separately, are too much engaged in their own concerns, and have too many of their ablest men withdrawn from the general council, for the good of the common weal." He went on to give it as his opinion that each State should not only choose its ablest men for sitting in Congress, but should compel their attendance there, with instructions to go into a thorough investigation of the causes that had produced so many bad effects in the army and in the country. "Without this," he added, "it does not in my judgment require the spirit of divination to foretell the consequences of the present administration; nor to how little purpose the States individually are framing constitutions, providing laws, and filling offices with the abilities of their ablest men. These, if the great whole is mismanaged, must sink in the general wreck, which will carry with it the remorse of thinking that we are lost by our own folly and negligence, or by the desire, perhaps, of living in ease and tranquillity during the expected accomplishment of so great a revolution, in the effecting of which the greatest abilities, and the most honest men our American world affords, ought to be employed. It is much to be feared that the States, in their separate capacities, have very inadequate ideas of the present danger. Many persons removed far distant from the scene of action, and seeing and hearing such publications only as flatter their wishes, conceive that the contest is at an end, and that to regulate the government and police of their own State is all that remains to be done; but it is devoutly to be wished that a sad reverse of this may not fall upon them like a thunder-clap, that is little expected."

There was a general impression, according to Washington, that the States were badly represented in Congress, and that the great affairs of the nation were consequently ill-conducted, for want of abilities or application in the members, or through the discordant jealousies of party. The eyes of Europe, he observed, were on them; and he was persuaded that many political spies were watching the course of things, with intent to disclose their weaknesses and wants. This, in the opinion of the writer, was the more to be regretted, as they were then far advanced in the dispute, and, as many persons believed, drawing towards a happy termination. Congress at that time, as appears from other contemporary records, shone but little in debate. The speeches were desultory and conversational. Of oratorical power there was scarcely any; of personal quarrels and vituperative altercations, there were not a few. Lafayette, who had returned for awhile to France, wrote to Washington in the course of the following year, earnestly imploring him to prevent the gentlemen in Congress from disputing so loudly together, as nothing so much hurt the interests and reputation of America. A nation was in the course of being made; and these were the pangs and convulsions which attended its gestation. As yet, loyalty to the State was much greater than loyalty to the Union; indeed, it is curious to observe how warmly the former sentiment was cherished, in some quarters, down to the period of the late civil war. The United States arose out of a somewhat arbitrary or accidental combination of a number of distinct communities, each having a character of its own that was almost national; and the desire of many was to preserve this character from absorption in the higher life of a Federal Republic. Hence the preference for serving in the local Parliaments, rather than in the great collective Council, wherein Virginia and Massachusetts, New York and the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Maryland, were lost in the mightier commonwealth.

The party divisions and imbecility of Congress were seen in the difficulties attending the removal of Silas Deane from his post as American agent at Paris. Deane was a man of indifferent character, and he had given offence to Congress by appointing a number of Frenchmen and other foreigners to positions of rank in the American army, without any authority for doing so. Lafayette was one of the officers thus appointed, and Congress demurred a good deal about sanctioning the rank which had been conferred on him. In some cases they actually refused to ratify the nominations of their representative, and in the autumn and early winter of 1777 the conduct of Deane was the subject of frequent discussion. Members, however, could not make up their minds openly to censure the man whom several of them secretly condemned, but, at length, after some motions of a severe character had been set aside, appointed John Adams to succeed him, at the same time resolving to direct the offending person "to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible despatch to Congress." According to this, no precise time for the return of Deane was fixed, and no expression of displeasure was conveyed. But that his integrity was strongly doubted by some is shown by a phrase occurring in a letter from James Lovell, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, earnestly requesting

Adams to accept the commission which Congress had resolved on offering. "We want," said Lovell, "one man of inflexible integrity on the embassy." Franklin's great age inspired alarm, and some of the other agents besides Deane were regarded with suspicion. Count de Vergennes—unjustly, as it would appear—distrusted the fidelity of Arthur Lee to such an extent that he demanded the exclusion of that gentleman from intelligence communicated to his colleagues. Adams accepted the post, sailed from America on the 13th of February, 1778, and arrived at Paris on the 8th of April following. His stay was not very prolonged, and we may here anticipate a little by stating that, having advised the separation of the diplomatic from the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the Republic, and Franklin being in consequence made sole Minister at the French Court, Adams found himself without any definite duties, and returned to his native land in the summer of 1779.

But, between the departure of John Adams and his return, Congress had again been troubled by the alleged misconduct of Deane. On the arrival of that gentleman in America, in the course of 1778, he asked to be heard in his defence; but he was not able to remove the bad impression produced by the testimony of others. Nevertheless, Congress hesitated as to what should be done. Deane was required to produce his papers, and replied—certainly with plausibility, if not with sufficient reason—that, having been simply superseded, without any intimation of a charge against him, he had not thought it necessary to bring his papers, and had therefore left them behind. Exasperated by what he considered, or professed to consider, the cruel treatment of Congress (though Congress really shrank from taking any positive steps in the matter), Silas Deane published in a newspaper an appeal to the people of the United States, in which he accused the Federal Legislature of injustice, and insinuated serious charges against his former colleagues in France, Arthur and William Lee. This production was answered by Thomas Paine (then in the employ of Congress), but with so much indiscretion that he divulged the fact of France having, while still professing friendship for England, sent over large sums of money to America in aid of the rebellion. M. Gérard, at that time the French Minister at Philadelphia, protested against the statement with much warmth; and Congress felt obliged to declare that they had not authorised Paine's assertions, that they highly disapproved of them, and that they entirely disbelieved the allegation that the King of France had prefaced his alliance by the sending of supplies. It is of course impossible to credit this disavowal, but it was rendered necessary by imperative reasons of State. The whole controversy exhibited the deplorable weakness of the Legislature; and it led, among other results, to the resignation, on the 9th of December, 1778, of the President of Congress, Henry Laurens, after he had held office for rather more than a year. Conceiving that the majority of the Assembly had not sufficiently resented Silas Deane's appeal to the country, he declined any longer to preside over their deliberations.

We are accustomed to think of the Americans of the revolutionary epoch as of a set of simple-natured, plain-living, heroic beings, not yet tainted by the corruptions of a too luxurious civilisation. Doubtless this was true of many of them; but there were numerous exceptions. The colonies had for several years enjoyed a large and opulent trade; riches had accumulated in many centres; and the usual effects of wealth were seen in America as well as in Europe. Puritan writers of even a hundred years earlier had lamented the growing voluptuousness of New England society;* and another century had now taken away still more from the rugged sternness of primitive times. We have seen that John Adams imputed vicious and effeminate habits to the Americans of his day. Washington spoke with even greater distinctness on this subject. In the letter to Mr. Harrison already cited, he observed that, although their money was sinking fifty per cent. a day in Philadelphia (where he was then staying), an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper, that would cost three or four hundred pounds, would take men away, not only from business, but from the very thoughts of it; and he confessed that he felt more distress at the existing state of things, on account of these tendencies, than he had done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute. "If," he wrote, with a bitterness which nothing but facts is likely to have drawn from his equable nature, "if I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and of almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequence is the want of

* See Vol. I., p. 309, of this History.

everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, and from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect."

Washington's presence in Philadelphia in the closing days of 1778 was due to his desire to discuss personally with the members of Congress a project which found great favour with most of them, but which did not at all recommend itself to the more judicious mind of the Commander-in-Chief. The small band of legislators had in fact conceived the idea of a renewed expedition against Canada. It appeared to them that while the British forces were so much scattered,—some even being entirely removed from the continent in the prosecution of hostilities against the French West India islands,—such an enterprise might be attended with better results than on the previous occasion. The plan was formed in concert with the Marquis de Lafayette, and one of the objects of that nobleman's visit to his own country was to obtain from the Court of Versailles, if he could effect as much, the co-operation of a French fleet and army. The reception of Lafayette in Paris was most flattering. The youth against whom, less than two years before, a *lettre de cachet* had been issued, and who had been pursued by Royal vessels in the vain hope of intercepting him, was now, under the altered aspects of French policy with reference to America, a species of hero whom every one delighted to honour. He was consulted by all the Ministers and embraced by all the ladies, and seems to have thought more of the latter testimony than of the former. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in persuading the French Government that it was any part of their policy to aid the United States in acquiring Canada. France was willing to do much in helping the Federation to establish its independence; but she was not disposed to shed her blood in conquering for that Federation a territory which had once been her own.

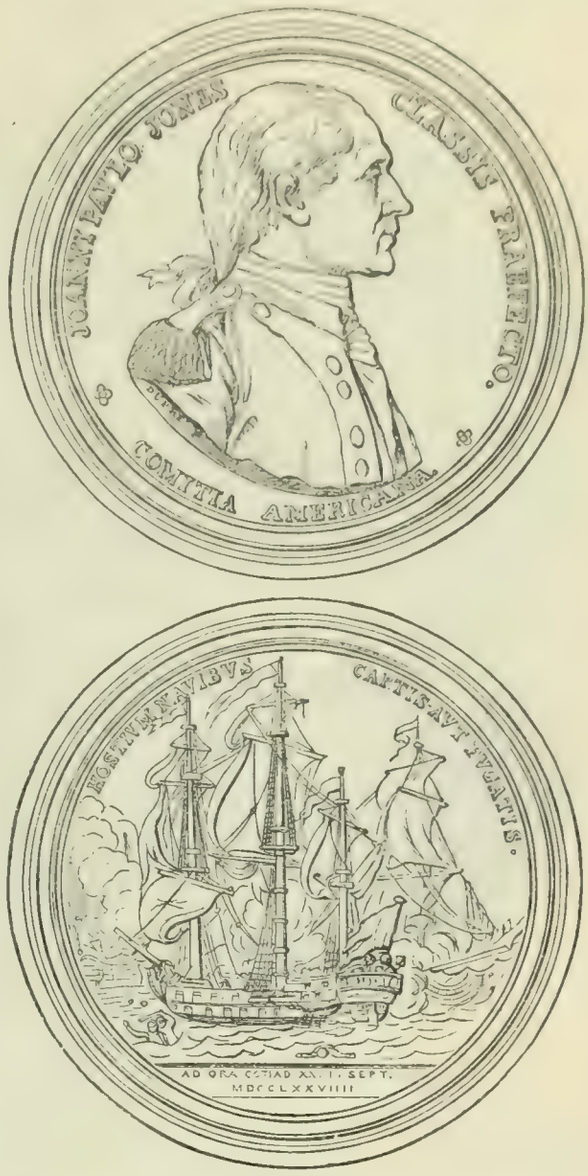
While Lafayette was absent, the members of Congress continued to think over their scheme; and, when fully matured, it was sent to Washington, with a request for his opinion. He replied by declaring that the plan was impracticable; that it would require more men and money than could be furnished; and that it would involve Congress in engagements to their ally which it would be impossible to fulfil. He saw no hope of such an enterprise succeeding; and, if it succeeded, it might be the source of many dangers. Supposing France to subjugate Canada, she would probably, as it seemed to Washington, be desirous of retaining it. Her possession of that province would give her a dominant position on the continent of America, would enable her to engross the whole trade of Newfoundland, and would afford facilities for aweing and controlling the young Republic. France, argued the General, had for some time past been the most powerful monarchy in Europe by land; by herself, she was able to dispute with England the empire of the sea; in conjunction with Spain, she would be superior. Such a Power, possessed of New Orleans to the right of the Republic, and of Canada to the left, with the support of numerous tribes of Indians (whom she had always known how to conciliate) in the rear from one extremity to the other, would be in a position to give law to the United States. Washington thought he could read in the countenances of some French people more than the disinterested zeal of allies. He did not doubt the good faith of France in the alliance she had formed; but he pointed to the universal experience of mankind as supporting the maxim that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by self-interest. If France should engage in the scheme, even with the purest intentions, there was great danger that, in pursuing it, she would alter her views, incited thereto by circumstances, and perhaps urged on by the solicitations of the Canadians. "To waive every other consideration," said Washington in conclusion, "I do not like to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish as much as possible to avoid giving a foreign Power new claims of merit for services performed to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensable."* It can hardly be questioned that the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief was wise, and that his reasonings were sound and statesmanlike. The authors of the scheme, however, were reluctant to give it up. They modified and contracted the original plan, without making it any the more acceptable to their far-sighted critic. On the 24th of December, Washington arrived at Philadelphia, that he might explain his views more at large than he could do in a letter; and, in the end, the project was abandoned altogether.

That France was unwilling to conquer Canada for the benefit of the United States is certain, and indeed so natural that it scarcely stands in need of proof. Whether she was equally indifferent to repossessing it herself is not so clear. Before sailing to the West Indies, d'Estaing had issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, which, however much the construction may have been denied, looks like a covert incentive to those provincials

* Letter to the President of Congress, Nov. 14th, 1778.

to return to their old allegiance. If such was really its intention, and if the proclamation was issued with the knowledge of the French Court (which, however, has been contradicted), a flagrant violation of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States was committed, or at least contemplated. By the fifth article of that treaty, it was provided that any territory conquered by the United States in the northern parts of America should be confederated with, or dependent upon, those States; and by the sixth article the King of France renounced the possession of any part of the continent of North America which, before the Peace of 1763, or in virtue of that Peace, was acknowledged as belonging to Great Britain. In his proclamation to the Canadians, d'Estaing said: "I will not attempt to convince a whole people,—for a whole people, when they acquire the right to think and act, know their own interest,—that to connect themselves with the United States is to secure their own happiness; but I will declare, as I now formally do, in the name of his Majesty, who has given me authority and instructions to that effect, that all his former subjects in North America, who will no longer recognise the supremacy of England, may rely on his protection and support." Adopting a metaphor which could hardly have been agreeable to his Anglo-American allies, d'Estaing said to the Canadians:—"To bear the arms of parricides against your mother country, must be the completion of misfortunes." Although these sentences contain no direct and unequivocal invitation to the Canadians to place themselves again under French rule, it is difficult not to see in them a suggestion to that effect, or to avoid suspecting that they formed one of those instances of "more than disinterested zeal" which awoke the jealous distrust of Washington.* Whatever the real object of the proclamation, however, it must be admitted that, as events turned out, France made no attempt to recover the North American province which she had lost.

Affairs in England were in a very agitated and unsatisfactory state during the progress of these events in America. It was not long ere Spain, after a specious offer of conciliatory mediation between Great Britain and France, openly joined the ranks of England's enemies. The country was excited by preparations for war on a vast scale, and rent in pieces by opposing parties, by conflicting principles, and by personal quarrels which even found their way into the navy, and lowered its character and efficiency. It was at this time that the British coasts were first ravaged by an American seaman, whose name has since become famous, and whose career forms part of the romance of naval warfare. Paul Jones was a Scotchman, the son of a market-gardener named Paul. He was born in 1747 in the vicinity of the Solway Frith, and,



MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF PAUL JONES.

being accustomed to the sight of shipping from his childhood, acquired in this way a passion for the sea. While yet a boy, he became a sailor in the merchant service, and went to America. An elder brother was married and settled in Virginia, and he soon felt so great an attachment to the New World as to make it his adopted country. When the insurrectionary war broke out, he took his stand with the patriots; and, on its being determined by Congress to fit up a naval force, Jones, then a

* The writer of a very able criticism on the "History of England" of Earl Stanhope (then Lord Mahon), which appeared in the *North American Review* for July, 1852, repudiates this idea of the proclamation, but for reasons which do not seem conclusive.

vigorous young man of twenty-eight, was appointed first lieutenant of the *Alfred*, on board which ship he hoisted with his own hands, for the first time it had ever been displayed in a national ship, the flag of independent America. He was soon advanced to the rank of Captain, and in 1778 sailed for Europe, to revenge on the shores of his native country the injuries which British ships had inflicted on the coasts of the United States. After staying for awhile in the Solway Frith, close to the spot where he was born, he rowed with thirty-one volunteers in two boats to the coast of Cumberland, and in the harbour of Whitehaven set fire to three vessels, and spiked a large number of cannon in the guard-room of the fort. In the course of four weeks—at the end of which time he sailed for Brest—this daring seaman had destroyed many valuable ships, thrown the coasts of Scotland and Ireland into a fever of alarm, occasioned the Irish volunteers to be embodied, and compelled the English Government to expend a considerable sum of money in fortifying the harbours.*

In the following year, Jones returned to the British seas, at the head of a small squadron, and with the rank of Commodore. Sailing first to the Frith of Forth, he threatened Edinburgh and Leith, to their great alarm. Afterwards, off Scarborough, he fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, escorted by the frigates *Scarborough* and *Serapis*. Both these vessels he took, after an obstinate and sanguinary engagement, fought on the 23rd of September, 1779. The Commodore carried his prizes into the ports of Holland, and was complimented with a message from the King of France, who, through his Ambassador at the Hague, expressed his high personal esteem for the Americanised Scotch adventurer. By this exploit, Paul Jones was enabled to effect the release of the American prisoners in England, who were exchanged for the officers and seamen taken with the two frigates. The naval battles of this able and courageous sailor formed the commencement of a series of desperate achievements in which the United States gathered great renown.



VIEW FROM SAVANNAH, LOOKING OVER RICE-FIELDS.

The American campaign of 1779 has been described as a very languid one. It is chiefly distinguished as having taken place rather in the

* American Naval Biography, by John Frost, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1844.

Southern than in the Northern States, though the latter also felt the scourge of war in more than one locality. After the defeat of Howe in Georgia, much was hoped from the greater experience of General Lincoln, who was appointed to the command in that quarter. Towards the end of 1778, Lincoln proceeded to Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, where he found affairs in great disorder. Congress had established no military chest for the Southern Department, so that the troops were dependent on the several State Governments for supplies, and were thus separated to an injurious degree from Federal control. This was the case even with the Continental regiments; and the militia, though taken into Continental pay, considered themselves subject only to the military code of the province to which they belonged. Lincoln immediately addressed himself to the reform of these abuses. In a little while, North Carolina sent two thousand men to Charleston, but they were not provided with arms, and Congress had no magazines in that part of the Union. It was some time ere these could be furnished by South Carolina; but at length the forces of General Lincoln were equipped, and they set forth towards Georgia. On their march they met with the scattered remains of the defeated army which had been commanded by Howe. Lincoln established his head-quarters at Purysburg on the 3rd of January, 1779, at which time he had under his command between three and



THE ASSAULT ON STONY POINT.

four thousand men. Several of these, however, were raw troops, while the opposing forces of General Prevost were not only rather more numerous, but were greatly superior in discipline.

The design of the English commander was to cross the Savannah from Georgia into South Carolina. That river, running east and west, separates the one State from the other; but, although its channel is not wide, it is a stream difficult for an army to encounter, because of the broad belt of marsh-land on each side, extending a hundred miles towards the source, and presenting the utmost perplexities to a large body of men. The bordering country is often inundated to a width of nearly four miles, and the vast, swampy expanse cannot be passed except on a few narrow causeways, fit only for a small number of persons at a time. But the same obstacle which withheld Prevost from attacking Lincoln, prevented Lincoln from marching against Prevost. The antagonists were separated by the river, and the river was not to be crossed. Under these circumstances, General Prevost sent a detachment to take the island of Port Royal; but the attempt was defeated by General Moultrie, the defender of Sullivan's Island. The operations of the British were thus brought to a pause, during which attempts were made to work upon the colonists themselves. In that part of America, many loyalists were to be found among the population. These especially abounded in the western counties of the three southern provinces—in those wild lands where men were little influenced by the new theories of political right and democratic government which had for some generations been elaborated in the intellectual circles of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other leading towns in the older parts of the Union. On hearing of the successes of the British in Georgia, the frontier loyalists were emboldened to move in defence of their principles. Emissaries were despatched to their settlements, to invite them to join the King's standard at Augusta, in Georgia, and about seven hundred embodied themselves, and proceeded towards that town from the back parts of South Carolina. Only three hundred, however, reached the British camp. They had supported themselves on the march by plunder, and had in consequence excited so much detestation that they found enemies wherever they came. Attacked by the militia, they were defeated with great slaughter; some were afterwards executed as traitors, and others punished with less severity. The western loyalists were for a time effectually checked.

The British post at Augusta was abandoned in February, and the detachment under Colonel Campbell removed to Hudson's Ferry, twenty-four miles from Ebenezer, where the main body was then stationed. The American army had by this time been reinforced, and Lincoln, considering that he was now strong enough to assume the offensive, detached General Ashe to take post opposite Augusta. It was hoped in this way to contract the area of the enemy's operations, and to intercept all communication with the Indians, and with the settlers in the west. Finding Augusta evacuated, Ashe crossed the river, marched down the southern bank, and posted himself near the point where Briar Creek falls into the Savannah, and forms an acute angle with the larger stream. Thus situated, he had the marshes on his left, while his front was protected by Briar Creek. The position was one not difficult to defend, yet Ashe found himself unable to defend it. General Prevost distracted the attention of his opponent by making a pretence of crossing the river, while with nine hundred picked men he passed Briar Creek, fifteen miles above the American station, and suddenly burst upon the enemy's rear. Unfortunately for General Ashe, the greater number of his troops consisted of militia, most of whom threw down their arms without firing a shot, and rushed into the marsh, or into the river, where many of them were drowned. The rest, after a vain struggle, in which for a little while they fought with much courage, were compelled to submit. So complete was the discomfiture of the militia that many returned to their homes, and Ashe's division was almost entirely dispersed, thus depriving Lincoln of a fourth part of his army. The communications of the English General with the Indians and the back settlements were now fully restored, and the quiet possession of Georgia seemed so certain that Prevost issued a proclamation establishing civil government in the province, appointing executive and judicial officers, and declaring that the laws existing at the close of 1775 were in force, and would so continue until they should be altered by the Legislature which was afterwards to be assembled.

The danger, however, was not at an end. The South Carolinians were determined to persevere in their attempt to recover Georgia for the Union. John Rutledge was elected Governor, and to him and his Council were given almost dictatorial powers. A reinforcement of militia, to the extent of one thousand, was sent to General Lincoln, who on the 23rd of April marched up the Savannah with the main body of his army, and, although the river was much flooded, and the water out over the marshes, prepared to cross to the southern shore. Prevost considered that

the best way of encountering this threatened invasion was by sending a detachment of his own army into South Carolina. On the 29th of April, therefore, he passed the river near Purysburg, at the head of two thousand five hundred troops, and a considerable number of Indians. Moultrie, who had been left at Black Swamp with eight hundred militia and two hundred regulars, retired before him, breaking down the bridges in his rear. Numbers of men deserted; nothing was done to defend the passes; the State militia did not take up arms; and the position of South Carolina seemed desperate. Moultrie sent an express to Lincoln, then nearly opposite Augusta; but the latter would not permit himself to be turned aside from his enterprise, and, having sent a small reinforcement to Moultrie, he crossed the Savannah, and marched eastward along the southern bank towards the town of the same name. In the meanwhile, Prevost pursued his way into South Carolina, and, meeting with little opposition from the Republicans, and much encouragement from the loyalists, changed his original design of a mere incursion, with a view to drawing off Lincoln from Georgia, into a regular invasion of the neighbouring State, in the hope of taking Charleston, which was wholly undefended towards the land. After halting for two or three days, to mature his plans, he pushed on towards the capital. The troops greatly misconducted themselves on the march. Houses were ransacked of money and personal effects, and that which could not be carried away was wantonly destroyed. Moultrie could do nothing to prevent the advance of the invading troops, beyond breaking down the bridges. He sent express after express to Lincoln, but received no further reinforcements.

The delay in Prevost's march gave the people of Charleston time to throw up extemporary fortifications on the land side, and to concentrate troops in the city. When Moultrie had arrived there, the position was far from weak. General Prevost reached the ferry of the river Ashley, close to the city, on the 10th of May. On the following morning he passed that stream, and, marching along the narrow peninsula, between the Ashley and the Cooper, on which Charleston is built, came within reach of the guns on the fortifications. A summons to surrender was sent in on the 12th, and Rutledge entered into negotiations, with a view to gaining more time. It was proposed that South Carolina should be rendered neutral during the war, and that its ultimate fate should be determined by the treaty of peace; but Prevost replied that the garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war. This was refused, and the Carolinians expected an immediate attack. But Prevost had discovered that the place was too strong to be assailed by the small force which he commanded; and during the night of the 12th he retired, fearing lest he should be attacked in the rear by Lincoln, who, as he was now informed, was marching against him. The number of loyalists in the State had proved to be far fewer than he was led to suppose, and he found himself in a position of some danger. His retreat, however, was adroitly managed. Apprehending that he might encounter the army of General Lincoln, which was greatly superior in number to his own, he turned to the east, and proceeded along the coast. For a time he made a stand in the island of St. John, and there awaited the reinforcements which he was expecting from New York.

The island so designated is separated from the continent by a narrow piece of water, called the river Stono. On the mainland, where a ferry was established for communication with the detached territory, Prevost stationed a number of his men, to cover the island and protect the foragers. The post itself was defended by three redoubts, joined by connecting lines; and a bridge of boats was thrown over from shore to shore. The troops on the mainland amounted to fifteen hundred, and Lincoln, knowing that they could be at once supported by those on the island, forbore from making any attack as long as Prevost remained at St. John's. But, on the English General leaving, and the garrison at Stono Ferry being reduced to seven hundred, Lincoln perceived that a favourable opportunity was presented for offensive operations. Some troops still remained on the island; but nearly all the boats had been removed, so that intercommunication was no longer easy. It was arranged between Lincoln and Moultrie that the latter should pass over to James's Island with a body of militia, and engage the attention of the troops on St. John's, while the former should attack the post at the ferry. The action took place on the 20th of June. At the head of twelve hundred men, Lincoln advanced to the assault about seven o'clock in the morning. He was encountered by two companies of Highlanders, who fought against superior numbers with dogged courage, but were at length compelled to retreat under shelter. The combat was renewed immediately before the lines, and the Americans, at one time, seemed on the very point of getting within the enclosure. This was prevented, and Lincoln, finding that Moultrie, for want of boats, was unable to render him any support, retired in good order, carrying his wounded with him. In consequence

of this battle, the British evacuated Stono Ferry and the island of St. John on the 23rd of June, and retired to Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal. The American commander established his head-quarters at Shelden, not far off; and the summer heats now rendered further operations impossible. A large number of slaves had been liberated by the English during the campaign, and, in zeal for their new friends, had shown them where the valuables of their former masters were concealed. Many of these died of camp-fever; others perished of hunger in the woods, being afraid to return to the plantations. South Carolina is believed to have lost in this way four thousand of her slaves, besides a large amount of other property; yet the gain to England was literally nothing.

CHAPTER XLII.

Naval and Military Expedition to Chesapeake Bay—Destruction of American Stores—Washington's Plans for the Campaign of 1779—Defensive Operations to be mainly relied on—Financial Embarrassments—John Jay President of Congress—Reorganisation of the Army—General Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations—Defeat of the Savages, and Resignation of Sullivan—Taking of American Forts at Stony Point and Verplank's Point by the English—Movements of Washington for the Defence of the Hudson—Expedition of General Tryon to the Shores of Connecticut, and sacking of various Towns—Washington's plan for the Recovery of Stony Point—The Fort attacked by General Wayne, and taken—Results of the Action—Failure of an Attack on Fort Lafayette—Stony Point evacuated by the Americans, and re-occupied by the English—General M'Lean besieged by the Americans at Penobscot—Flight of the Besiegers on the Approach of an English Fleet—Temporary Seizure of a Post at Paulus Hook—Affairs in the South—Siege of Savannah by d'Estaing and Lincoln—Attempt to Storm the Works—The Siege raised—Clever Exploit on the Ogeeche.

The change in the seat of operations, from the Northern to the Southern States, had not justified the expectations that were formed of it. Much valour had been shown by the British troops; some skill had been exhibited by the Generals; yet the South was as far from being vanquished as the North. It was now resolved to send an armament to Virginia, with the intention of interrupting the commerce of Chesapeake Bay, and destroying the magazines on its shores. The fleet on the North American station had, for a short time after the departure of Lord Howe, been commanded by Admiral Gambier, who was succeeded in April by Sir George Collier. Clinton and Collier together concerted a plan for entering the Chesapeake with a mixed military and naval force, which, by a series of rapid movements, was to act at several points in quick succession. One thousand eight hundred men were placed by Clinton under the orders of General Matthews; and the fleet appointed to carry them, and to take part in their operations, was convoyed by the Admiral himself. The Capes of Virginia were reached on the 8th of May, three days after the vessels had left Sandy Hook, in the vicinity of New York. After anchoring for awhile in Hampton Roads, the fleet entered the river Elizabeth on the morning of the 10th, and struck so much consternation into the American troops stationed in that locality that they immediately took to flight. General Matthews established his head-quarters at Portsmouth, and sent out small parties to Norfolk, Gosport, Kemp's Landing, and Suffolk. Large quantities of naval and military stores, and a number of valuable ships, were either taken or destroyed, and General Matthews returned to New York before the end of the month.

During the campaign of 1779, the Americans could do little more than remain on the defensive. They were not strong enough to attack the English at New York or Rhode Island; and their adversaries, having command of the sea and of the great rivers, were enabled to move with so much ease and celerity, and to strike their blows in so many different places, that the Americans, not knowing where they would be assailed, were compelled to divide their forces, and keep watch on all vulnerable points at once. Early in the winter, Washington had suggested three plans for prosecuting the campaign. Two of these contemplated offensive operations; the third, which was finally adopted, in consideration of the pecuniary exhaustion of the country, and the insufficiency of the military supplies, was to be purely defensive, excepting as regarded the frontier Indians, who were to be chastised for their depredations in the previous year, and deterred from the repetition of such acts in the future. The financial argument had perhaps as much influence over the ultimate decision as the necessities of the military situation. Even the most sanguine were alarmed at the steady depreciation of

the paper currency, and it was hoped that the diminution of active and expensive operations would give the country time to recover itself in some degree. Much, also, was expected from the French alliance, and from the probability of England being involved at the same time in a war with both France and Spain, so that she would be compelled very considerably to relax her efforts in America.

The new President of Congress was John Jay, one of the New York representatives — a man of Huguenot descent, by profession a lawyer, in character impulsive and vehement, though not without those checks which are imposed by study and observation. It was shortly after Jay's accession to the chief Federal office that Washington arrived at Philadelphia, to give his reasons against the contemplated Canada expedition. In that city, the Commander-in-Chief remained until the latter end of January, 1779, and during those few weeks many important subjects were debated at large between him and the members of Congress. The infantry of the Continental army was now organised in eighty-eight battalions, to which were added four regiments of cavalry, and forty-nine companies of artillery. Recruiting was vigorously commenced, to fill up the gaps which would shortly be made by the expiration of the term of service of several of the men; and the system of bounties, into which many abuses had entered, underwent a partial reform. The great inconvenience resulting from the bounties offered by the States being frequently higher than those of Congress, was nevertheless permitted to remain; and this was a fruitful cause of trouble. It was indeed a marvel how the army was kept up at all. The value of labour had risen so much, owing to the increased demand consequent on the competition of the military life, and to the depreciation of the currency, that a man could obtain more by keeping out of the army than by going into it, even at a high rate of bounty.* It was no longer necessary, however, to maintain so large a number of men in the field, now that the offensive had been changed into a defensive policy; and in this pause it was resolved to pay more attention than formerly to the discipline of the troops. Baron Steuben, a man of long experience in the wars of Frederick the Great, had for some time been acting as Inspector-General of the American forces. For the use of those forces, he wrote a system of tactics; and the result of his tuition was a great improvement in the discipline of the army, where the different, and sometimes widely distinct, exercises of the troops from various States were reduced to a single method.

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 12.

The expedition against the Indians now received the attention of Washington. Four thousand Continental troops were detached for the purpose, and were joined by militia from the State of New York, and by independent companies from Pennsylvania. The whole force was commanded by Sullivan, who first established his head-quarters at Wyoming. He then proceeded up the Susquehannah into the Indian country. General James Clinton simultaneously advanced with another division by Lake Otsego and the east branch of the Susquehannah, and formed a junction with Sullivan near the point of union of the two branches. Sullivan now found himself at the head of nearly five thousand men, with whom he boldly plunged into the wilderness. Starting from the forks of the Susquehannah on the 22nd of August, the united force proceeded by very toilsome marches up the Cayuga, or western branch of that river, towards the chief settlements of the natives whom they proposed to attack. These savages belonged to the Six Nations,—viz., the Mohawks, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas,—but did not include the whole of that large confederation. Most of the Oneidas, and a few of the Mohawks, sided with the United States; the rest suffered themselves to be influenced by the presents and promises of English agents. They formed a very powerful body of warriors, and, being unrestrained by any feelings of humanity, were a terrible scourge to the small, outlying settlements of white people. It has, indeed, been said that their cruelty was less diabolical than that of the Anglo-American loyalists, and that they would never permit white men to accompany them on their expeditions, because of the enormities they were in the habit of perpetrating. But, from what we know of the Indian character when excited by combat, it is difficult to believe that they could have been surpassed by the most ruthless of American rangers. Ferocity is the rule of irregular warfare, and red men and white are apt to be equally debauched.

The Indians of the Six Nations had information of the blow that was being prepared for them. They determined to go forth and meet their opponents. To the number of about a thousand, commanded by some whites, and by the half-caste, Brandt, they fortified themselves at a distance of a mile from Newtown. Sullivan attacked them with spirit, and drove them back, though not without greater loss to his own side than to theirs. This success so discouraged the savages and their white allies that they abandoned their villages, fields, and orchards (which were laid waste by the victors, with

all the remorseless fury they had denounced in the enemy), and retired to the vicinity of Niagara, where they were protected by a British garrison. The invaders then returned to Wyoming, and, plea of bad health. In the course of the summer, expeditions were despatched against the Indians of the southern frontiers as well. These were made to suffer severely, but they revenged them-

All Friends to Liberty, and the Good, of their Country.——

Are Desire'd to take Notice, that there is men in this City, that, in Order to Ruin our Cause, and to Distress us as much as possible, has Lately Consulted together. and Did Actualy Raise the price, of the most Nessesary Articles, of Life— on the News of the Eneneys apearing on our Coast and if and, orderley, Malitia will Bring them Before the Civil Magestrales,——

1779 May

I will point out and appear against them

N 13
Some Nessesary article has Rose Double the price, in three weeks if these men pass with impunity, where will it End——

Terra Firma

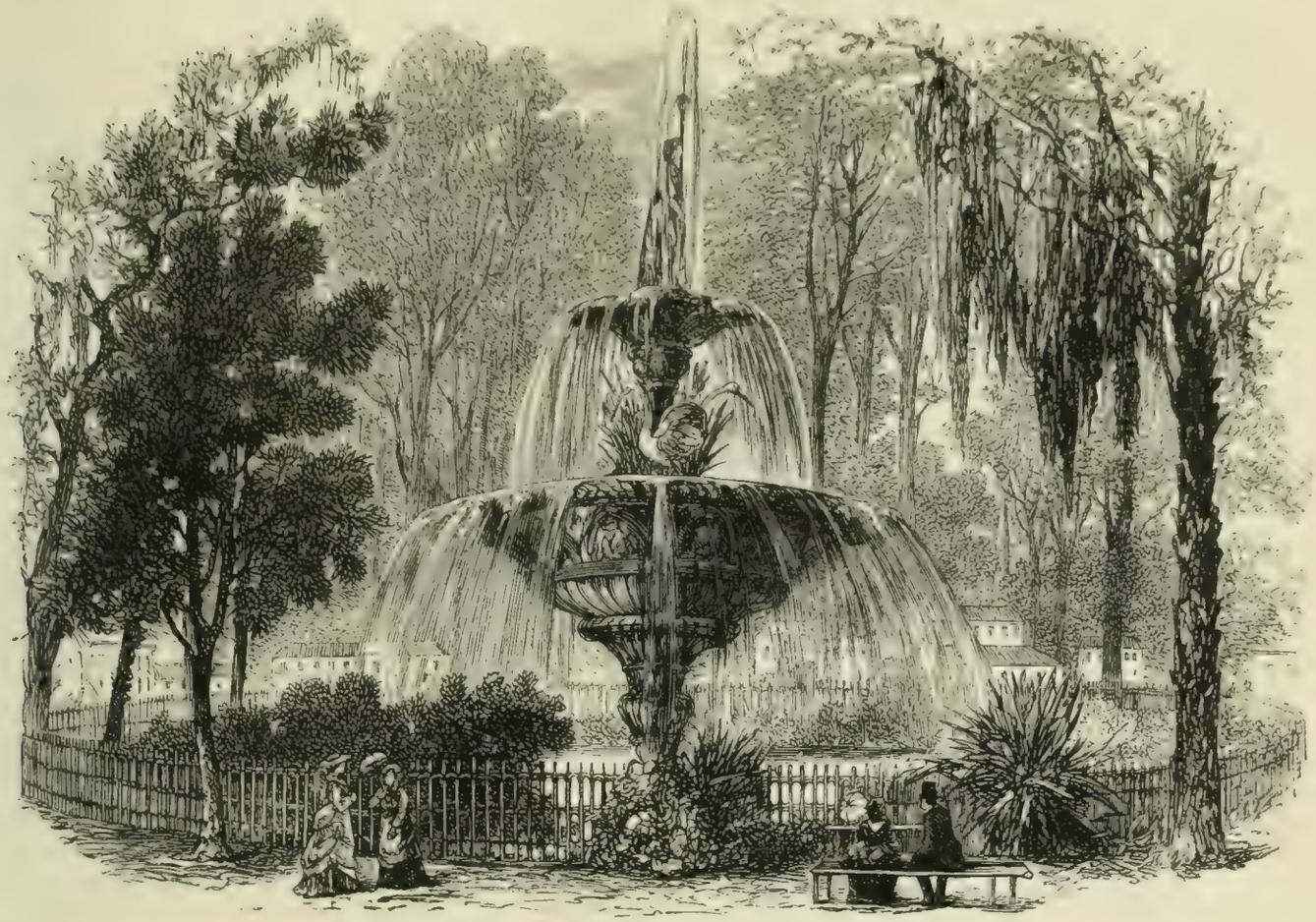
FAC-SIMILE OF A DECLARATION ABOUT THE SCARCITY OF FOOD.

according to his usual habit, Sullivan transmitted to Congress a pompous and boastful account of his achievement, which excited laughter and derision in all who read it. Sullivan was much offended when he heard of these disrespectful criticisms, and on the 9th of November sent in his resignation, on the

selves by sanguinary incursions into civilised territory.

At this period, the head-quarters of Washington were at Middlebrook, on the Hudson, where they had been fixed at the beginning of the previous winter. To preserve his lines of communication,

and to guard the passes of the highlands between New York and Albany, the General ordered the construction of fortifications at Stony Point, a rocky promontory on the west side of the Hudson, thirty-six miles above New York, and also at Verplank's Point, on the opposite side of the river. Both these places, Sir Henry Clinton resolved to attack; and on the 30th of May a strong force, destined for this purpose, sailed up the stream, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief and by Admiral Collier. On the following day, the largest division of the troops landed on the east bank, seven miles below Fort Lafayette, situated at Verplank's Point, while the rest, with Clinton himself, continued their course, and landed on the west side, three miles from Stony Point. At the latter place the American works were unfinished, and the garrison retired, after setting fire to a blockhouse. The attacking force seized the position, and, with extraordinary labour, dragged some heavy cannon and mortars to the top of the hill. The work was performed during the night, and the soldiers worked so diligently that by five o'clock on the following morning a battery was ready to open fire across the river on Fort Lafayette. The distance was about a thousand yards; but Stony Point is a lofty elevation, while Verplank's Point is a flat peninsula. The situation of Fort Lafayette was therefore considerably exposed to the fire of any one holding Stony Point, and the work, though in a much more forward state than that on the west side of the Hudson, suffered greatly from the fire of the opposite fort, and of the armed vessels and gunboats on the river. Measures were taken to invest Fort Lafayette, and the garrison speedily surrendered. Clinton gave directions for completing the fortifications of both posts, and putting them in a thorough state of defence. But he was not long suffered to enjoy his triumph in peace.



VIEW IN THE PARK, SAVANNAH.

It had entered into the general designs of Clinton to force his way to the highlands (if he should judge that movement to be practicable), to make himself master of the passes, and in this way to secure the command of the Hudson. Washington divined that the preparations at New York had some such object, and at once took measures to prevent its realisation. He drew his troops together, and ordered General Putnam to make a rapid movement up the river. The garrison at West Point, some miles above the

two forts then in possession of the English, was strengthened; and a strong position was taken at Smith's Close, also on the Hudson. These dispositions effectually stifled the contemplated further operations of Sir Henry Clinton in the same direction. Hearing that Staten Island was threatened, the English commander, after leaving garrisons in the posts he had taken, returned with his fleet and army to New York. Washington removed his head-quarters to New Windsor, and distributed his forces on both sides of the Hudson in such a way as to be in the best position for resisting any sudden incursion. Clinton next turned his attention to the coast of Connecticut, and detached two thousand six hundred men, under the command of Major-General Tryon, formerly Governor of New York, with orders to effect a diversion on the New England shores. A squadron with the troops on board left Long Island Sound on the 4th of July, and next morning reached New Haven, one of the chief towns of Connecticut. The place was taken after some opposition, and the successful troops destroyed all the artillery, ammunition, public stores, and vessels in the harbour. They afterwards attacked Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenfield, and committed great depredations not only on public but on private property. Dwelling-houses, shops, school-rooms, and even churches, were burnt; acts of pillage were allowed, if not actually enjoined; and the unfortunate places were given up to all the licence of an unrestrained army. The attacks being unexpected, resistance was necessarily slight; yet many lost their lives in a vain endeavour to protect their homesteads. Such acts disgraced the English forces, while in no respect tending to put down the rebellion, or restore the authority of the King.

If Sir Henry Clinton supposed that these operations would draw the Americans from the highlands of New York, he was entirely mistaken. Washington declined to be thus led away from an important position, or rather set of positions. He even resolved to turn to account the absence of a portion of his antagonist's forces, by attempting to recover Stony Point. He therefore reconnoitred the post himself, and instructed Major Henry Lee, at the head of a party of cavalry, to collect all the information possible as to the condition of the works and the strength of the garrison. To take such a fort was evidently an exploit of great difficulty, which could only be effected by a surprise; for the position, besides being strongly fortified by art, and well provided with artillery, was situated on a steep hill, washed by the waters of the Hudson on three sides, and on the fourth protected by a deep marsh, connected with the river, and passable only at one place. It was necessary, however, for Washington to do something, for many people were beginning to murmur at the merely defensive character of the campaign, and were crying out with indignation at the Connecticut outrages. The enterprise was entrusted to General Wayne, who commanded a detachment of light infantry in advance of the main body of the American forces; and the night of the 15th of July was fixed on for the attack. The detachment started from Sandy Beach, and marched more than twelve miles over a rugged and mountainous road. The heat was terrible, and it was eight in the evening when the vanguard arrived at Spring Heels, within a mile and a half of the enemy. There the troops were halted and formed, while Wayne and some of his officers went forward to reconnoitre. The fort was at that time garrisoned by rather more than six hundred men; but Wayne, though he might not have known how many or how few were the forces by which he was to be encountered, could see for himself that several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as to command a sandy beach at the foot of the hill, which it was possible to pass at ebb-tide.

At half-past eleven at night, the whole army moved forward in two columns to the assault. Both columns advanced with fixed bayonets, and the most positive orders were given not to fire, but to rely wholly on the steel. A forlorn hope of twenty picked men preceded each column, to remove the *abatis* and other obstructions, and to open a way across the marsh. The passage of that watery expanse was difficult and tedious; but at length, at twenty minutes past twelve, the outer works were reached, and the assault began. The Americans were received by a tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot; but they rushed forward at the charge, and the two columns, arriving almost at the same moment, met in the centre of the enemy's works. General Wayne, who accompanied the right column, was slightly wounded in the head, but got into the enclosure with the rest. After a brief but animated combat, the English troops were routed, and the Americans gained complete possession of the fort. In accomplishing this brilliant feat, the assailants lost only fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. The killed on the other side amounted to sixty-three; and the number of prisoners taken was five hundred and forty-three. The results of the action were very important to the Americans; for they not only gained the fort, but also a large number of

cannon, mortars, muskets, shells, shot, tents, and other stores. It is much to the credit of the conquerors that, although exasperated by the recent devastations on the coast of Connecticut, they did no injury to the garrison after resistance ceased. Congress recognised the worth of the achievement by passing resolves of a complimentary character, granting rewards, and directing that the value of all the military stores taken in the garrison should be divided among the troops in proportion to the pay of the officers and men. Medals commemorative of the event were struck, and a vote of thanks was passed to Washington for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, especially in connection with the recovery of Stony Point.

An attack on Fort Lafayette, situated on Verplank's Point, had also been contemplated by the Commander-in-Chief; and two brigades, under General M'Dougall, were ordered to proceed towards it, and await the arrival of intelligence with reference to the operations against the other fort. By some misunderstanding, the proper information was not conveyed to M'Dougall until it was too late for him to move with effect. Moreover, this officer was greatly in want of horses and carriages for the transportation of heavy guns; so that he could hardly have done much in aid of the attack. General Wayne turned the artillery of Stony Point against the ships in the river, compelling them to drop down the stream till they were out of range; and he also fired on Fort Lafayette, but without making much impression. M'Dougall's detachment was now placed under General Howe, who was provided with battering cannon; but he speedily found it necessary to retreat, and the fort remained untaken. On hearing of the capture of Stony Point, Sir Henry Clinton abandoned a design which he had formed of attacking New London, in Connecticut (a well-known resort of privateers which had inflicted great injuries on British trade), withdrew his transports and troops from Long Island Sound, where they had recently returned, and went in person with a large force to the support of Colonel Webster, who had the command at Verplank's Point. Clinton was in hopes that Washington would hazard a battle in the open field for the possession of Stony Point; but the American commander, after a careful survey of his new acquisition, determined to evacuate the post, remove the cannon and stores, and destroy the works. Without the fort on the east side of the Hudson, the possession of that on the west side was of no great value; for the guns of the former could prevent all communication by King's Ferry between the two banks of the river, and, that ferry being closed, Washington's intercourse with the Eastern States could be maintained only by a very circuitous route. Besides, the retention of Stony Point would have required a garrison of fifteen hundred men, a force which Washington could ill spare. The position must have been fortified towards the river, as the British had command of the water: and it might have been necessary to fight a general action in its defence. For these reasons it was abandoned, and the Royal troops afterwards re-occupied the post, and repaired the works.

Shortly after these events, General M'Lean, who commanded the army in Nova Scotia, and who had recently established a post at Penobscot, in the eastern part of Massachusetts, was besieged by a fleet of armed vessels and a body of troops. The object of establishing the post in that locality was to check the incursions of the Americans into Nova Scotia, and to supply the Royal Navy-yards at Halifax with ship-timber. To the Massachusetts Government the formation of such a military centre within their State seemed to threaten a peril which they were bound to resist. They therefore sent to Penobscot a fleet consisting of fifteen vessels of war, and a certain number of transports; and an army of militia, amounting to between three and four thousand men. M'Lean's station was situated on the east side of Penobscot Bay, nine miles from the bottom of that enclosed water. The land where the fort had been built was a wild peninsula, covered with an unbroken forest, and presenting no trace of population or of culture. It was necessary, before constructing the fort, to clear away the wood by which the ground was cumbered; and the work of building had hardly begun when, on the 21st of July, M'Lean heard of the expedition against him. He had the protection of three sloops of war, which fired on the American vessels when they appeared in the bay on the 25th. Owing to this opposition, and to the rugged nature of the shore, the troops were not able to land until the 28th. The interval was turned to good account by the garrison and their energetic commander, and the defensive works were pushed forward with great rapidity. Lovell, the American General, erected a battery within seven hundred and fifty yards of the fortifications, and for nearly a fortnight a brisk cannonade was maintained, without at all affecting the spirit or resolution of the defenders. Preparations were made for an assault; but on the 13th of August Lovell heard that Sir George Collier, with a superior naval force, had entered the bay. Knowing that

he could not cope with such an antagonist, he embarked his forces and cannon in the night, and sailed off, in the hope of escaping the English fleet. The American ships, however, were vigorously pursued and fiercely attacked. Some were burnt or blown up, and the men, being landed in a desert country without provisions or other necessaries, were subjected to great hardships as they groped their way through a hundred miles of pathless and inhospitable forest. Many died on the route, and the survivors were in a ragged and spent condition when at length they emerged from the shadowy wilderness into peopled and cultivated lands. It is related that while in the woods the seamen and landsmen quarrelled as to who was blamable for the disaster which had occurred, and that they fought with such fury and pertinacity that fifty or sixty were slain.* The expedition was a miserable failure from first to last.

On returning to New York, Sir George Collier resigned the command of the fleet to Admiral Arbuthnot, who had just arrived from England with some additional ships of war, and with provisions, stores, and reinforcements for the army. Sir Henry Clinton now pitched his camp above Haerlem, with his upper posts at King's Bridge. Washington, during the second half of the year, was stationed at West Point, whence he sent out expeditions on both sides of the Hudson. One of these expeditions was conducted by Major Henry Lee against the British post at Powle's or Paulus Hook, on the Jersey bank, opposite to New York. The position was so strongly fortified, and so difficult to get at, that the garrison, lulled into a false security, took no measures to guard against surprise. The usual result ensued. On the morning of the 20th of August, when part of the garrison was absent on a foraging excursion, the Major, with three hundred infantry and a troop of dismounted dragoons, seized the blockhouse and two redoubts before an alarm could be given. The sentinel at the outer gate had mistaken the assailants for the foraging party returning, and had suffered them to pass unchallenged. When the error was discovered, and the garrison began firing on the American intruders, a general alarm was spread, not only to the shipping in the roads, but even to New York. Guns were heard in many directions, and Major Lee, fearing that if he delayed he should be cut off, retreated with the loss of two men killed and three wounded. He took with him a hundred and fifty-nine prisoners; and, as his design was not to hold the place, but to carry off the garrison, it must be admitted that he was partially successful, and that his bold and spirited performance deserved the gold medal which was presented to him by Congress in recognition of this feat. On the retreat, however, some of the soldiers behaved very badly. Writing to President Reed, Major Lee said:—"In my report to General Washington, I passed the usual general compliments on the troops under my command. I did not tell the world that near one half of my countrymen left me."

The concluding military events of 1779 took place in the South. General Prevost, though compelled to abandon his attempt on South Carolina, and to relinquish the upper parts of Georgia, was still in a position to keep all that region of America in a state of alarm. D'Estaing, on his return from the West Indies, where he had been engaged, not unsuccessfully, with Admiral Byron, was on this account requested by Rutledge, the Governor of South Carolina, and by General Lincoln, to visit the Savannah, and help to expel the English. He assented to their solicitations, and, with twenty-two sail of the line, a number of small vessels, and six thousand soldiers, appeared at the mouth of the river with great suddenness. Some British vessels, being surprised, fell into his hands, and on the 13th of September he landed half his force at Beaulieu. Some of Prevost's regiments had been scattered among distant outposts in Georgia, and in the island of Port Royal; but they were hastily called in on news arriving of the appearance of the French fleet. On reaching the town of Savannah, d'Estaing summoned the place to surrender, and Prevost, to gain time, requested a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, which was granted. By extraordinary efforts, the detachment from Port Royal arrived in the interval, and Prevost then informed the French commander that he would defend the town to the utmost. When the whole of his detachments had reached him, he had under his orders an army of nearly two thousand men. The forces under d'Estaing had by this time been joined by those of General Lincoln, Colonel M'Intosh, and Count Pulaski. Heavy artillery and stores were brought up from the fleet, and on the 23rd of September the siege began. For several days a scathing fire was poured upon the walls, not only from the batteries erected by the besiegers, but from a floating battery in the river. Yet no sensible effect was produced, and Savannah showed not the slightest sign of yielding.

D'Estaing was disappointed, and, what was worse, he was placed in a position of no little danger. The tempestuous season was on the eve

* Stedman's History of the American War, Vol. II., p. 151.

of setting in; it was not improbable that an English fleet might be sent against him, or might imperil the conquests which he had recently made in the West Indies; and a further stay in the Savannah became obviously unadvisable, unless the town could be taken. The besiegers accordingly determined to make an attempt at storming the place. On the morning of the 9th of October, three thousand French, and half that number of Americans, advanced in three columns to the assault, under cover of a heavy bombardment. They met with a resolute resistance; but the attacking force pressed on, broke through the *abatis*, crossed the ditch, and mounted the parapet. Pulaski and two hundred horsemen, inspired by a desperate valour, dashed between the batteries towards the town; but the heroic Pole fell mortally wounded, and the squadron broke.* After a sanguinary struggle, lasting fifty minutes, the besiegers were driven from the works. Both the French and the Americans, but especially the former, lost a large number of men, and, as the siege was now quite hopeless, it was abandoned, and the armies left their ground on the evening of October 18th. The Americans retreated into South Carolina, and the French hurriedly embarked on board their ships. A violent storm shortly afterwards arose, and scattered the fleet in various directions; and the complete dispersion of this naval armament seemed to typify the entire ruin of those efforts after independence which the South had recently been making.

The very general disappointment felt in that part of America at the collapse of this enterprise, was in some slight degree mitigated by a daring and clever feat executed by Colonel White, of Georgia. On the night of the 30th of September, accompanied by only six volunteers, he made such an appearance of strength, by the lighting of numerous fires in different places, and by other artifices, that he induced a British captain, posted near the river Ogechee under protection of five vessels, to surrender at discretion, with a hundred and forty-one men, who were all secured, and conducted to the American post at Sunbury, twenty-five miles off. The exploit was much to the credit of Colonel White; but it was a poor compensation for the failure at Savannah.

CHAPTER XLIII.

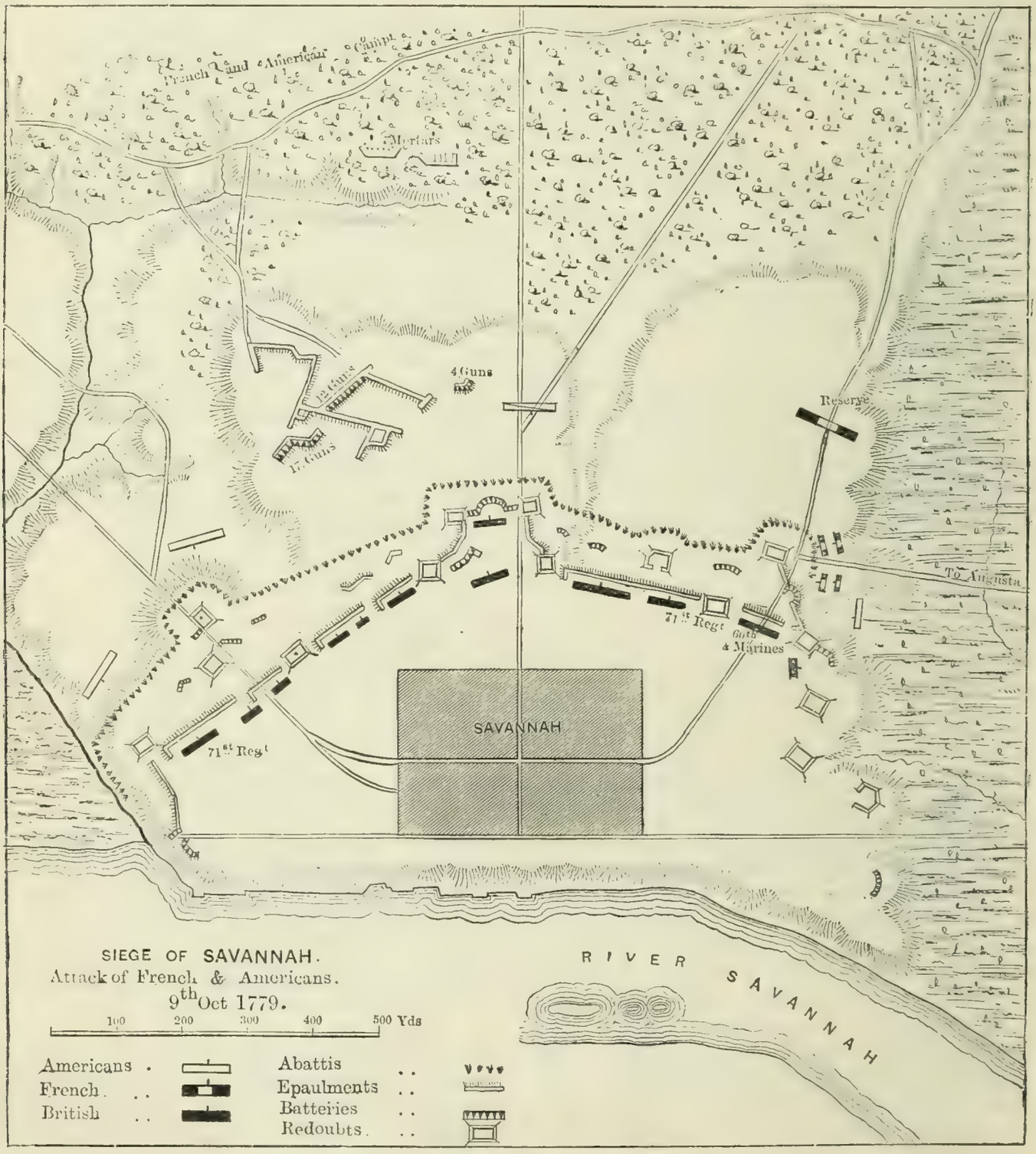
Withdrawal of the British Troops from Rhode Island, Stony Point, and Verplank's Point—Disposition of the American Army at the Approach of the Winter of 1779—Reinforcements sent to the South—Levying of Supplies on the American People for the Support of their Army—The Difficulties of Paper Currency—Proceedings of Congress on the Subject—Recognition by Spain of the Independence of the United States—The British Settlements on the Mississippi attacked by the Spaniards—Congress determines to appoint a Commissioner to Negotiate a Treaty of Peace with Great Britain—Instructions to him, and to Dr. Franklin at Paris—Negotiations with Spain and Holland—Sailing of an Expedition to Charleston under Sir Henry Clinton—Position of General Lincoln in the South—Preparations for Defence at Charleston—Clinton's Approaches to that City—Opening of the Siege (April, 1780)—The Place surrounded—Outlying Posts scattered and cut off—Surrender of Fort Moultrie—Desperate Condition of the Defenders of Charleston—Capitulation resolved on—Terms granted to the Besieged—Results of the Fall of Charleston—Further Operations of the Royal Troops in South Carolina and Georgia—Defeat of Colonel Buford on the Borders of North Carolina—Submission of the two Southern States.

ALARMED at hearing that the French under d'Estaing had landed in the neighbourhood of the Savannah, and fearing that they would proceed to the north, and join Washington in attacking New York, Sir Henry Clinton, at the latter end of October, evacuated Rhode Island, where a large body of his forces had been stationed nearly three years. Stony Point and Verplank's Point were also abandoned, and the army was concentrated at New York. The American army, as the year drew towards its close, was again put into winter quarters. The main body was stationed in the vicinity of Morristown, in New Jersey, with strong detachments at West Point and other posts near the Hudson, and the cavalry in Connecticut. Washington fixed his head-quarters at Morristown, and, being impressed with the necessity of supporting General Lincoln in the South, directed two of the North Carolina regiments, and the whole of the Virginia force, to march to the relief of that officer. This was in the early part of December, and was consequent on the failure of the attack on Savannah,

* On hearing of the death of this nobleman, the King of Poland exclaimed, "Pulaski, always brave, but always the enemy of monarchs!"

and the departure of the French fleet from the American coasts. Congress had desired Washington to take these measures, and had assured the inhabitants of Georgia and South Carolina of their watch-

sapped the energy of the race which had peopled that part of America. Many of the Georgians and South Carolinians were willing, or even more than willing, to purchase repose by submission to the



PLAN OF THE POSITION BEFORE SAVANNAH.

ful attention. They also recommended to those States the filling up of their Continental regiments, and a due regard to their militia while on active service. But it was now evident that the men of the extreme South were not well qualified for war. An enervating climate, and the life of self-indulgence which the possession of slaves so often induces, had

Crown, now that the sharp edge of Royal power had been painfully experienced. Even those who were still unrelenting in their enmity, shrank, with a few exceptions, from the dangers and hardships of a protracted struggle.

In the Northern States, the winter was more than usually severe. The ordinary channels of



THE CHARGE OF PULASKI.

transportation were closed, and a failure of provisions brought great distress upon the troops. Once more it became imperative to levy supplies on the inhabitants; but in procuring these contributions the aid of the civil magistrates was sought, and the owner of the commodities taken was allowed to fix the price by a fair valuation, or to receive the market-price when the certificates were paid. The people showed so much good-will in the matter that it was not found necessary to proceed to violent measures. This was the more remarkable, and the more praiseworthy, as the rapid and unexampled depreciation of the Continental paper-money made the offers of purchase little more than illusory. After awhile, indeed, each State was required to furnish a certain quantity of beef, pork, flour, corn, forage, &c., to the Federal army. The States were to be credited for the amount at a fixed valuation in specie; and it was hoped that the arrangement would avoid the difficulties attaching to payment in notes. But the system was found impracticable, owing to the want of central authority, the distance of several of the States from the army, and the difficulties of conveyance; and after a trial it was abandoned. The embarrassments of a non-metallic currency, however, continued, and laws were enacted for making paper-money a legal tender, at its nominal value, in the discharge of debts contracted on the understanding that they were to be paid in gold or silver. Many debtors took advantage of these laws; but it was regarded by the more scrupulous as a dishonourable evasion. Washington, in particular, felt very strongly on the subject.*

This great financial trouble engaged much of the attention of Congress in the autumn of 1779. On the 1st of September it was resolved that the Legislature would on no account exceed two hundred millions of dollars in Continental bills of credit; and in November the whole of that large sum was both issued and expended. On the 13th of September, the members addressed to their constituents a long letter on the financial state of the country. From this it appeared that the taxes had brought in very little to the treasury, and that the issues of paper-money had thus been rendered necessary. It was argued, however, that at the close of the war the United States would easily be able to pay the whole of their national debt in twenty years—a sanguine anticipation which was very far from realised; and paper-money was even represented as a blessing, being the only kind of money which could not "make unto itself wings, and fly away," —which remained with them, would not forsake them, and was always at hand for the purposes of commerce and taxation. The question was asked, whether there was any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith. "It is with great regret and reluctance," said the writers of the letter, answering this query, "that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honour and dignity of America. We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to show the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt, faithless Republic would be a novelty in the political world. We are convinced that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice, and the suggestions of chagrin and disappointment at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a by-word among the nations. Apprised of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honour, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously. Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent; or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring, the splendour of her rising."

These confident assurances have a strange aspect when contemplated by the light of subsequent facts. In less than two years, the States were compelled to declare themselves insolvent, and the paper currency was never redeemed. There were those who, long before it came to this, looked with great distrust on such vast emissions of notes; but the Government had really no choice in the matter, owing to the prevalence among the people of what a modern English statesman has called an ignorant impatience of taxation. Each State was left to furnish its own quota of taxes, and frugality was the rule, because it was known that the people did not like parting with their money, even in support of national independence. The issue of notes was a ready resource for meeting the expenses of the war, and at first it answered very well, for the credit of the

* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 12.

country was as yet unimpaired, and the number of notes originally put forth was not large. But when the experiment was repeated again and again, the natural consequences ensued. People doubted the ability of the Federal Government to redeem such a sum as two hundred millions of dollars. The paper got a bad name. Forty dollars in notes came to be worth only one in specie. In some cases, the note sank to less than one hundredth of its nominal value. At the latter end of 1779, in the State of Maryland, an English officer paid an innkeeper's bill, amounting in paper-money to £732 and some odd shillings, with four guineas and a half in gold.

The mischief was augmented by a still further issue of notes on the part of the several States individually. Prices rose, as in the case of the innkeeper's bill, to a preposterous degree, in order to cover the loss entailed by the depreciation of the paper. Even in 1778, when the evil had not reached its highest, Washington told his friend, Gouverneur Morris, that a bad horse was not to be bought for less than £200, nor a saddle for under £30 or £40; that boots cost £20; that flour was selling at different places from £5 to £15 per hundredweight, hay from £10 to £30, and beef and other essentials in the like proportions. In April, 1779, according to the same authority, a waggon-load of money would scarcely purchase a waggon-load of provisions. The more far-seeing politicians were alarmed; and at the very time when the members of Congress were proclaiming that a bankrupt Republic would be an anomaly, the citizens of Philadelphia were holding a meeting to protest against any further emissions of Continental paper, and to express an apprehension that the ease with which money was thus procured had produced a remissness of inquiries as to the reality of its application. It would appear, according to Jefferson, that the actual value received by Congress for the nominal two hundred millions was not more than about thirty-six millions of silver dollars. The issues, in fact, did not come into circulation, after the early days of the war, at their nominal value, but at the rate at which the currency stood in the market. Yet that these notes answered their purpose for awhile, cannot be denied; and a writer of the time has recorded that the circulation of the paper was never more brisk than when its exchange was five hundred to one.*

Now that Spain had entered into the war with England, her scruples about recognising the independence of the United States were overcome. She had but recently declared that the cause of the King of England as against his rebel subjects was the cause of all Kings; and, with so large a colonial empire as her own in America, it is obvious that she had every interest in discouraging the attempt of a dependency to shake off the control of the parent State. But she had also many old grounds of quarrel with England, and she was at length dragged, by her own resentments and by the solicitations of France, into a position of hostility which may have helped in some slight degree to secure the final success of the Anglo-Americans, but which, if so, was followed, several years after, by a tremendous Nemesis, in the shape of a universal revolt of those colonies which Spain then held upon the Western Continent, but which she holds no longer. The recognition of the independence of the English possessions followed on the belligerent state. Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans immediately on hearing of the declaration of war, and on the 19th of August, 1779, publicly recognised the separate existence of the States by beat of drum. He then marched against the British settlements on the Mississippi, which he speedily reduced. Only a small force had been stationed there, and it was found impossible to resist for many days. But the triumph was a very small one, and did not produce any remarkable effects.

The desirability of bringing the war to a termination was at this time more strongly felt in America than in England. The exhaustion of the States was alarmingly visible in many ways; the alternation of victory and defeat was wearisome and disheartening; it was a moot point on which side the balance of advantages lay; and it was still more doubtful whether the future would not bring with it a striking reversal of some of the successes which had been gained. Congress, apparently moved by these considerations, resolved on the 14th of August to appoint a Commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, and to send certain instructions to that agent, and also to their Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France. They specially enjoined on the former that he was to insist on a recognition of the United States as sovereign, free, and independent, before entering into any negotiation; and that he was not to assent to any treaty or treaties unless that independence was thereby secured and confirmed. Although the cession of the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia was spoken of in these instructions as "of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of

* Gordon's History of the Independence of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Sparks's Life of Washington; *North American Review*, July, 1852.

the United States," and although it was held to be more particularly advisable that the equal common right of the States to the fisheries should be guaranteed them, the desire of terminating the war induced Congress not to make the acquisition of those objects an ultimatum on that occasion. Their Commissioner was empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during any negotiation that might ensue, provided France should assent to such a step, and provided likewise that all the forces of the enemy should be immediately withdrawn from the United States.

The instructions to Dr. Franklin, the Minister at Paris, were in one respect in signal contradiction of those to the Commissioner who was to negotiate with the British Government. The latter was instructed to waive the question of the fisheries, for the sake of obtaining the much-desired treaty of peace. The former was told that the common right of fishing was in no case to be given up, and that if, after a treaty of peace with Great Britain, she should molest the citizens of the United States in this respect, such molestation would be regarded as a breach of the peace, and would be made a common cause by the said States. Franklin was furthermore instructed to request of the French Government a series of explanatory articles, in addition to those of the Treaty of Alliance, binding France, in case of Great Britain acting in the manner supposed, to join with the United States, and aid them with her good offices, her councils, and her forces. It is difficult to see how Congress can be acquitted of a charge of bad faith in this matter. If Governments are to consider nothing but the advancement of their own interests, irrespective of the means by which that result is brought about, the method here adopted may be quite beyond impeachment; but if morals have anything to do with politics—and a new State founded on abstract right is particularly interested in maintaining the affirmative of that proposition—the wisdom as much as the justice of such dealings may be fairly questioned.

The nomination of a proper person to manage the proposed treaty of peace had next to be considered. John Adams and John Jay were proposed on the 25th of September, and a few days afterwards the former was elected. Jay was appointed to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, with the Court of Madrid. To conciliate that Government, it was determined that, if the King of Spain should give warlike assistance to the United States, he should not be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas: indeed, the United States were prepared to guarantee the Floridas to Spain, if they should be obtained by conquest, provided the former Power should be allowed the free navigation of the Mississippi into and from the sea. "The distressed state of our finances, and the great depreciation of our paper-money," said the instructions to Jay, "incline Congress to hope that his Catholic Majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with the States, will be induced to lend them money." The Minister was therefore first to endeavour to obtain from the Spanish Government a subsidy in consideration of the proposed guarantee of the Floridas; and then to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars on the best terms obtainable. With these instructions, Jay sailed for Europe before the end of October, and was succeeded in the Presidential chair by Samuel Huntington. On the 21st of October, Henry Laurens was elected to negotiate a loan in Holland; and on the 1st of November he was chosen to solicit a treaty of amity and commerce with that country. About the same time, M. Gérard, the French Minister at Philadelphia, was succeeded by the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

Sir Henry Clinton was resolved not to let the winter season be entirely one of rest. In the North, the extreme cold prevented active operations; but the same period of the year was peculiarly favourable to a campaign in the South, where the heat of summer was very distressing to English troops. The Commander-in-Chief desired to gain possession of Charleston, which would give him a hold over all that part of the Union. He sailed from New York on the 26th of December, but did not reach Savannah, which was to be his base of operations, until the end of January, 1780, owing to the stormy weather which prevailed, and the interruption of the American cruisers, which managed to capture some of the transports and victuallers. In this tempestuous voyage, most of the cavalry and draught horses perished, and the armament was in an unfit condition to take the field on its arrival at Savannah. Fortunately for the enterprise, the Americans themselves were not in a state to profit by this fact. General Lincoln had but a small and ill-regulated force at his disposal, and, to increase its weakness, the several divisions were scattered in various places. Congress thought so gravely of the position of affairs in the South that it recommended the slaveholders to adopt the dangerous course of arming their negroes; but the plan could not be carried out, for want of weapons, and it is very probable that people on the spot were not sorry for the excuse. Yet the House of Assembly determined, disadvantageously as they were circumstanced, to defend Charleston to the utmost. They had the aid of four American frigates, two French ships of

war, and the marine of South Carolina, under Commodore Whipple; and, with this slight addition to their land defences, the people of Charleston awaited the attack of the British force.

After staying some time at Savannah, to repair the injuries to his army and fleet, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded north, and landed on St. John's Island, thirty miles south of Charleston, on the 11th of February. Thence he moved to the island of St. James, sending forward part of his fleet to blockade the harbour of Charleston, and advancing cautiously until the reinforcements which he had ordered should arrive. This slowness of approach gave Governor Rutledge and General Lincoln time to repair the fortifications of the town, and to take other military measures. Some rather elaborate works of defence were thrown up in front of the city, and between the rivers Ashley and Cooper; and Lincoln hoped that, if he could delay the besiegers for a little while, reinforcements would arrive from the main body of the Continental army, and compel the enemy to abandon his attempt. The fortifications were constructed under the direction of M. Laumoy, a French engineer in the American service, and were sufficiently good to compel the English General, when he at length began the siege, to make his approaches in regular form. Clinton did not hasten his advance, but erected forts and formed magazines at proper stations as he proceeded, and secured his communications with those forts and with the sea. On the 1st of April, the General arrived before the walls of Charleston; and on the 9th, Admiral Arbuthnot anchored within reach of its seaward guns. The American naval force under Commodore Whipple retired before the English fleet, and his vessels, being obviously incapable of resistance, were dismantled, and made to contribute, by their artillery and seamen, to the land-defences of the beleaguered city. When Clinton had finished his first parallel, which was on the day of Arbuthnot's arrival with the fleet, and had mounted his guns, he summoned General Lincoln to surrender the town. The American refused to forsake his charge, and his adversary at once opened fire.

Rutledge and half of his council now took advantage of the country to the north being still open, and left the city, that they might carry on the government of the State elsewhere, and might at the same time rouse the local militia, who, however, declined to be roused. In this northerly direction, a party of the American cavalry, under General Huger, had taken post at Monk's Corner, thirty miles above Charleston, in the hope of checking the British foragers, and of protecting supplies on their way to the town. Posts of militia were also established between the Cooper and the Santee, to cover the retreat of the Charleston garrison, if they should be obliged to retire. It was not long, however, ere Clinton resolved to block up that avenue as well as the others. He therefore called in the troops whom he had posted to the south of the capital, and directed Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, commanding a corps of light dragoons, to dislodge the American posts beyond the Cooper. That officer was conducted during the night of April 14th, by a negro slave, through unfrequented paths to the scene of action, where, suddenly bursting upon the astonished Carolinians, he killed or captured several, and dispersed the rest. Charleston was now completely invested; the besiegers received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York; the second parallel was completed, and the spirits of the garrison began to decline. An evacuation was talked of; but the idea was soon abandoned as impracticable. The investing lines were soon after strengthened, and on the 21st of April terms of capitulation were offered, but rejected. A third parallel was commenced, and the despairing garrison made a sortie, but without any important results.

On the 7th of May, the garrison of Fort Moultrie, where the works had been suffered to fall into decay, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, immediately on being summoned to do so by Admiral Arbuthnot. The cavalry which had escaped from Monk's Corner, and which had by this time reassembled, were again surprised and defeated by Tarleton on two occasions; and the condition of the defenders of Charleston was now so forlorn and hopeless—the troops being exhausted by incessant duty, many of the guns dismounted, and the supplies of food almost consumed—that terms of capitulation were once more proposed on the 8th of May, but without success, as, in the opinion of General Clinton, too many concessions were required. He knew that he had the town in his power, and could afford to wait. The batteries of the third parallel did terrible execution. Shells and carcasses, in one unresting storm, were thrown into several parts of the town, and many houses were set on fire. The besiegers' works were within a hundred yards of the walls; and, in addition to the cannon and mortars, the rifles of the Hessian Chasseurs produced such effect that few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. The American engineers had some time before given it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer; and when, on the 11th of May, the British crossed the wet ditch by sap, and commenced preparations for

a general assault by sea and land, a panic seized on all within the town. Some of the militia threw down their arms; others begged of General Lincoln to accept Sir Henry Clinton's terms; the civilians were clamorous for a surrender, and the American commander signified his readiness to accept the conditions of the stronger. A capitulation was signed on the following day, and Charleston passed into the possession of the Royal troops.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

The terms granted by Clinton were generous, considering how completely he was the victor. He stipulated that the town and fortifications, the shipping, artillery, and all public stores, were to be given up as they then were; but, as regarded the surrender of the troops, he waived all humiliating circumstances. The garrison were to march out of the town, and lay down their arms in front of the works. They were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged, and to be supplied with good and wholesome provisions at the same rate as the British troops. The officers were to keep their arms, and their baggage was not to be searched. They were also to be allowed their personal servants, and might dispose of their horses by sale. All civil officers and citizens who had borne arms during the siege, and even the citizens generally, were to be prisoners on parole, but without molestation to their property. The French consul, and the subjects of France and Spain, with their houses, papers, and other movable effects, were to be protected and untouched; but they also were to consider themselves prisoners, though with a certain liberty, on giving their word of honour not to

endeavour to escape. The siege, while entailing a good deal of suffering and alarm on the inhabitants, had not resulted, on either side, in many deaths or injuries; but some twenty of the citizens had been killed in their houses by random shots. The effective strength of the garrison was rather less than two thousand five hundred men; and the besiegers consisted of nine thousand British troops. Upwards of thirty houses were burnt, and others greatly damaged. Considerably more than four hundred pieces of artillery, including those in the forts and ships, were taken by the conquerors—a more serious injury to the American cause than the loss of the fighting men, or the subjugation of the city.*

Determined to follow up his success, Sir Henry Clinton sent a strong detachment, under Lord Cornwallis, across the river Santee to the frontiers of North Carolina; a second, not so numerous, into the centre of South Carolina; and a third up the Savannah to Augusta, in Georgia. The common object of all these expeditions was to disperse any parties of armed men who might yet be found, and to ensure the complete submission of the country. To Lord Cornwallis, in particular, was assigned the extirpation of a body of Continental troops under a Colonel Abraham Buford, who, arriving too late in the siege to be able to relieve Charleston, had posted themselves on the northern banks of the Santee, where they were joined by those of the American cavalry who had survived their last defeat by Tarleton. Shortly after crossing the river, Cornwallis was informed that Buford was lying with four hundred men near the borders of



SIR HENRY CLINTON.

* Dr. Gordon's History, where the details are stated to have been derived from General Lincoln's letters and papers, from various MSS., from Dr. Ramsay's History, and from other publications.

North Carolina. He despatched Colonel Tarleton, with seven hundred of his cavalry, called the Legion, to surprise the party. The energy of this dashing officer was again displayed. He marched a hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, and came up with the enemy at a place called the Waxhaws. A demand that Buford should surrender, on the same terms that had been granted to the garrison of Charleston, was at once sent in, and refused; and Tarleton, who during the truce had been so disposing his men as nearly to surround the enemy, made a furious onslaught, for which the Americans were evidently not prepared. Most of them threw down their arms, and cried for quarter; but a few continued firing, and Tarleton was in no mood for mercy. Buford himself, and a few horsemen, forced their way through the opposing lines, and escaped: the greater number were killed on the spot, badly wounded, or seized as prisoners.

The Americans have always denounced in strong language the ferocity of Tarleton on this occasion; and it does in truth appear that the firing was kept up much longer than it should have been.* The English found it necessary to justify their conduct, which they did by asserting that the Americans themselves renewed the battle after a pretended submission; but this the Americans denied.

Resistance terminated with the defeat of Buford. The spirit of the people was completely broken. Many of them voluntarily took the oath of allegiance, or gave their parole not to bear arms against the mother country. Clinton, however, stationed military detachments in various parts of the conquered provinces, and on the 3rd of June issued a proclamation, in which he discharged from their parole all the militia who had been made prisoners, excepting those who had surrendered at Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and restored them to the rights and duties of citizens. He solicited the inhabitants to take military service under the Crown, that they might secure the King's Government, and deliver the country from the anarchy which had long prevailed; and he declared that such as should neglect to return to their allegiance would be treated as enemies and rebels. The effects of this proclamation were not happy. The South Carolinians were above all things desirous of peace. They were willing for the sake of quiet to submit to Royal sway; but the majority still cherished their resentments, and were not at all inclined to encounter the perils of war for the sake of still further repressing a cause to which, on the whole, they felt friendly. For the present, they professed loyalty; but it was with a secret reservation in favour of the patriots, whenever the opportunity should arise.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Return of Sir Henry Clinton to New York—Lord Cornwallis in Command of the Southern Army—Lord Rawdon—Despotic Government of Cornwallis—March of an American Army from the North to the Relief of South Carolina—Baron de Kalb—Partisan Warfare under Colonel Sumpter—The Main Body of the British Southern Army concentrated at Camden—Appointment of General Gates to take Command of the American Southern Army—March of his Troops through a Sterile and Malarious Region—Sufferings of the Soldiers—The Opposing Armies Face to Face—Battle of Camden—Flight of the American Militia—Gallant Conduct of the Continentals—Death of Baron de Kalb—Terror-stricken Retreat—Defeat of Colonel Sumpter—Measures of great Severity adopted by Earl Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon—Their Vindication of Themselves—Position of Washington in the North—Privations of the American Troops—Return of Lafayette to the United States—Determination of France to send Land and Sea Forces to America—Knyphausen's Invasion of New Jersey—Arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from the South—Skirmish at Springfield—Evacuation of the Jerseys—Attack on Bergen Point—Arrival of the French Fleet with Troops on Board—Bad State of American Affairs—Dilatory Recruitment of the Army—Patriotism of Pennsylvania—Sir Henry Clinton's Abortive Design on Newport—The French Fleet Blockaded—Gloomy Views of Clinton—Interview between Washington and Rochambeau at Hartford, in Connecticut.

Sir Henry Clinton designed to follow up his conquest of South Carolina by a series of operations against the sister province; but his intentions in this respect were frustrated by the receipt of information that a French fleet, with troops on board, was expected very shortly on the American coast. The English Commander-in-Chief therefore thought it prudent to return to New York with the greater part of his army, leaving four thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, to hold what had been

* Gordon and Stedman—both English historians of the war—condemn the conduct of Tarleton on grounds of humanity: the former by implication; the latter very explicitly. Stedman had served with the English army in America during the war.

won, and, if that could be effected, to extend the victories of the British arms into other parts of the south. On the 5th of June, Clinton sailed from Charleston, and Cornwallis at once turned his thoughts to an active prosecution of the campaign. But, owing to the great heat of the weather, and the want of magazines, he was unable to make any direct movement until the approach of autumn. In the meanwhile, he took steps for enlisting the loyalists of South Carolina and Georgia into the Royal army, and for forming companies of militia. He also communicated with the supporters of the British cause in North Carolina, and advised them to remain quiet until the King's forces advanced to their support. Unfortunately, however, they made various attempts at insurrection before the right time, and were for the most part crushed by the local authorities, though one party, consisting of eight hundred men, succeeded in reaching a detachment of the English army at Camden, in South Carolina. The command at that spot was given to Lord Rawdon—a young nobleman, then barely twenty-six years of age, but who had already, five years before, distinguished himself by his courage at the Battle of Bunker's Hill. In subsequent years, Lord Rawdon, as the Earl of Moira, and ultimately as the Marquis of Hastings, acquired renown in India, where he acted as Governor-General, and also in a military capacity. At present he was comparatively unknown; but he soon had an opportunity of showing that the confidence of Lord Cornwallis in his abilities as a soldier was not misplaced.

While still at Charleston, Cornwallis attended to the government of the subjugated province, but, it is to be feared, in a spirit much too despotic. He issued a succession of proclamations, abridging the privileges of the prisoners of war; and he established a board of police for the administration of justice, which acted with great partiality towards the loyal, and great harshness towards all who had been concerned in the insurrection. Several of the latter were imprisoned at a distance from their families; and fear of consequences induced many to make a hypocritical profession of loyalty when they were in truth only awaiting an opportunity to resume the war. Those who had suffered from their devotion to the national cause were encouraged by the sympathy of the South Carolinian ladies, who refused to attend the concerts and public receptions of the victors, and preferred to visit their unhappy countrymen in the prisons where they languished. Yet even this influence did not counteract to any great extent the feeling of depression which had spread over the land, and which lasted for some weeks after the fall of Charleston. A more courageous spirit ultimately set in, and an occasion presently arose for once more raising the standard of revolt in the southern portions of the Union.

At the end of March, Washington sent a reinforcement to the Carolinas, consisting of Delaware and Maryland troops, with a regiment of artillery, under the command of Baron de Kalb, a German officer. Their despatch had been delayed for want of funds, and, when at length they started, they had a long and tedious way before them. Being unprovided with magazines, they were obliged to spread themselves in small parties over the country in order to collect corn and other necessaries. It was July before they reached North Carolina, and at Deep River they were compelled to halt for some time. On the approach of this force, a number of South Carolinian refugees, who had sought protection in the northern province and in Virginia, assembled, to the number of two hundred, under the lead of Colonel Sumpter, whose family had been treated with great cruelty by the English military authorities, and who in consequence cherished a feeling of fierce resentment. He now burst into South Carolina, determined to do as much mischief on a small scale as he could. Popular support and assistance were not found wanting by his followers. Village blacksmiths forged for them rude instruments of war out of those which had been used for husbandry; private families gave up their pewter dishes, to be melted down into bullets. Even then, the supply of weapons was most inadequate; yet these courageous men sought out small detached parties of militia or of Royal troops, and fought them with varying success. In time, their stock of arms was increased by what they took from the bodies of the dead on the field of battle; and the fame of their exploits caused others to join their ranks, so that they soon numbered six hundred men. Then some companies of Royal militia deserted, and went over to Sumpter; one of them under circumstances which cannot escape the imputation of peculiarly bad faith. Lisle, the commander, who had recently accepted military rank as a Royal officer, concealed his intention until his men had been supplied with clothes, arms, and ammunition, and then carried them to the little army of guerillas. Although these men were on two occasions defeated with loss, the partisan warfare of Colonel Sumpter, and the advance of the American army from the North, were facts sufficiently serious to oblige Cornwallis to draw in his outposts, and mass his scattered troops. The English forces had up to this time

occupied a line of posts extending from the river Pedee, near the eastern boundaries of the State, to the fortified village of Ninety-six, in its more western division. The village so called is supposed to have derived its singular name from the circumstance of its being ninety-six miles distant from the principal village of the Cherokee Indians. Now that the outlying posts were abandoned, the main body of the army was concentrated at Camden.

De Kalb, who commanded the army of relief, which Congress strained every nerve to reinforce on its march, was an officer of excellent abilities and considerable experience; but the fact of his being a foreigner was against him, as he was unacquainted with the country, and a stranger to the language and disposition of the people. On the 13th of June, therefore, General Gates was appointed to take command of the Southern Department, and was vested with very ample powers. The striking success of Gates over General Burgoyne at Saratoga had conferred upon the former officer a very high reputation—a reputation, perhaps, in excess of his deserts, though his deserts were not mean. He had succeeded to the unbounded confidence which, in the earlier days of the war, was bestowed on another Englishman, now in disgrace and retirement—General Charles Lee; for it is remarkable that for some years the Americans placed more reliance on two natives of the country against which they were in rebellion, than on their own much greater man, Washington, not to speak of Greene and Arnold. Gates reached the camp at Buffalo Ford, Deep River, on the 25th of July, when he requested Baron de Kalb to retain the command of his division, as formerly in the grand army. It is not improbable that the German was glad to escape the responsibility of the chief command; for his practised military eye must have seen how poor, with a few exceptions, were the materials with which he would have had to deal. A large part of the army consisted of undisciplined troops, and these were to encounter some of the best soldiers in the world, well commanded, and confident with recent victory. The supply of food was of the worst, if indeed it can be said that there was any supply at all; and the march was through a dreary and perplexing country, in the hottest season of the year. The American forces counted about two thousand men—a very insufficient number, considering all that lay before them; but reinforcements of militia from North Carolina and Virginia were expected, and it was resolved to brave the issue.

Without loss of time, Gates got his army in motion by the 27th of July; and, considering it advisable to close with the enemy as soon as possible, took the direct road to Camden, though it lay through a region of great sterility. Sandhills, swamps, and pine-barrens succeeded one another with wearisome sameness; the midsummer sun was fierce and tyrannous; the air drooped heavily with malarious vapours; the march was toilsome and depressing beyond description; and the men were exposed to imminent danger of starving. At one time, there were signs of a mutiny on this account. The subsistence of the troops was in fact an affair of chance. The men occasionally found lean cattle wandering about the woods, and these they killed and consumed; but this precarious supply often failed them altogether, and their case became little short of desperate. Unripe corn, gathered from the fields, supplied the place of bread; and, when that was wanting, the wild peaches of the country were gladly eaten as a resource against positive famine. Disease ensued, as it is sure to do under such circumstances; the army was threatened with destruction before it had seen the enemy. Gates at length struggled through the dismal tracts which had folded him and his men in their death-like embraces; and, being reinforced by the expected militia towards the middle of August, he considered his army in a sufficiently favourable state for encountering the Royal forces.

By this time, Lord Cornwallis had joined the main body of his troops at Camden, situated on the river Wateree, a branch of the Santee. The Americans began to move on the evening of August 15th, and the advanced guards of the armies unexpectedly met in the woods about two o'clock on the morning of the 16th. If mere numbers always prevailed, the issue of the day would have been entirely favourable to Gates; for he had now four thousand men to only two thousand of the English. As regards health, the forces were about on a par; for both were suffering from the maladies of a depressing and almost tropical climate. But the British troops were of much superior quality to the Americans; were better armed and better fed; and had a thorough knowledge of their business as soldiers, which could not be said of many of their opponents. The regulars under Gates formed a rather small minority; the rest were raw militia. In this respect, Cornwallis was in the superior position; but his paucity of numbers was embarrassing, and Camden was not well adapted for sustaining an attack. The English General, however, saw that he must either strike a successful blow, or retreat to Charleston. To have adopted the latter alternative would have been a dangerous confession of weakness, and in the then

disaffected state of the province would have been followed at once by a general rising. He therefore advanced towards the American camp, and the commencement of the battle resulted, as we have said, from an accidental collision in the woods. Several other skirmishes occurred during the night, serving to show the opposing commanders the position of each other's forces, but in themselves attended by no decisive results.

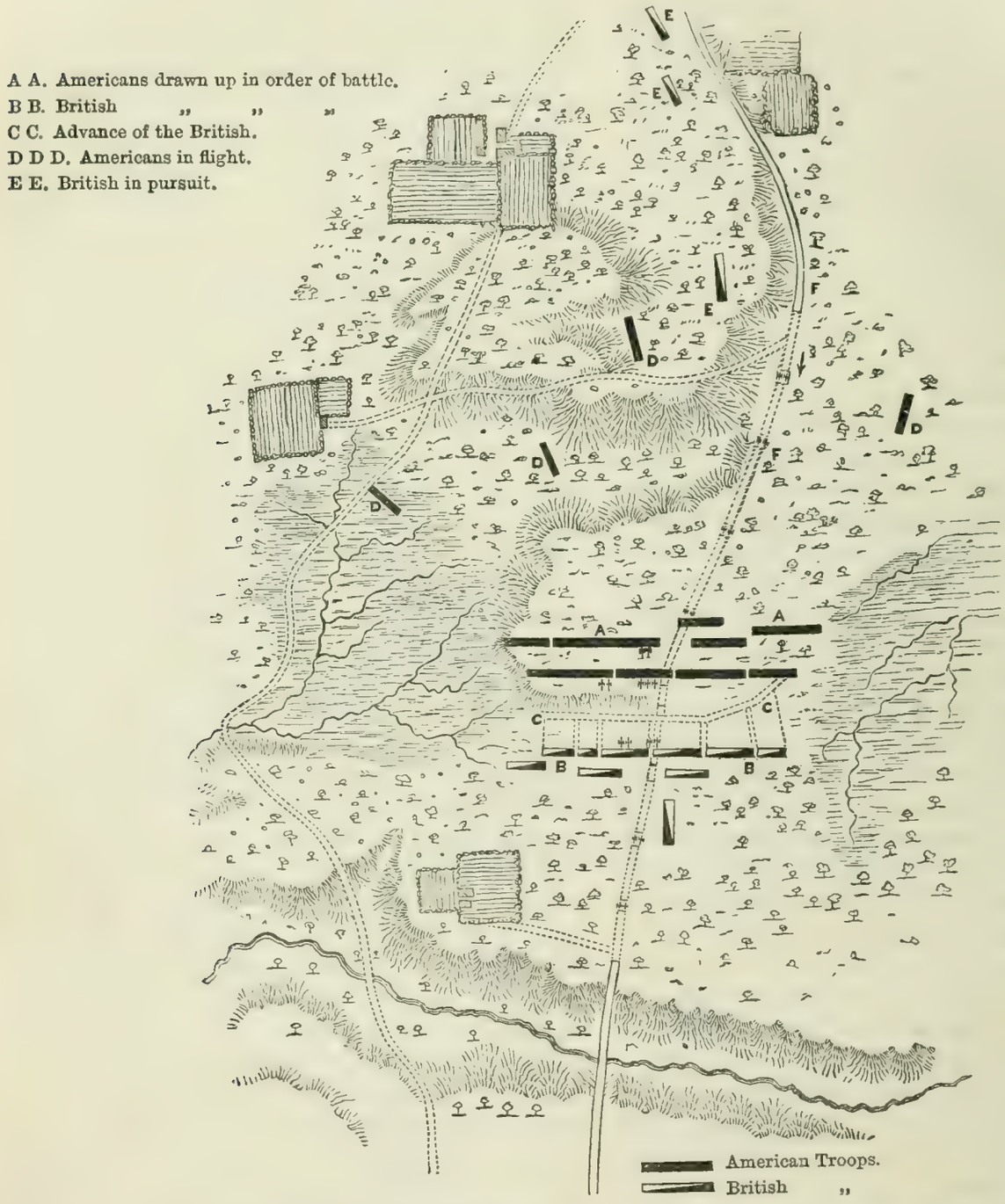
Cornwallis perceived that the Americans were flanked on both sides by morasses, and that consequently they would not be able to avail themselves of their superior numbers to spread their ranks, and enclose his small army. He formed his men in two divisions, of which the right was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, while the left was under Lord Rawdon. The American army was in three divisions, with artillery between them. The respective commanders were Generals Gist and Caswell, and Baron de Kalb; Gates holding himself in readiness to appear wherever his presence might be required. With the earliest light of morning, the English began the attack, rushing forward with a cheer which struck dismay into the opposing ranks of the militia. The latter had already been much shaken by the obscure encounter of the previous night, which had caused the advanced guards to fall back with precipitation, and had spread a feeling of vague alarm through the whole line. It should in fairness be recollected that the Americans were reduced in strength and spirits by the low dietary to which they had for some weeks been accustomed; by fatiguing marches and impaired health. The Virginian militia on the left of the American line could not abide the shock of onslaught. After a desultory and feeble discharge of musketry, they threw down their arms, and fled. The centre, composed of the militia of North Carolina, caught the rapid infection of dismay, and dashed confusedly to the rear. They were pursued by Tarleton's cavalry, and cut down without even the show of resistance. Gates, with some of the militia officers, attempted to rally them; but they refused to listen to the word of command, and continued their headlong flight. It was afterwards said by some that Gates abandoned the ground sooner than he ought, and before all hope of victory was lost; but it seems more probable that he was borne off the field by the rush of his scared militia, and that he found it impossible to do more than endeavour to cover the retreat of the regular troops by steadying a sufficient number of the others to answer that purpose. The attempt, however, was unavailing. It was the regulars who covered the flight of the militia.

The former, in truth, fought with the utmost gallantry. Under the command of Baron de Kalb, they disputed every inch of ground, even after the centre and left wing had entirely disappeared. These devoted men, the regular or Continental troops, formed the right of the American line, and were assailed by the British left, under Lord Rawdon. The contest was long and bloody. After awhile, Colonel Webster got to the rear of the Americans, and the two armies became intermingled in a murderous and almost indiscriminate struggle. Not until Lord Cornwallis brought his whole force to bear on them did the heroic Continentals give way. At the last moment, de Kalb made a desperate charge at the head of a body of troops who still refused to yield. Struck with eleven mortal wounds, the gallant German fell to the ground, and his aide-de-camp, Colonel du Buysson, vainly announced his rank and nation to the English troops. Du Buysson himself received several wounds, and was taken prisoner, together with the Baron. The latter died on the following day, after dictating a letter in which he gave warm expression to his admiration of the troops he had commanded, for their valorous and prolonged resistance to superior force. Their behaviour was indeed splendid, but it did not suffice to save the army. The regiments were first mobbed, and then scattered in small knots of fugitives, or in single units, through the woods and marshes to the north of Camden. Officers and men were separated; the roads were strewn with arms, accoutrements, baggage, fragments of waggons, the dead bodies of men and horses, and the miserable wounded; and cries of terror and of agony mingled in the sultry air. It is not the least disgraceful part of this flight that much of the property of the officers was plundered by their own militia. The baggage-waggons of General Gates and Baron de Kalb, however, were saved, as were the papers and private letters of both those commanders. The pursuit by the English cavalry was hot for more than twenty miles; and at a distance of forty miles, whole teams of horses were cut out of the waggons, that they might be mounted by officers or men. Gates arrived at Charlotte late that night, and on the following day proceeded to Hillsborough, to devise some plan of defence in conjunction with the Legislature of North Carolina.

Shortly after this signal discomfiture of the American main army, Colonel Sumpter received a serious check at Catawba Ford. A few days before, he had been reinforced by Gates, and ordered to intercept a convoy of clothes, ammunition, and other stores, for the garrison of Camden, which

was on its way from Ninety-six, and to reduce a small fort on the Wateree, not far from the head-quarters of the English army. In both these objects he succeeded; but, upon hearing of the disastrous affair at Camden, he hastily withdrew,

Lord Cornwallis now advanced to Charlotte, and, while revolving a plan for the conquest of North Carolina, took measures for securing his hold on the adjoining province. Some of these were more severe than it is easy to justify. All militia-



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

with his stores and prisoners, along the south bank of the Wateree. Tarleton was sent in pursuit, and, coming up with the Americans on the 18th of August, when they thought themselves beyond danger, and were reposing in the heat of the day, inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. The prisoners and stores were recovered; nearly four hundred of the guerillas were killed or wounded; and Sumpter was glad to escape without his coat.

men who, after serving with the English, joined the insurgents, were to suffer death. Several of the prisoners taken in the battle of Camden were hanged, in consequence of their having formerly professed allegiance to the King, and received Royal protections which were found in their pockets. Certain persons who had been living on parole at Charleston, and who were discovered to be in secret correspondence with the rebels, were trans-



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ported to St. Augustine, in Florida; and orders were issued for sequestering the estates of leading malcontents. It cannot be denied that the provocation which the English authorities had received was very great; that the acts of the South Carolinians were often in the highest degree treacherous and dishonourable. Yet, in the punishment of even such offences, some moderation should be observed, on grounds both of humanity and policy. The conduct of Lord Rawdon, however, was still more reprehensible than that of his superior in command. The measures taken by Earl Cornwallis may perhaps be defended by the stern rules of martial law; those threatened by Lord Rawdon, a few weeks earlier, passed all bounds of civilised procedure. Several men belonging to the volunteer regiment raised in Ireland having deserted to the enemy, the young nobleman determined to strike terror into others who might be similarly disposed. On the 1st of July, he wrote a letter to Major Rugely, from his head-quarters at Camden, in which he said:—"I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the volunteers of Ireland; and five guineas only if they bring him in alive. They shall likewise be rewarded, though not to that amount, for such deserters as they may secure belonging to any other regiment. I am confident that you will encourage the country people to be more active in this respect." In the same letter it was also set forth that any of the country people neglecting to secure a soldier straggling without a written pass, or in any way giving him aid or comfort, should be punished by whipping, imprisonment, or transportation to the West Indies, according as the degree of criminality might require. This communication afterwards found its way into the hands of the Americans, and a letter from Lord Cornwallis, referring to his own measures of repression, likewise became known to the enemy. The facts being referred to Sir Henry Clinton, he called upon both officers for explanations.

Cornwallis replied that he had ordered punishment only on those who had formerly submitted to the British Government, had taken the oaths and received protection in June and July, and had gone back into rebellion in August. He denied that there was any cruelty or wrong in such orders, and protested that he could see in them nothing but strict justice and propriety. Lord Rawdon argued that there was every possible provocation, and even necessity, for the measures adopted by him; that he had the fullest proofs that the people who daily came into his camp, under the mask of friendship, held correspondence with the rebel militia; that they used every artifice to influence the minds of the soldiers, and induce them to desert; that the encouragement and means of escape which they gave the men, succeeded to an alarming degree; that while commanding in the back country he was betrayed on every side by the inhabitants; that several small detachments were attacked by persons who had the hour before been with them as friends in the camp; that the militia in the army not only enticed the soldiers away, but actually furnished them with horses to make their escape; that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to such a system of conduct; that the safety of the army required it; and that it was justified not more by the circumstances of the case than by the nature of the offence. The letter complained of was written in compliance with duty, and although with firmness, yet not with a wanton abuse of power. All must see, he added, that the threat to send delinquents to the West Indies was impracticable; that it was designed to act only on the fears and prejudices of the vulgar, and not to be literally executed. It had its effect on the Irish, as was intended.* Clinton seems to have approved of the conduct of Earl Cornwallis, and to have evaded any precise expression of opinion with regard to Lord Rawdon.

While the campaign was being thus actively carried on in the South, very little was accomplished in the North. The extreme severity of the winter at New York, the scarcity of provisions, and the general difficulties of the situation, induced a great deal of discontent, and the anxieties of Washington were never more serious than now. The soldiers ate every kind of horse-food but hay; of clothes there was a terrible deficiency; and the miseries of the time produced numerous desertions. Congress did almost nothing to relieve the wants of the army, and the number of men at the disposal of the American Commander-in-Chief, though nominally thirty-five thousand, was in reality much less. When reinforcements had been sent to South Carolina, the total force in the State of New York and the adjacent parts was considerably under ten thousand. Washington requested that a committee of Congress might attend the army, with power to act in the name of that body for definite objects. The request was granted, and a committee was appointed, which remained in camp between two and three months. Yet the chief evils were not amended, and little occurred to break the dreary monotony of winter weather, idleness, and insufficient food. An attack on the British post in Staten Island, the

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, Appendix to Vol. VII., pp. 554–5.

shores of which could be approached over the ice, was made on the 14th of January, but without success; and this was the chief warlike operation of the dead season. The soldiers, having nothing else to do, turned their activity against their own countrymen. In a general order of January 29th, Washington said:—"The General is astonished and mortified that, notwithstanding the last order, the inhabitants in the vicinity of the camp are absolutely a prey to the plundering and licentious spirit of the soldiery. From daily complaints, and a formal representation of the magistrates, a night scarcely passes without gangs of soldiers going out of camp, and committing every species of robbery, depredation, and the grossest personal insults. These violences are committed on the property and persons of those who, on a very late alarming occasion for the want of provision, manifested the warmest attachment to the army, by affording it the most generous and plentiful relief."

The approach of spring brought no improvement, as far as the supply of food was concerned. On the 28th of April, Washington wrote to General Howe that his men were constantly on the point of starving. A fortnight later, Nathaniel Greene, the Quartermaster-General, told Joseph Reed, in a letter to that officer, that the army had not four days' provision of meat in the world, and that Washington himself was confounded at his situation, and appeared reserved and silent. A mood of sullen discontent, amounting almost to mutiny, spread through the ranks, and increased in gravity as the weeks wore on. Two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms on the 25th of May, and declared that they would either return home, or obtain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. The rest of the army, without actually joining in this movement, seemed to regard it with sympathy; but the men were at length brought back to their duty by the expostulations of their officers. Frequent requisitions were made on the people of New Jersey, and a feeling of exasperation was at length aroused in that quarter. That Washington, in the face of such trials, should have held his forces together at all, and maintained his positions, is, as one of his Generals remarked, a greater testimony to his abilities and worth than the victories which others had gained were to theirs.

The spirits of the Commander-in-Chief were cheered, during the month of April, by the return of the Marquis de Lafayette from France, with good news as to the intentions of that Power. The Government of Louis XVI. had fitted out an armament of naval and land forces, which were soon to arrive in the United States. Washington could not but see how important, on military grounds, was this accession of strength; but there were many Americans who doubted the good effect of admitting French soldiers to the soil of the Republic. French agents in America had already observed the vehement dislike of their countrymen existing amongst the various communities over which George III. still asserted his right to rule. The French Minister, Count de Vergennes, questioned the advisability of sending troops to America; and not without reason, when it had been seen that even the sailors under Count d'Estaing, though coming but little into contact with the people, had in some places excited the most violent animosity. The majority of the French Cabinet, however,—influenced principally by the persuasions of Lafayette,—over-ruled the objections of Vergennes, and it was settled that the troops should be sent. This feeling of hereditary dislike was afterwards greatly mitigated, and the French and Americans worked well together to the end of the war. The fleet was commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay; at the head of the land forces was the Count de Rochambeau. With equal wisdom and good feeling, the French Government directed that Rochambeau and his troops should in all cases be under the orders of Washington, who, with this view, was made a Lieutenant-General in the French army; that American officers were to command French officers of equal rank; and that in all military acts or capitulations the American Generals were to sign first.

Before the arrival of the French fleet, and while the American army was still in a state of great weakness, General Knyphausen, who in the absence of Sir Henry Clinton held the chief command at New York, determined to make a raid into the Jerseys. He had received some very exaggerated reports as to the disaffection of the people in that State, and, believing that he would be received with open arms, resolved to appeal in force to the loyal feelings which he erroneously supposed to be general. On the 6th of June, he led five thousand soldiers from Staten Island to Elizabethtown in New Jersey, and on the following morning marched towards Springfield. It soon became evident that the inhabitants were not at all inclined to receive him in a friendly spirit. The militia and the regular troops quickly assembled, and attacked the advancing British with so much energy, that they found it advisable, in the night, to retreat to Elizabethtown. Before retiring, however, the invaders had got as far as the outskirts of Springfield, had set fire to the little settlement called Connecticut Farms, and

had reduced the whole village, including the church, to ashes. The act was one of wanton and inexcusable barbarity, and it was attended by another even more atrocious. A Mrs. Caldwell, wife of the minister of the place, was shot through the window of her house while sitting in the midst of her children. For this execrable deed there seems to have been not the slightest shadow of a pretext. It was doubtless the act of a single individual, obeying simply the lawless impulse of his own depraved and murderous nature; but the burning of the village must have been done by authority. Such measures seldom have any other effect than to exasperate opposition, and provoke retaliations which are frequently as bad as the original offences. The British left behind them a sense of cruel wrong, and a fierce desire for revenge; but the Jerseys, so far from being subdued, became all the more implacable in their hatred of Royal government. Knyphausen dared not venture on any further attempts in that direction, but concentrated his regiments at Elizabethtown and in Staten Island. On hearing of the invasion of New Jersey, Washington had made preparations for attacking the enemy; but the retreat of the British rendered this unnecessary—fortunately, perhaps, for the American commander, whose army at that time was extremely weak. The retiring forces were followed by an American detachment, which attacked their rear-guard on the morning of the 8th, but was repulsed. Washington, in consequence of these events, drew his army nearer to the Hudson, where he took up a position from which he could act with equal celerity in defence of New Jersey or of the New York highlands.

Further operations against New Jersey were undertaken by Sir Henry Clinton shortly after his return from South Carolina, which was on the 18th of June. Including four thousand militia and refugees, who were at any rate useful for garrison duty, the English General had now under his command about sixteen thousand effectives. At first it appeared as if he were about to sail up the Hudson, and attack the American posts in the highlands. To repel any such attempt, Washington left General Greene at Springfield with seven hundred Continentals, the Jersey militia, and some cavalry, and himself proceeded to Pompton, in the State of New Jersey, with the main body of the army. It was very difficult to divine what the intentions of Clinton really were; but on the morning of the 23rd of June he advanced rapidly, and in full force, from Elizabethtown to Springfield. Arriving there, the troops opened a vigorous cannonade, and prepared to enter the place over some bridges which crossed a rivulet in front of the walls. The passage of these bridges was disputed by Greene, but without success, and the town was set on fire by the British. Greene had fallen back to a neighbouring range of hills, and was so strongly posted that his antagonists would not venture to attack him, being probably unaware that his numbers were very small. They accordingly returned to Elizabethtown, pursued by the enraged militia. Continuing their march to Elizabeth Point, they passed over to Staten Island during the night, and by the following morning had completely evacuated the Jerseys. The design of the expedition appears to have been to destroy the American magazines in that locality; but the resistance proved too serious to justify a further advance into a difficult and decidedly hostile country. Washington, on hearing of Clinton's march, hastily returned towards Springfield, but did not arrive until the action was over, and the town destroyed. He shortly afterwards planned an enterprise against a British post at Bergen Point, on the Hudson, opposite to New York. Seventy loyalists were stationed at this post, and it was thought they could be easily subdued. One of the American commander's objects in making this demonstration was to carry off a number of cattle from the small peninsula. So far, the attack, which was conducted by General Wayne, and took place on the 20th of July, was successful; but the loyalists, in their blockhouse of logs, defended themselves with so much gallantry that the Republicans were driven back with considerable loss.

The French fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, with frigates and other vessels, and having nearly six thousand troops on board, reached the shores of Rhode Island on the 10th of July. This armament, it was announced, was to be followed by a second division; but no second division ever came. A few days later, Lafayette arrived at Newport from the American head-quarters, to consult with his countrymen as to the further course of the campaign; and a plan of combined operations against the enemy in New York, drawn up by Washington, and addressed to Count Rochambeau, was carried with him by the young French Marquis. This plan was formed on the supposition that the French would have a stronger naval force than the English, and would be able to attack the enemy's fleet with a good prospect of success, or at the worst be in a position to block it up in New York harbour. The calculation, however, proved futile; for, after the scheme was arranged, Admiral Graves arrived from England with six ships of the

line, which, with those already on the station, gave a total naval force much superior to that of the Chevalier de Ternay. It was agreed, therefore, to wait for reinforcements; and Washington was not sorry for this delay, as his army was yet in a feeble and disorganised condition. He had still only a very inadequate number of troops, and these were so badly apparelled that their commander felt a very natural sentiment of shame in presenting such ragged legions to the smart and well-clad French. On the 20th of August, he wrote to a friend:—"To me it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer in their present train. If either the temper or the resources of the country will not permit of an alteration, we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America upheld in America by foreign arms."

Before the arrival of his allies, Washington had frequently applied to Congress, and to the State Legislatures, for assistance. Congress was not slow in passing resolutions; but its powers permitted it to do little more than recommend certain measures to the local Assemblies, and the latter were slothful and indifferent. The army was recruited in the most parsimonious fashion. Less than a week before the arrival of the French fleet, Washington found that scarcely any of the new levies had arrived in camp, and that Massachusetts had not sent in one man of the reinforcement which a few weeks before it had resolved on contributing. Several of the States had not even informed the Commander-in-Chief of the number of men they intended to furnish. In some quarters, however, a more patriotic feeling appeared. Pennsylvania, in spite of the large element of Quakerism in its population, or perhaps in a spirit of opposition to that element, was particularly earnest in making provision for a vigorous prosecution of the war. The citizens of Philadelphia subscribed largely for giving bounties to new recruits; established a bank for the purpose of supplying the army with provisions; and, by a house-to-house visitation, collected a sufficient sum of money to purchase materials for a number of garments, which were made up by the ladies, and sent on to the army.

Aware of his superiority over the enemy, Sir Henry Clinton made up his mind to strike a sudden and rapid blow against the French at Newport. He embarked six thousand troops at Frog's Neck on the 27th of July, and sailed to Huntington Bay, in Long Island. Washington had by this time received some large reinforcements, and, knowing that the British army at New York had been greatly weakened by the departure of Clinton and his regiments, conceived that he might make a demonstration against that city. Having crossed the Hudson, he advanced towards the south, and might perhaps have ventured on an attack, but for the return of his adversary. The French position at Newport had been strengthened by new works and batteries, and by the arrival of militia from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Clinton feared that the favourable opportunity for assailing the place had passed. Being also alarmed for the safety of New York, owing to the movement of Washington, he landed his men on Long Island, and on the 31st of the month returned whence he had set out. Nevertheless, Admiral Arbuthnot blockaded the French squadron in the harbour of Newport, and compelled the whole of the French contingent to remain there for its protection. Another French squadron, under the Count de Guichen, was expected from the West Indies; but the commander sailed for France, without paying any heed to the United States. The second French division was blockaded at Brest by the British fleet; so that the Americans were not in a much better position than in the early months of the year. They were unable to take any active measures, and were obliged still to be content with a policy of defence. On the other hand, the English General felt disinclined for operations in the field, especially as the season was now rapidly slipping away. Washington recrossed the Hudson, and encamped below Orangetown, or Tappan, where he stayed till the winter. Clinton remained at New York; and the antagonistic armies continued to watch one another's movements with a close and jealous scrutiny.

Probably neither of the opposing commanders was in good spirits as to the future: Sir Henry Clinton was certainly far from being in a cheerful mood. On the 25th of August, he wrote a secret despatch to Lord George Germaine, in which he took a very grave view of the situation; remarked on the vanity of reckoning on the oppressed loyalists for dispersing Washington's army, or holding any part of the country for the King; and gave it as his deliberate opinion that his force was some thousands too weak to subdue so formidable a rebellion. He complained of Admiral Arbuthnot's failing to render him a cordial, uniform, and animated support, and attributed to the dilatoriness of that officer the fact of the detachment intended for Rhode Island not starting on the contemplated expedition until the French had taken such measures as to render an attack too hazardous. Well might the King, in writing to Lord North, characterise this despatch as "of a very gloomy

cast." Clinton was on the spot, and knew how great, how terrible, were the difficulties of the situation.

About a month after this despatch was penned, the American and French commanders became personally known to one another. On the 21st of September, Washington and Rochambeau met at Hartford, in Connecticut, where they talked over their plans for the next campaign, without, however, being able to settle anything with precision. As a compliment to their French allies, and a recognition of the unity of the two nations, the American officers now wore cockades of black and white—the former being the American colour, the latter the French. At Hartford, and also at headquarters, Washington managed to present the best aspects of his army to the foreigners, and to exclude the worst. A French observer (the Marquis de Chastellux) testified in glowing terms to the soldier-like demeanour of the general officers, and to their politeness and ability; and spoke with admiration of the handsome equipage of the Commander-in-Chief, of the battalion of the Guards, of the numerous grooms holding fine horses, of the regularity with which all things were ordered in camp, and of the perfection of the discipline. Yet there was a shabby background to this picture, and Washington was not the man to forget it.

CHAPTER XLV.

Statements of Congress to the Minister of France—Efforts of France to bring about an Alliance between the United States and Spain—Spanish Policy with respect to America—Opinions of George III. on the Continuance of the War—Position of Lord North—The "Armed Neutrality"—General Arnold—His Embarrassments when in Command at Philadelphia—Charges brought against him—His Claims against Congress partly disallowed—He determines to betray his Country—Correspondence between him and Clinton—He undertakes to surrender West Point and the other Posts in the Highlands—Major John André and his Previous Career—His Interview with Arnold—The Terms of Surrender agreed upon—André within the American Lines—His Journey towards New York in Disguise—Arrest of André by American Militia—Flight of Arnold on learning the Fact—Washington at West Point—Discovery of Arnold's Treason—Distress of Mrs. Arnold—Trial of André, and Condemnation of him as a Spy—His Execution by the Hangman—Honours paid in England to the Memory of André—Remarks on the Merits of the Case.

France being now upon the scene of action as the military ally of the United States, it became incumbent on the rulers of the latter to consult their great patron on all affairs of importance, and to give sufficient information as to the means and resources of the Republic to enable the French monarch to proportion his own armaments to the necessities of the case. On the 31st of January, 1780, Congress resolved to lay before the French Minister, for transmission to his Sovereign, certain intelligence, which was to the effect that the United States confidently relied on bringing into the field, in the ensuing campaign, an army of twenty-five thousand effectives, exclusive of commissioned officers; that this army could be reinforced by militia to any extent required; that supplies of provisions for all the forces could readily be obtained; that further supplies for the use of such troops as France might send should be laid up in magazines, and that these magazines should be put under the agent of the French Marine. The assistance of a competent naval force was directly asked for; Congress declaring that without such a force little more could be attempted by the American army than straitening the quarters of the enemy, and covering the interior parts of the country. The superiority of the English at sea, it was observed, enabled them to change their object and operations with the utmost facility, while those of the United States were rendered difficult by the great extent of country they had to defend. At the same time, Congress assured the French King that the people of the United States—whatever might have been insinuated to the contrary by the British Cabinet, with respect to some members of the Federation—were unanimously resolved to secure their independence and their liberties.

This communication was made some months before the arrival of the French fleet and army, and it shows that in those early days of 1780 the American leaders were not at all confident of their ability to expel or subdue the English army, without the active co-operation of France. At that time the South was being threatened; the North was kept in constant alarm and watchfulness by the presence of the Royal forces at New York; and the Middle States would probably have re-

recovered much of their former loyalty on the first signal success of the King's troops in their part of the Union. Considerations of this nature doubtless had great weight with the French Government in resolving to send an army and a navy to the assistance of the infant Republic. France, indeed, was now quite as anxious for the success of the rebellion as the rebels themselves were. To ruin England in the New World was the most cherished object of her policy. Not content with offering her own aid to the Confederation, she used all her influence to bring Spain likewise into the alliance, and to this end instructed her Minister at Philadelphia to discuss the subject with Congress, in order that the latter might consent to such terms as would be likely to satisfy the Spanish monarch. Although at that date Spain had an accredited agent at Philadelphia, his business was transacted through the French Minister; and the chief of the two Bourbon Powers seems to have been authorised to speak on behalf of the other. France, said the representative of that country, most earnestly wished to see an alliance between the United States and Spain; but his Catholic Majesty (as the Spanish Sovereign was called) held certain engagements on the part of the former to be highly necessary as a preliminary. It was indispensable that the United States should not extend their boundary in a westerly direction beyond a defined limit; that they should renounce all claim to navigate the Mississippi, as no territory belonging to them was situated thereon; that, if the King of Spain should conquer the Floridas during the existing war (as was probable), every cause of dispute relative thereto between Spain and the United States should be removed; and that the Southern States should be prohibited from making any settlements or conquests in the territories lying on the east side of the Mississippi, then possessed by Great Britain, but possibly destined to be conquered by the Spanish arms. In briefer language, Spain was very willing to aid the Anglo-American colonies in striking down the power of England, but only on condition that the former should forswear for ever both the South and the West. The Floridas had been ceded to England at the Peace of 1763, and had recently been the scene of a good deal of irregular and predatory warfare—the Georgians and South Carolinians having made incursions into the neighbouring province, to revenge an invasion by the Floridians.



RUINS OF FORT PUTNAM, WEST POINT.

Spain knew that the United States, quite as much as the British Government, sought an extension beyond the original boundaries of the Thirteen Provinces; and she made the strict limitation of their desires in that respect a condition of any warlike alliance. In their instructions to Mr. Jay, a few months earlier, of which the reader has been informed, Congress had stated their willingness to guarantee the Floridas to his Catholic Majesty, in the event of their being conquered by him, but had made the free navigation of the Mississippi a proviso. This, however, did not suit the policy of the Spanish King, who had an interest in restraining within the closest bounds the dangerous activity of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Such was the position of the United States towards France and Spain in the year 1780. The views of George III. about the same period were no less important. It is now well known that, for a long while before the termination of the struggle, Lord North was personally averse from the further prosecution of the war, and opposed to the principles which had provoked it. In 1778, he had expressed to the King an earnest wish to resign office into the hands of Lord Chatham; and both before and after that date he would probably have granted Independence itself, rather than continue a fratricidal and exhausting contest. It was only an exaggerated sense of devotion to the King that withheld him from relinquishing the Premiership when he found himself forbidden to carry out this policy. That he was unable to give effect to his ideas, must be attributed entirely to his Royal master. George had a high, and it must be admitted a conscientious, sense of what he believed to be due to his Crown, to the rights of his successors, and to the predominance of the nation over its possessions. The people, for the most part, supported him in his opinions on this topic, and he regarded the public sentiment as an important element in the case. In January, 1778, he wrote to Lord North:—"Perhaps the time will come when it will be wise to abandon all America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas; but then the generality of the nation must see it first in that light." Persuaded, and no doubt rightly persuaded, that the generality of the nation did *not* see the matter in that light, he pursued with dogged determination his original view, that the colonies must be beaten into submission. Yet it was with a frequent reservation of the possibility of other events rendering a modified course advisable. On the 31st of January, 1778, the King, addressing his Prime Minister by letter, said:—"You must remember that before the recess I strongly advised you not to bind yourself to bring forward any plan for restoring tranquillity to North America: not from any absurd ideas of unconditional submission, which my mind never harboured, but from foreseeing that whatever can be proposed will be liable, not to bring America back to her attachment, but to dissatisfy this country." And in the same letter he remarked, "I do not reject all ideas, if a foreign war should not arise this session, of laying a proposition [of a conciliatory nature] before Parliament." Alluding to the probable approach of that war, he observed that in such a case it might be wise to withdraw the troops from the revolted provinces, and, having strengthened Canada and the adjacent parts, to attack the French and Spanish islands. When the war with France became inevitable, he was anxious that Lord North should not delay his conciliatory measures, which were accordingly brought forward in the House of Commons on the 17th of February. Writing on the 26th of March, the King evinced some disposition to accommodate matters through the agency of the Commissioners, but later on returned to his original demand for a vigorous prosecution of the war. "If," he wrote in the autumn of 1778, "Ministers show that they never will consent to the independence of America, and that the assistance of every man will be accepted on that ground, I am certain the cry will be strong in their favour." All this while, Lord North was urging the King to accept his resignation, or to negotiate for peace; but neither course was acceptable to George. "If any one branch of the Empire," he affirmed, "is allowed to throw off its dependency, the others will infallibly follow the example." On the 11th of June, 1779, he addressed Lord North in these terms:—

"No man in my dominions desires solid peace more than I do. But no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into the destruction of the Empire. Lord North frequently says that the advantages to be gained by this contest never could repay the expense. I own that any war, be it ever so successful, if a person will sit down and weigh the expense, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the State enriched; but this is only weighing such points in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those whom Providence has placed in my station to weigh what expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what would be more ruinous than any loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious

in which any country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it I should suppose no man could allege, without being thought fitter for Bedlam than a seat in the Senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object, which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace, must concur with me in thinking this country can never submit to. Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but for their own interest they must become dependent on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this island, reduced to itself, would be a poor island indeed."

The same feeling is still more emphatically expressed in a letter of June 22nd, in which the King told Lord North, "Before I will hear of any man's readiness to come into office, I shall expect to see it signed, under his own hand, that he is resolved to keep the Empire entire, and that no troops shall consequently be drawn from thence, nor independence ever allowed." In 1780, he was just as eager for pushing the war to extremities as in previous years. "I can never suppose," he wrote to Lord North on the 17th of March, "this country so far lost to all ideas of self-importance as to be willing to grant American Independence. If that could be ever universally adopted, I shall despair of this country being preserved from a state of inferiority. I hope never to live to see that day; for, however I am treated, I must love this country." He continued to write in the same strain until the necessity of making peace could no longer be resisted. But in 1780 he not only desired to succeed; he believed that success would ultimately come, if the English people remained steadfast, and Ministers could always be found who would not betray their trust.

The contest at length assumed such dimensions that a less firm mind might well have been appalled; but George had certainly the virtue of courage. The United States, France, Spain, and ultimately Holland, were in arms against England, and the neutral nations, with Russia at their head, formed a confederacy, called the Armed Neutrality, to protect their commerce against the asserted right of Great Britain to search neutral vessels for contraband of war. These nations declared that "free bottoms make free goods;" that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent Powers; that all effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent Powers should be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting contraband of war; and that no port should be considered under blockade unless there were before it a sufficient number of ships to render the blockade effective. These were principles which highly commended themselves to the Americans, who, even apart from the existing state of war, had an interest in the freedom of commerce on the high seas; and it was precisely these principles which were accepted, at the conclusion of the Crimean war, by Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

General ideas of policy, and even the large and important questions out of which the war arose, were now, however, to be for awhile eclipsed in the minds of Americans by a personal matter affecting the character of one of their principal men. The treason of Benedict Arnold, and the tragical event connected with it—the execution of Major André as a spy—are the two most conspicuous circumstances of the American war in 1780. Arnold was a dashing and brilliant General. His courage was marked; his enterprise was greater than that of many of his contemporaries; he had a real genius for warfare, and, on the field of battle, drank the fierce joy of combat with all the passion of a Moslem devotee, or of an ancient Norseman, before whom the halls of Odin rose in glittering vision above the dust and haze of mortal fight. He was one of the heroes of that extraordinary expedition against Quebec in 1775 which, fruitless in all other respects, was fruitful in courage and in stern resolve. The success of Gates at Saratoga was in some measure owing to the efforts of Arnold; and on other occasions he showed that in him the Republic had a captain worthy to lead her troops. But, unfortunately for his fame with posterity, and doubtless for his own peace of mind, he was a man vain, arrogant, and deficient in moral sense; and it so chanced that he was placed under circumstances peculiarly tempting to a nature such as his. Having been several times wounded, he retired for awhile from active service, but in 1778, on the evacuation of Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton, was appointed to the command in that city. While there, he married a young lady of great beauty, one of the damsels who had adjudged the prizes at the Mischianza, and of course a loyalist. This doubtless had an influence over the opinions of Arnold; but the act which ultimately disgraced his name was probably occasioned in a larger degree by his necessities, and by a feeling of anger at certain treatment which he regarded as unjust. His dictatorial manners and extravagant

style of living having given offence to the Philadelphians, they were well-disposed to bring against him a number of charges of neglect of duty and abuse of power. The charges were investigated before a court-martial, and on the 20th of January, 1779, Arnold was acquitted of the principal allegations, but found guilty on the others, and sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief. This was mortifying, but it was followed by what, in the then embarrassed state of his fortunes, was a much heavier affliction. Some time before, he had presented to Congress several large claims against the United States on account of money which he said he had expended for the public service in Canada. On being examined, these claims were partly disallowed, and it was thought by many that they were of such a nature as to raise some suspicion of the integrity of him who made them.

Arnold was exasperated and sorely troubled. He threw up his commission in the American army, and began to revolve in his mind the opening of negotiations with the English General. In addition to his personal occasions of quarrel, he found a cause of complaint against Congress on more public grounds. He seems from the first to have sincerely disapproved of the French alliance, and his objections gathered force with time. It is possible he may have persuaded himself that the national cause was no longer what it had been, and that he was justified in deserting it; for acts springing from corrupt motives generally contrive to weave for their nakedness, by the slow and organic processes of self-esteem, some decent investiture of pretended virtue. Be that as it may, he commenced a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton in the course of 1779. This correspondence was carried on through Sir Henry's aide-de-camp —afterwards his Adjutant-General—Major John André; and the terms employed, though perfectly well understood by the parties concerned, were such as might seem, in the event of discovery, to have reference only to commercial transactions. Arnold disguised his hand, signed his letters "Gustavus," and for some time gave no clue to his identity. The intelligence he communicated, however, was found to be authentic, and it was sometimes important. From a variety of circumstances, Clinton divined that his mysterious correspondent was Benedict Arnold; and after awhile the secret was revealed. Arnold was without employment; his embarrassments were serious; his creditors were becoming importunate; he still lived with ostentatious splendour, still sought the society of wealthy and conspicuous persons, and had no means wherewith to discharge the claims that were rapidly accumulating against him. He engaged in business transactions, and failed; he sent out privateers, which met with no fortunate adventures. Treason might be a source of profit; and the idea of treason became gradually more and more familiar to his mind.

Washington, having no suspicion of what was passing in the thoughts of this sometime soldier of the Revolution, desired to employ him in the campaign of 1780; but Arnold, with many expressions of devoted patriotism, excused himself, on the score of being still disabled by his wounds. Nevertheless, he solicited and obtained the command at West Point, which carried with it the charge of all the other posts in the highlands of New York. It had already been arranged between Clinton and Arnold that, if the latter should succeed in getting the appointment, he would at once hand over all those posts to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, "in such a manner as to contribute every possible advantage to his Majesty's arms." Such were Arnold's own words in making the proposal of surrender; and, arriving at West Point early in August, he awaited a favourable time for action. The absence of Washington, when, in the month of September, he went to Hartford, in Connecticut, to consult with Count Rochambeau, presented a good opportunity for carrying out this execrable design. To Sir Henry Clinton the surrender of such important positions could not fail to recommend itself as a great gain to the Royal cause. Their possession would give the British complete command of the Hudson, and open a free communication between New York and Canada, by that river and the lakes. This was an object which Washington had always been very solicitous to prevent, by the maintenance of his posts in the highlands; and hitherto he had been successful in that part of his military policy. Clinton cannot be blamed for taking advantage of an offer, however base its origin, which promised such valuable results. He had the interests of his Sovereign and his country to consider, and could not weigh questions of honour which, after all, concerned the maker, not the receiver, of the proposal. He acted as probably any other commander would have done under the circumstances, and gladly welcomed an unexpected aid towards the successful termination of the struggle.

Previous to the actual surrender, it was necessary that an interview should take place between Arnold and some representative of the English General, that the details of the plan might be settled. Arnold desired that the officer employed

on this service should be Major André, with whom, under the assumed signature of "John Anderson," the previous correspondence had been carried on. André was a young man, rather less than thirty years of age, the son of French parents naturalised in England. In early life he acted for a time as clerk in his father's counting house in London; but a tender attachment, which the young lady's friends opposed, seems to have directed his thoughts to the army, and he joined the British forces in Canada, with a lieutenant's commission, before the beginning of the war. Though the lady afterwards married another, he never forgot her, but carried her portrait, painted in miniature by himself, invariably about with him. A romantic element always appeared in his character, and, with the amorous devotion of a Troubadour, he had many of the Troubadour graces and accomplishments, both of body and of mind. He was handsome; he had engaging manners; his skill as a painter was not inconsiderable; he was something of a poet; with a general knowledge of literature he combined a special aptitude for the profession he had chosen. At the capitulation of St. John's to Montgomery, in 1775, he was taken prisoner, but was shortly afterwards exchanged, and ultimately acquired high favour with Sir Henry Clinton. He was now despatched on the delicate business resulting from Arnold's offer.

The *Vulture* sloop-of-war had been recently stationed by Clinton in the river Hudson, at a sufficient distance from the American posts to excite no suspicion, yet near enough for the design which was being secretly pursued; and André joined the vessel on the evening of September 20th. Some attempts to open communications which should be free from suspicion having failed, another plan was hit on. On board the British sloop was a certain Colonel Beverly Robinson, a loyalist American officer, whose house was at that time the head-quarters of Arnold. The original intention was that the landing and the interview with Arnold should take place under cover of a flag of truce, the professed object of which was to effect some arrangement as to the sequestered property of Robinson. In furtherance of this end, a letter was sent from Robinson to Arnold, soliciting a meeting. The letter reached Arnold while Washington was visiting him; and the former, to keep up appearances, showed the communication to his superior, and asked his advice. Washington strongly recommended him not to grant the request, but to refer Robinson to the civil authorities. Arnold was afraid of acting to the contrary, as the advice was given in presence of others: he therefore persuaded a Mr. Joshua H. Smith, who resided within the American lines, to go on board the *Vulture* at night, and deliver a packet, ostensibly addressed to Robinson, but really intended for André, whom Arnold knew to be on board. Smith afterwards asserted that he was the bearer of a flag of truce; but the statement is of doubtful accuracy, and the transaction was certainly of an irregular kind, or it would have been carried on openly, and in the daylight. On his return, Smith was accompanied by André, who wore his uniform, but was still described as Mr. Anderson. It was the night of the 21st of September the day on which Washington was with Rochambeau. Darkness had fallen for some hours when Arnold and André met on a piece of neutral territory on the western side of the Hudson, and began their momentous discussion. The negotiations occupied so much time that the approach of dawn saw them not yet finished. André, therefore, contrary to his original stipulation and intention, and, as he said, without any knowledge of what was being done, was conducted within the American lines to the house of Joshua Smith, where the details of the business were finally arranged. It was settled that an attack on West Point should be made on the 24th or 25th of the month, and that Arnold should give up the place; and pass-words and signals were agreed upon. As it was possible that by that time Washington himself would be in the fortress, it is thought that one part of Arnold's design was to effect the capture of the Commander-in-Chief. The American traitor delivered to André, for Sir Henry Clinton, a number of papers relating to the fortress; several maps and plans; and certain memoranda, indicating the weakest points in the works, and the positions to which the American troops would be ordered, so as to facilitate the British attack.

It was very important that André should get back to the sloop as soon as possible. But it was now found that the *Vulture*, galled by a fire from the American posts, had dropped lower down the river, and, although she subsequently returned to her former station, Smith, probably alarmed lest the firing should be resumed, refused to make arrangements with his boatmen for rowing them to the vessel. It was therefore agreed that André should go to New York by land. Earlier in the day, Arnold, before leaving for head-quarters, had proposed this mode of proceeding, had concealed the compromising papers in André's boots, had made him change his uniform for a plain coat, and had given him and Smith (who was to be his guide) passports signed by the General, and, as regarded

André, made out in the name of John Anderson. The latter authorised the bearer to go to the lines at White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, as he was on public business. When the return by land was suggested in the morning, André refused to agree to it; later in the day he found he had no alternative. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, written a week after, he stated that his going within the enemy's lines, his changing his dress, and his following a circuitous route back to New York, were circumstances imposed on him by others, though perhaps unavoidably. Clinton, it appears from that officer's manuscript Memoirs, had strictly charged André not to change his dress on any account, or possess himself of writings by which the nature of his business might be traced; and it was understood by the English General that, after the interview was concluded, the Major would be sent back the way he had come.* The change of route seems to have been unavoidable; but the disguise, and still more the carrying of such compromising papers, were errors of the most serious, and, as it turned out, the most fatal character. The papers were not even of any service; for Clinton, as both Arnold and André must have known (such is Clinton's own account), was already in possession of the information they conveyed.

Crossing the river in the dusk of the evening at King's Ferry, André and Smith, to disarm the suspicions of a patrolling party with which they fell in, proceeded to a house on the eastern shore, where they passed the night, continuing their journey on the following morning. The road passed through a solitary country, consisting of wooded hills, deep valleys, and frequent streams, desolated since the war by the ravages of two sets of marauders, called Cowboys and Skinners, the former attached to British rule, the latter to the cause of Independence. Owing to the lawless activity of these brigands (for they were no better), houses were dismantled, fields were laid waste, and the whole land was reduced to so mournful a state of ruin that grass grew on the public roads for want of regular traffic. At Pine's Bridge, a village not far from the English posts, Smith took his leave, and André walked on in confident expectation of being soon beyond the possibility of danger. But it unfortunately happened that a scouting party, consisting chiefly of militia, was at that time scouring the neutral ground between the outposts of the two armies. As André was approaching the village of Tarrytown, three militiamen, two of whom were playing at cards in a little thicket by the roadside, while the third kept a sharp watch for any passing stranger, rushed out upon him, and seized the bridle of his horse. The incident ought really to have been of no importance. André had only to produce his passport with Arnold's signature, and he would of course have been suffered to proceed; or, even had the men proved to be loyalists, and André been seized as one of the other party, the mistake could soon have been rectified. But the suddenness of the attack destroyed his presence of mind. He believed moreover that he was beyond the American posts, as indeed, strictly speaking, he was. Still further, by one of those strange accidents which look like fatality, a member of the party wore the uniform of a loyalist refugee, which had been given him in exchange for his own coat while he was in captivity to the British. Trusting that the men were loyalists, André imprudently said, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?" "What party?" they asked. "The lower party," said André, meaning the party farther down the river, or, in other words, the British. "We do," answered the men. André then stated that he was an English officer on urgent business, and desired not to be detained a minute. The three men, however, now revealed themselves in their true character as Americans; and André, forcing a laugh, and pretending that what he had said was only a subterfuge to help him along, produced his passport from Arnold. But it was too late. The men dragged him into the thicket, proceeded to search his person, and, pulling off his boots, found between his stockings and his feet the papers which Arnold had secreted there. From the subsequent testimony of one of the Americans, it would appear that he endeavoured to make a bargain with André as to what he would give them to let him go. He offered large sums of money, frequently advancing his terms; but another of the mililia-men cut the matter short by declaring that he should not escape if he offered ten thousand guineas.† They then carried him to the commander of the outposts, Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was stationed at North Castle with a party of dragoons. Jameson acted with a degree of folly which Washington not inaptly described as "egregious." Although he had for some time past suspected Arnold of treachery, and had even

* Extract from the MS. published by Earl Stanhope in the Appendix to Vol. VII. of his History of England.

† According to what Major André told some Americans during his captivity, the original motive of the militia-men in stopping him was the hope of finding money concealed about his person, or in the housings of his horse, and that this was what really induced them to strip him.



ESCAPE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

threatened to arrest him, if he should appear in that locality and order his men nearer to the enemy, he adopted a course which was exactly calculated to secure the escape of the arch-criminal. He examined the papers, saw their treasonable character, and knew them to be in the handwriting of Arnold. Nevertheless, he despatched a messenger to the General, with a letter informing him of the capture of André, of the discovery of the documents, and of the fact of his having transmitted those documents to Washington. Major Tallmadge strongly remonstrated against sending any such intimation to Arnold; but Jameson, with the obstinacy of dulness, was inflexible. On one point, however, he gave way to the representations of Tallmadge. He had actually sent off André himself with the lieutenant who carried the letter to Arnold; but he afterwards despatched orders that the prisoner was to be delivered into the custody of Captain Hoogland at Lower Salem.

Arnold, after parting from André on the 22nd, had in the first instance gone to West Point, and afterwards to the house where he resided, which was on the opposite or eastern side of the Hudson. Here, in the course of the 25th, while expecting a visit from Washington on his return from Hartford, he received Jameson's letter, telling him what had happened. The Commander-in-Chief had been delayed on the road, but had sent forward his two aides-de-camp; and Arnold was sitting at breakfast with those gentlemen, and with his own staff, when the lieutenant arrived. It says much for the self-possession of this traitor to his country that, on reading the letter to himself in the presence of the others, he was able to conceal the terrible emotions which it must necessarily have aroused. Requesting the aides-de-camp to inform General Washington on his arrival that he had been unexpectedly summoned by business of importance at West Point, he ordered a horse to be got ready instantly, and beckoned to his wife to follow him to their own chamber. To the astonishment and horror of that lady, he told her that they must immediately part, perhaps to meet no more, and that his very life depended on his reaching the English lines without detection. Mrs. Arnold swooned with the sudden blow, and her husband, hurrying downstairs, sent the lieutenant to her assistance, sprang on the lieutenant's horse, which he found waiting at the door, dashed off to the banks of the river, and got into his barge. "Push out into the middle of the stream!" was his first order to the rowers; then, displaying a white handkerchief, he directed them to row down the river to the *Vulture*, as he was going there with a flag of truce. The white handkerchief protected them from being fired on by the American officer at Verplank's Point, and the English ship was safely reached. Arnold made himself known to the captain, and the vessel, dropping down the river, conveyed him to New York.

In the meanwhile, Washington was on his return journey from Hartford. He followed a road different from that by which he had gone to the Connecticut city; and the messenger who carried Jameson's letter, with the documents found on André, missed the Commander-in-Chief in consequence of this change of road, and went back to North Castle. Thus it fell out that, on reaching the house of Arnold, Washington knew nothing of the treason of that officer. He arrived there very shortly after the flight of his subordinate, and, receiving the message that had been left for him, determined to follow to West Point. Attended by his officers, he embarked on the Hudson, and, while moving up the stream (for the fortress lay not only on the other side, but more to the north), called the attention of his companions to the magnificent highlands on both sides, and remarked, "I am glad, on the whole, that General Arnold has gone before us; for we shall have a salute, and the roaring of the cannon will produce a fine effect among the mountains." The barge was now moving obliquely towards the western shore; but not a gun spoke from the walls. Washington expressed some astonishment, and shortly afterwards they saw an officer descending the rocks towards the beach. As the boat ran into the shingles, and Washington was stepping out, the officer apologised for his apparent neglect, saying that he had been taken quite by surprise. "How is this, sir?" asked the Commander-in-Chief; "is not General Arnold here?"—"No, sir," replied the officer; "he has not been here these two days, nor have I heard from him within that time."—"This is extraordinary," rejoined Washington. "Since, however, we are come, although unexpectedly, we must look round a little, and see in what state things are with you." The works were accordingly inspected, and Washington, having satisfied himself that all was safe, returned across the river to Arnold's house.

During his absence, Colonel Jameson's messenger had arrived with the despatch giving an account of the arrest of André—or, as he called himself, John Anderson—and enclosing the suspicious documents discovered in his stockings. The communication was opened by Colonel Hamilton, one of Washington's officers, who had been left behind at head-quarters.

On reaching the house, the Commander-in-Chief was drawn aside by Hamilton, who placed the damnatory papers in his hands. With that equanimity which always distinguished this remarkable man, he said nothing about the affair to any of his officers, except Lafayette and Knox; yet in his heart he was distressed and staggered. "Whom can we trust now?" he exclaimed to Lafayette. Then, proceeding to the dinner table, he said, with the utmost calmness, "Come, gentlemen, since Mrs. Arnold is unwell, and the General is absent, let us sit down without ceremony." The condition of Mrs. Arnold was indeed pitiable. She was almost frantic with grief and dismay. Now raving with passionate denunciations, now melting into tears, she excited the liveliest sympathies in all who saw her. Washington himself she upbraided with being in a plot to murder her child; yet almost in the same breath she lamented the imprudence of its father, which had occasioned all her misery. From the *Vulture* Arnold wrote a letter to Washington, soliciting a considerate treatment of this unhappy lady. Professing to have a heart conscious of its own rectitude, and in the step he had taken to be actuated by the same love of America which had always influenced him, he asked, not any favour for himself—for, he said, he had too often experienced the ingratitude of his country to attempt such a thing—but protection for his wife from those insults and injuries to which a mistaken vengeance might expose her. To the immortal honour of the American authorities and of the American people, this prayer was ultimately granted. It was generally believed that Mrs. Arnold, though coming of a loyalist family, knew nothing of the contemplated treason, and she was allowed, before the close of the year, to rejoin her husband at New York.

Left to himself at Lower Salem, at first under the charge of Captain Hoogland, and then under that of Major Tallmadge, André was not long in coming to the decision that he ought to reveal his true name and mission to the American Commander-in-Chief. He wrote to Washington on the 24th of September, stating that he was Major John André, Adjutant-General in the British army, acknowledging in general terms the object which he had in view in going to the vicinity of West Point, yet withholding the name of Arnold. In this letter he emphatically asserted that he had never had any intention of going within the American lines, and he complained of having been "betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise." He then preferred a request to his Excellency, which was that, in any rigour towards himself which policy might dictate, he should not be branded with anything dishonourable, as he had had no motive but the service of his King, and was involuntarily an impostor. He at the same time took the liberty of mentioning that there were some American gentlemen at Charleston, who had, while either on parole or under protection, been engaged in a conspiracy against English rule, and of suggesting that they might be exchanged for himself, or might be affected by the treatment he should receive. Of this letter Washington took no notice. André was shortly afterwards removed to West Point, and then to the head-quarters of the army at Tappan, on the west side of the Hudson, where the case was referred to a Court of Inquiry, charged to report on the facts, and to advise what punishment was due. By the ordinary usages of war, André might have been hanged at once, as a spy taken in the fact; but it was thought better to have an investigation. The Court consisted of twelve American, and two foreign, officers: the latter were Baron Steuben and the Marquis de Lafayette; and the whole were under the presidency of General Greene. The investigation took place on the 29th of September; but previous to that date letters were addressed to Washington by Colonel Beverly Robinson and General Clinton, the object of which was to represent to the American Commander-in-Chief that Major André was under the protection of a flag of truce sent by General Arnold, and of a passport signed by the same officer, and therefore could not be detained without a gross violation of the laws of war common among nations. Clinton's missive enclosed a letter from Arnold to himself, pointing to the same facts, and assuming the responsibility of André having returned by land, and of his travelling in a false name; "all which," added the traitor with matchless effrontery, "I had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, under the orders of General Washington, and commanding General at West Point and its dependencies."

The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were brief. André was not allowed the presence of any advocate, witness, or friend; but it is said that the Court behaved, in other respects, with great delicacy, begging him not to consider himself bound to answer any questions which he might find embarrassing. He made various statements, however, both by word of mouth and by a written paper; and it was mainly on these statements, embodying the facts already set forth, that the members of the Court founded their conclusions. The dignified and respectful conduct of the prisoner,

whose chief anxiety seemed to be to shield all but himself, excited a strong feeling of sympathy with him on purely personal grounds, but in no degree affected the issue, as indeed it should not have done. At the close of the inquiry, which did not extend beyond one sitting, Greene and the other officers reported it as their opinion that Major André ought to be considered a spy, and, according to the law and usage of nations, to suffer death. The unfortunate man, when informed of his impending doom, bore himself with the same firmness he had exhibited from the first. Once only he broke down into tears, and that was when referring to the invariable kindness of Sir Henry Clinton, and expressing a fear lest he should reproach himself, or any one else should reproach him, with being the cause of his sad fate. To this effect he wrote to Clinton; and at the same time called his attention to the fact that he had a mother and three sisters, to whom the value of his commission would be an object. The commission was afterwards sold by Sir Henry for the benefit of the family.

It now remained for Washington to confirm, to annul, or to mitigate, the judgment of the Court of Inquiry. Some accounts assert that Washington was outvoted by the others on the question of hanging André; but it does not appear that he was a member of the Court, or in any way interfered with its deliberations. On the 30th of September, Clinton wrote to him to say that he had deputed General Robertson, together with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Chief Justice of New York, to confer with his Excellency, or such representatives as he might appoint, on the subject of Major André's position. These persons, attended by Colonel Beverly Robinson, went to Dobbs's Ferry on the morning of October 1st. Only General Robertson was permitted to land (the others, excepting Robinson, not being military officers); and with Greene, who appeared for Washington, the General had a very prolonged conference. The discussion turned much on the disputed fact whether André, on landing from the *Vulture*, was or was not under the sanction of a flag of truce. Arnold asserted that he was; but, at the investigation, André himself had admitted that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under any such protection. It must in candour be granted that, even assuming the flag of truce to be unquestionable, such flags never could be intended to cover such acts, and that the Americans were fairly entitled to argue that from the moment his treason took shape Arnold ceased to be one of their officers, and had no authority to act in any way as such. General Robertson offered to exchange for André any prisoner whom the Americans might choose, and intimated that Sir Henry Clinton had frequently spared the lives of American spies on the intercession of Washington. Finally, he proposed to refer the question to the judgment of General Knyphausen and Count Rochambeau, who, as foreign officers employed on the side of England and America respectively, might be supposed likely to arrive at a dispassionate conclusion. But neither his arguments nor his offers had any effect on the mind of Washington.

The execution, which was to have taken place on the 1st of October, was postponed, to allow of this discussion. The postponement prolonged for a day the painful suspense of André. On the 2nd, early in the morning, Robertson received a note from Greene, briefly stating that General Washington saw no reason for altering his determination. General Robertson at once wrote to Washington direct, repeating the arguments already submitted to Greene, and adding that Sir Henry Clinton would be "infinitely obliged" by the liberation of the captive, and that he (Robertson) would regard any considerate treatment of the Major as a favour he would always be intent to return. This appeal was as fruitless as the others; but it appeared that there was one condition on which André would have been released. Captain Aaron Ogden, who conveyed the letters from André and Washington to the British posts at Paulus Hook, hinted that the young English officer would probably be exchanged for Arnold. Lafayette had directed him to let fall this suggestion; but he had no such instructions from Washington. At any rate, the idea was one which could not for a moment be entertained. It was again brought forward by Greene at the conference with General Robertson, and replied to by a glance of indignant rebuke. André's case was rendered still more hopeless by a most imprudent letter written by Arnold to Washington on the 1st of October, threatening retaliation, and the shedding of a torrent of blood, if the prisoner should be executed.

André was constantly guarded by officers with drawn swords; but he was not likely to make any attempt at escape. On the morning of the day originally appointed for his execution, he drew with his pen a sketch of himself as he sat at his prison-table, which he gave to one of the officers in charge. During that same day, he wrote a very touching letter to Washington, imploring that he might die the death of a soldier, not that of a felon. No answer was returned; and when André was summoned forth to

die, on the morning of the 2nd of October, he was not without a hope that the favour he had craved would be granted him. That it was not granted has been attributed to the inflexible sternness of Greene, who insisted that any mitigation of the sentence would imply a doubt as to its justice. It is also said that Congress was consulted before André was examined, and declined to interfere.

André had sent to New York for the uniform of a British officer, and, having arrayed himself in this on the fatal morning, he placed his hat on the table, and said to the officers on guard, "I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait upon you." He then walked to the place of execution arm-in-arm with two subaltern officers, bowing serenely to several gentlemen whom he knew. When he came within sight of the gibbet, he appeared (as Major Tallmadge has recorded) to be startled, and inquired, with some emotion, whether he was not to be shot. Upon being told that this could not be allowed, he exclaimed, "How hard is my fate!" but immediately added, "It will soon be over." To the fact of dying he professed to be reconciled, but not to the mode of his death. While waiting near the gallows until the necessary preparations were completed, he betrayed some degree of nervousness; rolling a stone to and fro with his foot, and making an effort to swallow, as if checking an hysterical affection of the throat. A few minutes later, he stepped into the waggon; shrank for a moment from the disgraceful instrument; then, recovering himself, observed, "It will be but a momentary pang." He bandaged his eyes with his own hands, and, on being reminded that he had now an opportunity to speak, if he desired it, lifted the handkerchief, and said to Colonel Scammel, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." They were his final words. He died with scarcely a struggle, and remained suspended for half an hour, during which an awe-struck silence prevailed over the whole assemblage. His remains were interred close by, but were removed to England in 1821, when a small peach-tree was found growing above the grave. They now repose in Westminster Abbey, near a mural tablet erected to his memory by George III., who caused him to be there described as one "who fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and country." A pension was also conferred on André's mother, and his brother was created a baronet.*

The conduct of Washington in connection with this most painful affair has been strongly condemned in England, and as strenuously defended in America. The case is one of those which take entirely different aspects, according to the point of view from which they are contemplated. André's unhappy fate may be regarded from three points of view: that of pure humanity; that of English patriotism; and that of American patriotism. From the first of these, there is room for no other feeling than sorrow and compassion. From the second, André appears as a brave man, ignominiously put to death because he had done his duty to his country. Clinton, it should be observed, could not have refused the offer of Arnold; it was necessary that some one should arrange the preliminaries; and André was the man on whom the risk devolved. It must always be recollected, in association with this view, that, in the estimation of the English, Arnold was merely restoring to George III. what was his by right, though for a long while withheld from him by rebels. But this can by no means be the view of Americans. To them, Arnold was a traitor, and a traitor of the most dangerous and despicable order. André came within their power while furthering the wicked designs of Arnold; and it can excite no surprise that they should have held him guilty. It is beyond dispute that one of the objects of André's visit to Arnold was to obtain information with regard to the fortifications at West Point; and the flag of truce, had it existed, could not protect what was in truth an act of spying. The punishment of a spy is death by the halter, according to the general usage of armies. Sir William Howe had hanged a man in 1776, when taken under somewhat similar circumstances to those of André. That the latter had not intended to go within the American lines makes no essential difference. He was there as a matter of fact; and he carried on his person indisputable evidence of the errand on which he had been employed.

Men who venture on these desperate enterprises take their lives in their hands, and it is not fair to speak in terms of severe condemnation if those whom they would fain have injured strike hard in return when chance has delivered the enemy into their power. Still, the rigour of strict law may sometimes be mitigated as to its extreme application; and it will always be to many a matter of regret that the military authorities of America found themselves unable to hearken to the prayer of André, and grant to a gallant soldier the solace of a soldier's death.

* Gordon's and Stedman's Histories of the War; Sparks's Washington, and Life and Treason of Arnold; Washington Irving's Life of Washington; Earl Stanhope's History of England; and other authorities. The case in its legal bearings has been fully discussed by Mr. Charles J. Biddle in an essay printed in Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1858.



PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Clinton's Announcement to the British Army of the Death of Major André—His Remarks on Washington's Conduct in the Affair—Subsequent Career of Arnold—His Address to the People of America, and Proclamation to the American Army—Other American Officers suspected—Inquiries set on Foot—Plot for seizing Arnold—Champe, the Sham Deserter—A Desperate Ride—Failure of the Plot—Rewards and Honours to the Militiamen who arrested André—Trial of Joshua Smith—Treatment of Mrs. Arnold—Measures at West Point—Inquiry into the Military Conduct of General Gates—Greene appointed to the Command in the South—Proceedings of Earl Cornwallis—Expedition of Major Ferguson in the Neighbourhood of Ninety-six—Irruption of Western Settlers into North Carolina—Defeat of Ferguson's Troops, and Death of their Commander—Retreat of Lord Cornwallis into South Carolina—Last Measures of Gates previous to Surrendering the Command into the Hands of Greene—Desultory Warfare—Expedition of Colonel Tarleton against Morgan—Battle of the Cow-pens, and Defeat of Tarleton—Pursuit of Morgan by Lord Cornwallis—Greene joins Morgan at Sherwood's Ford—Escape of the Americans into Virginia—Sufferings of both Armies—Greene re-crosses the River Dan into North Carolina—Slaughter of Loyalists on the River Haw—Movements of the Opposing Army—Defeat of the Americans at Guildford Court House.

News of the dismal fate of André was conveyed to New York by his servant, who had joined him after his arrest, and who carried back the regimentals in which he had died, and his other effects.

On the 8th of October, Sir Henry Clinton issued an order to the British army, announcing, "with infinite regret," and in very general terms, the death of his young friend. "The unfortunate fate of this officer," he added, "calls upon the Commander in Chief to declare that he ever considered Major André a gentleman, as well as, in the line of his military profession, of the highest integrity and honour and incapable of any base action or unworthy conduct." Clinton seems never to have forgiven Washington for his severity on this occasion. In his manuscript Memoirs, he speaks of his great antagonist as apparently "delivering himself up to the rancour excited by the near accomplishment of a plan which might have effectually restored the King's authority, and humbled him from his present exalted situation," and as burning "with a desire of wreaking his vengeance on the principal actors in it."

Still dilating on the same theme, he remarks:— "His [Washington's] acting in so cruel a manner, in opposition to my earnest solicitations, could not but excite in me the greatest surprise, especially as no advantage whatever could be possibly expected to his cause from putting the object of them to death. Nor could he be insensible, had he the smallest spark of honour in his own breast, that the example, though ever so terrible and ignominious, would never deter a British officer from treading in the same steps, whenever the service of his country should require his exposing himself to the like danger in such a war."* Nothing can be more natural than the feelings of Clinton in connection with this sad case; and yet there is no ground for supposing that Washington acted from any other motive than a stern sense of duty, according as his duty appeared to him to lie.

If men always suffered in proportion to their wrong-doing, Arnold should at this time have been a man haunted by remorse and terror. Colonel John Laurens, who had at an earlier period served



PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL ARNOLD. (*The Portrait is from that of Du Similier*, 1783.)

* Appendix to Vol. VII. of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

as aide-de-camp to Washington, but who was now on parole at Philadelphia, remarked that he must be undergoing the torment of a mental hell. In replying to Laurens's letter on the 13th of October, Washington greatly questioned this. Arnold, he said, wanted feeling; and while his faculties would enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there would be no time for remorse. His subsequent career seems to support this view. He was well content to forget his quality as an American in his new character of a British officer. Being appointed a Colonel in the British service, he was allowed to retain the brevet rank of Brigadier-General which he had held in the army of the United States; and he received in money the sum of £6,315, as compensation for losses incurred by his going over to the Royalist side. It was part of his bargain with Sir Henry Clinton that he should be indemnified for whatever loss of property he might sustain by this change of masters. We shall shortly find him acting in the field against his countrymen. When the war was over, he engaged in commercial transactions in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and ultimately settled in England, where he died on the 14th of June, 1801.

Shortly after his arrival at New York, Arnold published an address to the people of America, in vindication of his conduct. His argument was that he had originally taken up arms merely to aid in obtaining a redress of grievances; that he considered the Declaration of Independence precipitate, and the reasons for it removed by the subsequent conciliatory offers of the British Government; that Congress ought not to have rejected those offers without submitting them to the people; and that, finally, the treaty with France—a proud, ancient, and crafty foe, the enemy of the Protestant faith and of real liberty—had completed the measure of his indignation, and determined him to abandon a cause sustained by iniquity and controlled by usurpers. He also issued a proclamation, inviting the officers and soldiers of the American army, who had the real interest of their country at heart, and who were determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress and of France, to rally under the Royal Standard, and fight for true American liberty. The proclamation held out promises of large bounties and liberal subsistence to all who should so join, together with compensation for all the implements and accoutrements of war they might bring with them. These promises had little or no effect; and few who condemned Arnold's conduct could have been convinced by the reasonings of his address. The motives for changing sides which he there alleges, may in themselves have been very good motives. It is quite conceivable that an honourable and a patriotic American may have seen a clear distinction between fighting for a redress of grievances and fighting for Legislative Independence; but in that case he would have quitted the service as soon as the intention of which he disapproved had been announced, and would certainly not have remained in arms more than four years longer. Arnold even retained his command two years beyond the time at which Congress (without, as he pertinently observes, consulting the people) refused the British offers of conciliation, and declined to meet the Commissioners. Had he been sincere and honest, he would have thrown up his commission in the American army at the later, if not at the earlier, of these periods; and in any case he would have acted openly, and not as a secret traitor, bargaining, for a sum of money, to betray the trust which had been placed in him. Even at the time itself, when national animosities were necessarily much excited, many Englishmen looked on Arnold with detestation and disgust; and at the present day it would probably be impossible to find one who would desire to say a word in his favour.

The treason which had been so nearly successful, excited in the mind of Washington a very natural distrust as to the character and designs of other officers. Rumours were circulated, implicating many persons of high standing in the American army in the plot just discovered; and, in particular, suspicion was thrown on General St. Clair. It is asserted by American writers that these rumours were set afloat by the enemy, for the purpose of spreading alarm and perplexity throughout the national camp. However this may have been, the alarm and perplexity were great, and Washington determined to test the truth of the reports by sending secret agents into New York to procure intelligence. The conduct of these inquiries was given to Major Henry Lee, who was stationed with a party of dragoons on the outposts. A paper had been discovered, in which General St. Clair was unpleasantly mentioned; but the result of the inquiries, in this case and in others, was to remove all shadow of suspicion. Washington now turned his thoughts towards a project for seizing Arnold in New York, and carrying him off within the American lines. To Major Lee this business also was entrusted, so far as its general management was concerned. Lee selected for his agent the sergeant-major of cavalry in his legion, a young Virginian named John Champe, strong, bony, and muscular, with a saturnine countenance and a singularly taciturn manner. His commanding officer incited in

this young man a thirst for fame, by impressing on his mind the virtue and glory of the act he was desired to perform. The general outlines of the scheme were that the sergeant should join General Arnold as a deserter from the Americans; that he should engage in the corps which Arnold was raising, and should contrive to insinuate himself into some menial or military berth about that officer's person; that a correspondence should be kept up with a certain inhabitant of Newark who had connections with the British, but who was known to be faithful to the cause of his countrymen; and that, when the favourable moment had arrived, they should seize the General in the night, gag him, and take him across the Hudson into Bergen woods in New Jersey. Washington agreed to the details of the project, with the proviso that Arnold was to be brought in alive —partly because any irregular slaying of him would lead to charges of assassination, partly because he desired to make a public example of the traitor.

"The virtuous sergeant," as Lee described him,—though, as he was to earn promotion by his service, his motives were not solely patriotic,—made his sham desertion on the night of October 20th. The perils of the attempt began at once, and that from his own countrymen; for, as none of the common soldiers, nor even any of the officers, save Lee himself, knew of the plot, there was no small danger of the man being regarded as a real deserter, and shot by sentries, patrols, or scouting parties. He was, in fact, challenged by one of the patrols, but, putting spurs to his horse, he escaped. Information of the fact was conveyed to Lee, who had retired to bed, and who was at length obliged, after an ineffectual pretence of discrediting the statement, to order out a party in pursuit. He so contrived, however, as to interpose many delays before the troops were in the saddle, and Champe thus obtained an hour's start before his comrades set forth. This was improved by the pursuers' necessity of halting every now and then, dismounting, and examining the road, to ascertain, by the foot-prints of the horse, the direction which Champe had taken. Yet, on the whole, the pursuers must have ridden faster than the sergeant, for in the faint light of dawn they descried him, from the summit of a hill, about half a mile ahead. Champe, seeing his comrades approaching, managed to elude them, and in a little while got abreast of two British galleys at anchor near the shore beyond Bergen. By this time, Cornet Middleton, who had command of the troop, was only two or three hundred yards behind him, and it was necessary to abandon his horse. Running through a marsh, he plunged into the river, and by his cries induced those on board one of the galleys to send off a boat to his assistance.

In pursuance of the scheme, Champe enlisted in Arnold's corps, and made arrangements for surprising him at night in a garden at the back of his quarters, and carrying him in a boat across the Hudson. Lee, on the night appointed, was among the woods on the Jersey shore, with three dragoons and three led horses; but the sergeant was unable to accomplish his purpose, and at daybreak Lee returned disappointed to camp. It was feared that the man had been detected in the attempt to seize the traitor, and had been hanged; but it subsequently appeared that, on the day preceding the night fixed on for the capture, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town. Some troops were about to be embarked for a distant expedition, and the American Legion, amongst whom was John Champe, were sent on board one of the transports. Thus the plot came to nothing, and it was long before Champe was able to escape, and resume his proper place among the soldiers of the Union.* He was well rewarded for the perils he had undergone, and for the pain of lying for a considerable period under the stigma of having deserted to the enemy. But it is perhaps a subject for congratulation that he failed in his plot. The seizure of Arnold under such circumstances would have had a character of treachery and savageness, which would have done no good to the American cause; and little would have been gained to the interests of the Federation by the death of a man who had miscarried in his great design, and who was discredited even with the new masters to whom he had transferred his sword.

The three militiamen who had arrested André were recommended by Washington to the President of Congress for a handsome gratuity, and the suggestion was favourably received. A formal vote was passed, expressing a high sense of their virtuous and patriotic conduct; and to each of them was awarded a farm, a pension for life of two hundred dollars, and a silver medal, bearing on one side an escutcheon engraved with the word "Fidelity," and on the other the motto, "Vincit amor Patriæ" (the love of our country conquers all other considerations)—a phrase from Virgil. The medals were delivered to the men by Washington himself at head-quarters, and it cannot be questioned that they had discharged a clear and imperative duty to their country, though not, it would seem, without some previous disposition to betray that

* Irving's Life of Washington, chap. 140.

duty for a proffered reward. It is unpleasant to be obliged to add that one of these men—Isaac Van Wart—had the bad taste to be present at the execution of André; but, having done so, it was to his credit that he was deeply affected by the spectacle, that in after-life he disliked to recall the subject, and that he could rarely speak of André without tears.

Another actor in the tragedy—Joshua Smith, who accompanied André part of the way on his fatal road to New York—was tried by court-martial on a charge of being concerned in the treason. No proof was forthcoming that he had any knowledge of Arnold's intentions, and he was consequently acquitted; but it was thought by many that he must at least have suspected something wrong, owing to the mysterious circumstances by which the interview between Arnold and André, and the departure of the latter, were surrounded. Mrs. Arnold was in the first instance sent to her father's house in Philadelphia, but was afterwards compelled by the Executive Council to leave the State. Her own desire was not to join her husband; but, on being obliged to quit Pennsylvania, she went to him at New York. By the Executive Council she was strongly suspected of complicity with the contemplated treason, but apparently without justification in facts, though some in recent times have believed her guilt. Arnold had expressed a fear lest she should be ill-treated, but the fear proved groundless. The American people magnanimously refused to identify the woman with the proved guilt of the man. It is related that she arrived one night at a village where the populace were about to burn her husband in effigy, and that they refrained from the intended act, and quietly retired to their homes, on discovering that this unhappy lady was in their midst. In England she was generally received with respect and sympathy, while her husband was slighted at the best, and often subjected to positive insult, at the hands not merely of Americans, but of Englishmen also. Mrs. Arnold died in London on the 24th of August, 1804.

The sense of insecurity at West Point, resulting from the information which Arnold would be sure to communicate to Clinton, induced Washington to hurry on the completion of the works, and to have them strongly garrisoned. The command was temporarily given to General Greene, who was ordered to march with the Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, and Stark's brigades, and to do the utmost he could to secure the position against any attack that might be meditated. Washington took post with the main body of the army at Prakeness, near Passaic Falls, New Jersey. About this period an inquiry was being made into the conduct of General Gates, whose ill-fortune at the battle of Camden, and premature retreat from the field, were considered matters imperatively demanding investigation. On the 5th of October, Congress passed a resolution instructing Washington to order a Court of Inquiry into the alleged misconduct, and in the meanwhile to appoint some other officer to the command. The General selected in consequence of this monition was Greene, who was succeeded at West Point by General Heath. To Greene, Washington would originally have entrusted the command in the South, had he not been over-ruled by Congress; and the appointment was now specially solicited by the delegates of the three Southern States. The Court of Inquiry was to be conducted in the quarter in which Gates had acted. Baron Steuben was to preside, and the investigation was to be carried on with as much despatch as circumstances would permit. The treatment of Gates by Congress was regarded by many as unduly harsh. He was degraded, and brought to a species of trial, without being accused of any military offence. It had been determined by Congress, however, some time before, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a Court of Inquiry. When the Court met, its proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and it was not until 1782 that the General was acquitted of all blame, and restored to his position in the army.

The state of affairs in the Carolinas towards the close of 1780 was much the same as it had been immediately after the Battle of Camden, in August. Cornwallis was unable to follow up his victory by any vigorous action, owing to the diminution of his army by disease and by the casualties of war. His stores were deficient, and for some few weeks he was unable to pursue his course into North Carolina. On the 8th of September, however, he left Camden, and about the end of the month arrived at Charlotte, in the northern province, whence he advanced towards Salisbury, and ordered his militia to cross the Yadkin. He now determined to embody the well-affected part of the population in a regiment which he expected would render important services to the Royal cause. For this purpose he employed Major Ferguson, with a small detachment, to train the loyalists in the district of Ninety-six. Ferguson acted with so much energy that in a little while he had collected a large body of men eager to fight for the King; but at the same time he had exasperated many by his depredations on the friends of

independence. A danger was at hand of which he suspected nothing, but which, when it came, was rendered all the greater by the animosities that he had unnecessarily kindled. A Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, had for some time been collecting a number of followers in the Carolinas. He now reappeared in his native province at the head of seven hundred men, and attacked the British post at Augusta, from which the small garrison was compelled to fall back to an eminence on the Savannah. After some fighting, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, who had command of the British, compelled his adversary to retreat across the Savannah, and sent word to Ferguson to intercept him. That officer prepared to do so, and approached nearer the mountains than was prudent. His ill-usage of the Republicans had in the meanwhile caused a number of them to seek refuge on the further side of the Alleghanies, where they excited amongst the western settlers a strong desire to encounter the enemy at a distance from their own homes. These men had no military organisation whatever; but they were accustomed to the use of the rifle, were bold, hardy, and adventurous, and could move from place to place with a rapidity and suddenness to which regular armies are often incompetent. Each of them had his horse, and they started equipped with nothing but their blankets, knapsacks, and rifles.

Ferguson saw his danger directly he heard of their coming. He retreated towards Charlotte, and sent messengers to Lord Cornwallis to solicit reinforcements. The messengers were intercepted, and no reinforcements arrived. At Gilberttown, the western settlers selected one thousand of their best riflemen (nearly a third of their number), mounted them on fleet horses, and sent them in pursuit of the retreating foe. Ferguson established himself on King's Mountain, on the border line between North and South Carolina, and there awaited his pursuers. He had not to wait long. On the 7th of October, the western men poured in like a flood, and, with scarcely any subordination or military array, made ready for the attack. The only approach to a concerted plan of action consisted in the resolution to divide their forces into several bodies, and to assail the enemy from different quarters. Colonel Cleveland, one of the officers, told his men that, when engaged, they were not to wait for the word of command from him; that he would show them by his example how to fight, and that he could undertake no more. Every man was to consider himself an officer, and to act on his own judgment. Though repulsed, they were not to run off, but were to return, and renew the combat. If any were afraid, they had not only leave to withdraw, but were requested to do so. The exhortations of Cleveland were not without effect. Although the Americans were repeatedly driven back by the bayonet, they always returned to the charge with fresh spirit. Assailed in quick succession from several directions, the British wheeled round from side to side, and fought with desperate tenacity. But at length Ferguson fell, mortally wounded, and his successor surrendered. Nearly seven hundred laid down their arms; more than four hundred escaped; and three hundred were stretched dead or wounded on the field. Fifteen hundred stand of arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and this success was achieved without any serious loss to the Americans. Being well protected by trees, their marksmen could exercise, without much interruption, that skill with the rifle for which they were famous. The victory being complete, the western men, after hanging some of their prisoners whom they regarded as renegades, returned to their homes.

The consequence of Ferguson's discomfiture was that Lord Cornwallis quitted Charlotte, and retreated to South Carolina. The army suffered terribly on the march. Rain fell incessantly; the men had no tents, and were obliged to sleep under trees, exposed to the malarious influences of the climate; and for five days the soldiers were reduced to support themselves on ears of Indian corn, gathered from the fields. Cornwallis was so ill that the command devolved on Lord Rawdon; and on the 29th of October this officer drew up his army at Wynnesborough, an intermediate station between Camden and Ninety-six. Yet, notwithstanding these misfortunes, an attempt was again made to crush the spirits of the malcontents by further deportations to St. Augustine, in Florida. The policy was not attended by many results; and while it was being pursued, General Gates, whose successor had not yet arrived, was doing his utmost to re-organise the army which had been beaten so disastrously at Camden. He wrote to the President of Congress, on the 16th of October, from Hillsborough, in the north-eastern parts of North Carolina, that the enemy had so far had the worst of the struggle, having lost considerably more men, officers, and arms than the national forces, and being compelled to evacuate several posts which at the beginning of the campaign they had held on the Pedee. Gates now found himself at the head of one thousand four hundred men. While Cornwallis was at Charlotte, the American General prepared to dispute the fords of the Yadkin; and on the retreat of his adversaries he occupied the position they had abandoned. Here he received

a private intimation that he had been superseded in the command by Greene, and that an inquiry was to be instituted into his conduct at the Battle of Camden.

It was from Greene himself that Gates had the first official notice of his dismissal. Greene behaved extremely well in the matter. He expressed his disapprobation of the censure thrown upon Gates, and added that he should be very well satisfied to serve under him. In travelling to his new command, he lost no opportunity of impressing on those he met that the general condemnation of Gates was unjust, and founded on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. On the 2nd of December, Greene arrived at head-quarters, and on the following morning Gates delivered the command into his hands, with expressions of courtesy which the new commander reciprocated. To no light or easy task had the latter succeeded. Washington, in writing to one of the South Carolina delegates, had observed, "I think I am giving you a General; but what can a General do without men, without arms, without clothes, without stores, without provisions?" This, indeed, was not all that might have been said. Greene was summoned to rescue from the hands of the British a part of the country which, as regarded a large proportion of the people, did not wish to be rescued. He found much of the region through which he passed so disaffected to the American interests, and so well disposed to English rule, that he was not without apprehension for his personal safety ere he could join the army.* Nevertheless, he did not shrink from the responsibility, and, in a few hours after assuming his command, received news of a cheering nature. One of Morgan's foraging parties had advanced to the vicinity of the British posts at Clermont, which surrendered immediately on being summoned. Slight as was this success, it looked like a hopeful commencement of the new military administration, and had a good effect on the spirits of the army.

One of the first cares of General Greene was to re-establish discipline in his small force of not many more than two thousand men. This he could only accomplish by acts of severity; but they produced the effect intended. His position was extremely difficult. North Carolina abounded in loyalists, and so fierce an internecine warfare prevailed between these men and those of the opposite faction that whole districts were laid waste. The resources of life were exhausted, and it was a matter of the utmost difficulty to get provisions for the troops. Greene therefore determined to divide his army, and carry on a desultory warfare. He put General Morgan at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry, with orders to proceed south of the Catawba, so as to observe the positions of the enemy; and he himself, with the rest of his force, took post, on the 29th of December, on the east side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles north-east from Wynnesborough. Morgan had already taken up a position towards the western frontier of South Carolina, whence he operated with effect on detached parties of loyalists. Other flying bodies of irregular warriors were also in the field, and a wide extent of country was kept in a state of perpetual agitation by their desultory movements. This species of warfare was rendered the more easy by the spare population of the Carolinas, and by the natural features of the land, which abounded in woods and marshes, in rapid rivers and steep hills. Although these guerilla leaders could effect nothing on a large scale, they harassed the British forces in many minor ways, and helped to wear them out. One of the most energetic of the guerillas was a General Marion, who scoured the country on the Santee, struck terror into the loyalists, and on one occasion rescued a party of Continental prisoners from an English guard. He was so ill-provided with arms that he was compelled to forge the saws of the sawmills into a species of rude swords; and his ammunition was often most deficient. Yet he made his power felt; and the officer who was sent against him added to his followers by the severe measure of burning the houses of those who were supposed to be in his interest.

To check one of these predatory bands, and to rescue the British post at Ninety-six from the danger which seemed to threaten it, Earl Cornwallis directed Colonel Tarleton, with eleven hundred men, including cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to proceed against Morgan. At the same time, the Earl himself moved in a north-westerly direction, hoping to intercept the adversary if he should escape, and also to alarm Greene by getting between him and Virginia. Of late, Tarleton had not been so fortunate as previously. He had tried in vain to bring Marion to an action, and on the 20th of November had sustained a rather serious repulse at the hands of Colonel Sumpter, who, after his defeat on the 18th of August, had collected another company of fighting men, and was doing much mischief. However, it was now thought that Tarleton's force was equal to any emergency, and the proved energy of the commander inspired every hope of success. Morgan, on hearing of the approach of his enemy, retreated across the Pacolet, and halted at a place

* Dr. Gordon's History, Vol. III., p. 475.



ROUT OF THE LOYAL RECRUITS.

called Cowpens, where he determined to fight. His numbers were not quite equal to those of Tarleton, but his troops were fresher. There, on the morning of January 17th, 1781, he was attacked by the English Colonel, who, though his men were much fatigued by a long night march, following on several days of great exertion, could not refrain from immediate action. Advancing with his usual impetuosity, he seemed to be on the eve of another striking triumph. The first and second lines of the Americans were speedily thrown into confusion; but, retreating to the top of a hill, they rallied, and calmly awaited the British. The latter, exhausted by their previous work, ascended the hill in some disorder, when the Americans, headed by Colonels Washington and Howard, charged their scattered ranks with so much vehemence and fury that they gave way at all points, and were pursued to the bottom of the hill. The cannon were taken, and the greater part of the infantry laid down their arms. The rest escaped, after a final and desperate charge by Tarleton at the head of forty horsemen. A hundred privates, and ten commissioned officers, had been killed on the side of the English; the wounded were still more numerous; and the seizure of artillery, muskets, and stores, was considerable. The loss of the Americans was comparatively slight, while the gain to their cause was even greater than it appeared at first.

Lord Cornwallis was vexed and astonished at the result of this action; but, although the partial destruction of Tarleton's detachment had seriously reduced his forces, which, at the best, were not too large, he determined to make a vigorous effort to retrieve his fortunes. When he heard of the disaster, he was at Turkey Creek, twenty-five miles south-east of Cowpens. Consequently, he occupied a position between Greene and Morgan, and it was a matter of great moment that he should prevent their junction. His best policy now was to beat the enemy in detail, and to this end he at once started in pursuit of Morgan, whom he hoped to overtake before he could pass the fords of the Catawba. Having, on the 18th of January—the day after Tarleton's defeat—formed a junction with General Leslie, whom a short time before he had sent towards the Catawba, the Earl began his chase of the successful American on the 19th. Destroying, for the sake of additional speed, the major part of his own and his officers' baggage, wasting even a large quantity of food, wine, and spirits, and retaining no waggons but those loaded with hospital stores and ammunition, and four empty ones for the sick and wounded, he followed fast on the retreating steps of Morgan; but that spirited officer moved with even greater celerity, and on the 29th of January passed the Catawba in safety, together with his prisoners. The last of his troops had not reached the northern bank more than two hours when the van of the English army arrived upon the southern shore. But a heavy rain had set in, and the river rose to so unusual a height that Cornwallis found it impossible to get across. During two days he was compelled to wait, and Morgan was enabled to send off his prisoners to Charlottesville, in Virginia. Thus disencumbered, he prepared to dispute the passage of the river. His camp was now at Sherwood's Ford, where, on the 31st of January, General Greene unexpectedly appeared, and took the command. He had come almost alone, leaving his division to follow as soon as it could, and had ridden post-haste, that he might be in person at the place of danger.

The Royal forces crossed the Catawba in the early morning of the 1st of February, not without some opposition, but only such as was easily overcome. Tarleton again distinguished himself by dispersing a party of five hundred militia, and the British met with no further resistance until they came to the Yadkin, when a sharp conflict took place between a body of American riflemen and the advanced guard of the pursuing army. On the night between the 2nd and 3rd, Greene crossed the Yadkin, partly by fording, and partly by the use of boats and flats. As in the case of the Catawba, the water rose immediately afterwards, and delayed the British. Greene had taken care to remove all the boats from the southern shore, and Cornwallis, not wishing to wait until the inundation had subsided, marched up the south bank of the Yadkin to the shallow fords near its source—a distance of twenty-five miles. Yet this in itself was a delay, and it was turned to the best advantage by the energetic American leader, who on the 7th of February was joined near Guildford Court House by the division he had left at Hick's Creek, on the east side of the Pedee. By this time, Greene was approaching the southern frontiers of Virginia, and his aim was to retire into that State. Cornwallis was very desirous of baffling that design, and of getting between his adversary and the proposed place of refuge. As the English commander was far from dilatory in his movements, it behoved the American to move as quickly as possible; for he was not safe in the Carolinas, whereas, if he could get into Virginia, and remove all the boats across the intervening river, the depth and width of that stream would prevent the pursuers from following; and, moreover, the Virginian population was much more favourably inclined to the national cause than

that of either North or South Carolina. The nearest and most direct road to Virginia was by Dix's Ferry over the river Dan, a branch of the Roanoke; but, as the British were as near this point as the retreating force, and as it was impossible to bring up boats from the lower ferries, owing to the rapid current, Greene was obliged to shape his course obliquely to the ferries called Boyd's and Irwin's, situated about seventy miles from Guildford Court House. The other route would have saved twenty miles; but it was impracticable, and at once abandoned. Despatching, therefore, an officer and a few men to Dix's Ferry, to send the boats there down the stream to Boyd's and Irwin's, which were only four miles distant from each other, Greene left Guildford Court House on the 10th of February. He was closely pursued by the British, but the latter were harassed on their march by a corps of American light troops, formed to cover the retreat, who, on one occasion, inflicted some rather serious losses on their enemy. On the 14th of February, the fugitives crossed the Dan with their baggage and stores, and stood safely on Virginian soil. North Carolina was thus left in possession of the English; but Lord Cornwallis had entirely failed in what he proposed to accomplish.

This arduous flight and pursuit had extended over more than two hundred miles, and both armies suffered much from fatigue and deprivation. The heavy rains of the winter season were a great trial to the men, who were often wet to the skin, and had no artificial means of drying themselves. The Americans, however, were much worse off than the British. Ragged and barefooted, many of these unfortunate creatures were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. Some weeks before, Greene had written to Reed that they were living upon charity—subsisting upon daily contributions. To Washington he said that his militiamen were as ragged and naked as the Virginia negroes. Yet their military conduct was admirable, and the firm discipline of Greene was visible throughout the ranks. Not a sentinel was lost by desertion; not a murmur was heard from any one. Although the movement was a retreat, it was managed with so much address, and sustained with so much quiet endurance, as to reflect the greatest credit on the generalship of the chief commanding officer, and on the heroism of the men. The American army of the South was acquiring consistence and force under the tuition of events.

It being impossible to follow Greene any further, Cornwallis returned in a leisurely way to Hillsborough, where, on the 20th, he set up the Royal Standard, and called on the people to aid him in restoring order, and re-establishing the King's authority. Greene employed every means in his power to improve his position. He first sent a detachment of his army back across the Dan on the 18th, and then, on the 21st and 22nd, re-crossed with the main body, strengthened by a reinforcement of six hundred Virginians. His object was to do as much mischief as he could by scattered and irregular movements, and thus to dismay the loyalists. A general action he dared not hazard, and he therefore directed his greatest attention to cutting off small bodies of his countrymen who might be disposed to aid the English commander. That many were so disposed became very soon apparent. In one day, Lord Cornwallis embodied seven independent companies; and it was admitted by Greene himself, a few weeks later, that the majority of the people were in favour of British interests. On the 25th of February, some of the loyal recruits were proceeding to camp, when they fell in with Greene's vanguard, under Colonel Lee, and mistook them for Tarleton's cavalry, who had been sent to escort them. Lee, for a moment, thought they were a body of militia, under General Pickens, whom he had expected to co-operate with him; but, soon perceiving his error, he pressed on towards Tarleton, leaving Pickens, when he should arrive, to deal with the Tories. On that officer coming up and attacking the recruits, Lee, changing his design, wheeled round, and took his unfortunate countrymen in the rear. The fight, if such it can be called, occurred in a narrow lane near the river Haw. It was in truth a massacre. Quarter was refused; the loyalists begged in vain for mercy, and were sabred almost without resistance. Their evil fate did not end here. Tarleton, who was about a mile off, shortly afterwards fell in with some of the loyalists, and, mistaking them for provincial militia, assailed them with his accustomed fury. This tragical event had a great effect in deterring the population from taking arms under the King's flag.

Disconcerted in his schemes, the English General, on the 27th of February, retreated from Hillsborough in a south-westerly direction. Greene followed, boldly yet cautiously, changing his ground every night, without allowing any one beforehand to know what new position he intended to take up. His light infantry and cavalry scoured the country, overawed the loyal, and gathered information, while rendering it all the more difficult for Lord Cornwallis to do the same. These movements continued throughout several days; and, on the 6th of March, Lord Cornwallis, under cover of a thick fog, crossed the river Allemance, and marched towards Reedy Fork, where the American light troops and some

militia were posted. The detachment retreated after a brisk skirmish, and General Greene fell back to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek. A few days later, he again advanced, and took up a position near Guildford Court House, at a distance of about ten miles from the British encampment. He had by this time received so many reinforcements as to be in command of an army numbering more than four thousand men. Conceiving that he was now in a sufficiently good condition to offer battle to the enemy, he made his arrangements to that end. Cornwallis, seeing his design, and not sorry for the opportunity, moved in the direction of Guildford Court House in the early morning of March 15th. The action commenced with an animated conflict between Tarleton's troops and an American detachment under Lee, ending in the retreat of the latter. This encounter gave Greene time to put the main body of his forces in order of battle. The surrounding country was woody and hilly—a desert interspersed with a few cleared fields; so that every facility for successful resistance was presented by the nature of the ground. In numbers, the Americans were twice as strong as their opponents; but a large proportion of their army consisted of ill-disciplined troops. By an unwise arrangement, the first line was composed entirely of the militia of North Carolina. Immediately on seeing the steady advance of the British, these men fled into the woods, and thence to their own homes, many of them without even firing a shot. The Virginian militia, however, and some of the Continental troops, fought with great firmness and resolution, even repelling, and for a time breaking, the ranks of the second battalion of Guards. The battle continued for nearly two hours, with varying fortune, and with great loss to both sides; but at length the Americans were forced to retreat, and retired in good order to Reedy Fork, and ultimately to Troublesome Creek. In the course of the day, the English recovered two field-pieces which had originally been lost at Saratoga, and which had changed hands more than once since then. But in seizing the cannon Earl Cornwallis did not win the Carolinas; nor in defeating Greene did he crush the revolution.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Results of the Battle of Guildford Court House—Retreat of Lord Cornwallis—Defects of the American Militia—Temporary Pursuit of Cornwallis by Greene—The American Commander enters South Carolina—Virginia invaded by Cornwallis—Taking of Fort Watson by Marion—Greene's Unsuccessful Designs on Camden—The Battle of Hobkirk's Hill—Gloomy Views of Greene—His Complaints of his Countrymen—Lord Rawdon retreats to Monk's Corner—Loss of Several British Posts—Partisan Warfare in Georgia—Acts of Ferocity—Siege of Ninety-six by the Americans—The Siege Abandoned on the Approach of Lord Rawdon—March of Rawdon to the Congaree, and thence to Orangeburgh—Greene encamped on the Hills of Santee—Lord Rawdon leaves for England—Battle of Eutaw Springs—The British Successes attended by no Useful Results—Mutual Animosity of the Southern Whigs and Tories—Case of Colonel Hayne—The South almost entirely Lost to England—Bad Condition of Affairs in the North—Mutiny of the Pennsylvanian Troops—Similar Movement in the Jersey Brigade—Apathy in America towards the Cause of Independence—Attempts to obtain Loans—John Adams in Paris—His Differences with Vergennes—His Negotiations with Holland—Rupture between Holland and Great Britain—Proposals for a General Peace, and their Ultimate Failure.

When night obscured the bloody field of Guildford Court House, the horrors of war were intensified by the state of the weather. A dark and heavy sky spread over the dying and the dead; torrents of rain descended from the clouds; and a chill air breathed over the scene of conflict, adding to the misery of those whose sufferings were already poignant enough. The English troops collected the wounded of both armies as soon as circumstances would permit; but very little could be done for their relief. No houses were near; the soldiers had brought no tents with them; they were unprovided with food, and had nothing even for their own refreshment. The unhappy wounded were therefore perforce left without assistance till morning; and many, ere the dawn, had found a welcome release in death. All through the night, the feelings of the survivors were harrowed by the cries and lamentations of their suffering comrades and adversaries; but help was impossible until the head-quarters of the army could be reached. Thus, although a victory had been won by Lord Cornwallis, it had been dearly paid for, and did not promise to be fruitful in great results. Greene's army was larger than his own, and might yet prove troublesome, however incapable of standing against the Royal

forces in open field. Indeed, it soon became clear to the English commander that a retreat was inevitable, owing mainly to the difficulty of finding subsistence in a country so slightly cultivated at the best, and of late so terribly devastated by hostile legions. On the 19th of March he began to retire, leaving several of his wounded at the Quaker's meeting-house, under protection of a flag of truce. Moving by easy stages, he reached Wilmington, in North Carolina, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, on the 7th of April. Possession of this place had, by Lord Cornwallis's orders, been taken several weeks before by a small detachment; and here his wearied troops were for a time permitted to find rest.

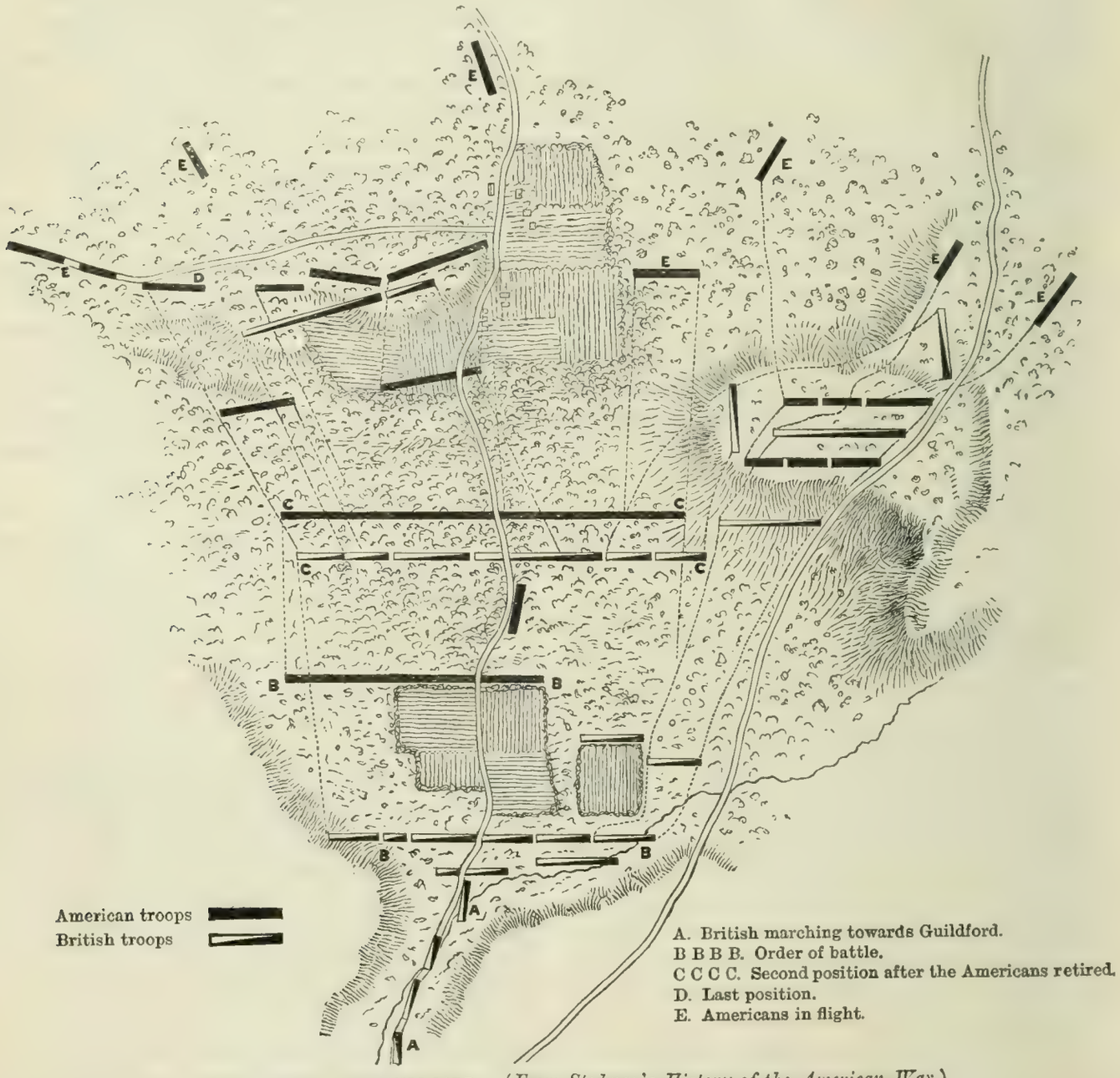
Many incidents of the late battle must have once more brought home to the Americans the conviction that to oppose raw militia to regular troops was to ensure continual defeat. Although some of the militia at Guildford Court House fought well, others fled with disgraceful precipitancy, not even waiting to be attacked, and never again joining the ranks they had betrayed. Only a few months before (towards the end of the preceding year), Congress had determined on raising a large standing army; and a writer of the time remarks that they ought earlier to have got rid of an error which the experience of all mankind has exploded, viz., the carrying on a war with militia, or with temporary levies. America, he observes, had been amused almost out of her liberties, and the behaviour of the militia on several occasions had been unreasonably extolled. Some of the first Generals in the American service were ready solemnly to declare that they never witnessed a single instance, throughout the contest, which could support the opinion that militia or raw troops were fit for the real business of fighting.* Had the separate existence of the United States depended entirely on pitched battles, it is doubtful whether the desired result would ever have been attained. The chief strength of the revolutionists lay in their ability to wear out their opponent by a series of minute operations—to distract his attention by a multiplicity of simultaneous movements—to exhaust his resources by keeping the whole area of the Federation in a state of perpetual revolt and menace. But in the meanwhile more might have been done in other ways by an army better organised and disciplined.

Greene was astonished to find that Lord Cornwallis, so soon after his victory, was actually retreating. He resolved to pursue him, which he did so closely that occasional skirmishes took place between his advanced parties and the rear-guard of the British. The pursuit, however, was not carried very far. It was extended only to Ramsay's Mill, on Deep River, where Greene arrived on the 26th of March, a few hours after the Royal troops had quitted that position by a temporary bridge over the stream. His army was now greatly diminished by desertions, and by the expiration of the period for which certain portions had been called out. It was also reduced to extremities for want of food, the men being so near starving that they ate with avidity any refuse they could find. It therefore appeared to Greene better to relinquish the pursuit of Cornwallis, and enter South Carolina—a step which he thought would compel the English General to follow him, and thus relieve North Carolina, or to remain in that part of the country, to call in his outposts in the south, and so to facilitate the re-conquest of South Carolina and Georgia. The forces of both commanders were very small—Greene's not more than seventeen hundred, and Cornwallis's two hundred less than that. Each was desirous of evading the other; and the war became to a great extent a war of manœuvring—of alternate retreats and pursuits. Lord Cornwallis had anticipated Greene's design of invading South Carolina, and had despatched several messengers to Lord Rawdon, who commanded the British posts in that province, to urge the necessity of being prepared for such a danger. But the messengers were intercepted, and Rawdon was still ignorant of the threatened peril when Cornwallis, shortly after his arrival at Wilmington, received information that Greene had actually begun his southward march. It now became necessary for the Earl to determine—and that with so much rapidity that it was impossible to consult with Sir Henry Clinton at New York—whether he should proceed to Camden, and relieve Lord Rawdon, or advance into Virginia, and join Generals Phillips and Arnold, who were already in that province. He decided on the latter course; considering that Greene had got the start of him so far that the fate of Camden would be sealed before he could arrive there. He also dreaded being hemmed in between the great rivers in that part of the country; and, trusting that his subordinate in South Carolina would be able to defeat the American General, he resolved on starting for the north, in the hope of making an important demonstration in that quarter. On the 25th of April he began his march.

That very day, an important action was fought in South Carolina. Greene had by this time entered the southern province, and, in alliance with the guerilla leader, Marion, had commenced a series of

* Gordon's History, Vol. III., p. 491.

desultory attacks, which proved very embarrassing to the English commander. Lord Rawdon had established a line of detached posts from Charleston, by way of Camden and Ninety-six, to Augusta, in Georgia. One of these posts—Fort Watson, situated on the Santee—was taken on the 23rd of April by Marion, acting in combination with Colonel Lee, found his antagonist ready to receive him. After encamping for a short time immediately before the place, Greene moved to Hobkirk's Hill, a little more than a mile north of Camden, on the road to the Waxhaws—a spot well protected by swamps, trees, and underwood. He had for a while sent off his artillery and baggage to a considerable distance,



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF GUILDFORD. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

who, together with his legion, had been sent by Greene with this view. The far more difficult achievement of subduing Camden, Greene hoped to accomplish in person. Unfortunately for him, however, he was unable to keep his advance secret. The country through which he marched was so hostile that he was obliged to move slowly and cautiously; information of his coming was conveyed to the British commander; and when Greene arrived before Camden, on the 20th of April, he that he might be the more free to exercise some rapid movements on which he had determined; and a drummer, who deserted from the American army, revealed to Lord Rawdon the absence of the heavy guns and of the militia. The English commander resolved to attack his adversary at once. Stealthily approaching Greene's camp on the morning of the 25th, he surprised the entire force, and, although the American General was shortly afterwards joined by his artillery and militia, for which he had sent

on finding himself unable to execute the designs he had conceived, inflicted on him a severe defeat, with heavy loss. Greene's orders for the conduct of the battle were that the British should be simultaneously assailed in front, on both flanks, and in the rear. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington actually got to the rear of the attacking force, and made some prisoners; but the hill was carried by the British, and Greene was compelled to order a retreat. The conquerors pursued for nearly three miles, and were then checked by a furious charge made by Colonel Washington at the head of a body of cavalry. On the following day, Greene proceeded to Rugely's Mills, twelve miles to the north of Camden.



LORD RAWDON, AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

His views at this time were of the most gloomy character. In a letter to Washington, written on the 1st of May, he said:—"We fight, get beat, and fight again. We have so much to do, and so little to do it with, that I am much afraid these [Southern] States must fall, never to rise again; and, what is more, I am persuaded they will lay a train to sap the foundation of all the rest." Three days later, he wrote to Joseph Reed:—"Those whose true interest it was to have informed Congress and the people to the northward with the real state of things, have joined in the deception, and magnified the strength and resources of this country infinitely above their ability. Many of those who adhere to our party are so fond of pleasure that they cannot think of making the necessary sacrifices to support the Revolution. There are many good and virtuous people to the southward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general as you can to the northward. When ruin appears to approach any State, they are alarmed, and begin to think of exerting themselves; but its approach no sooner receives a

check than they sink back into a careless inattention." After bitterly complaining of the apathy of several States, Greene continued :—"I have been playing the most hazardous game to keep up appearances in this quarter until more effectual support could be afforded. But our number is reduced to a mere shadow. The war to the northward is nothing. It is a plain business. Here the war rages like a fire; and the enterprise and activity of the enemy almost exceed belief. I have run every risk and hazard, and find the difficulties thicken upon me daily; and you know I am not of a desponding spirit or idle temper. If our good friends the French cannot lend a helping hand to save these sinking States, they must and will fall. Here we are contending with more than five times our number, and among a people much more in the enemy's interest than ours."

Yet the English, though so frequently victorious, seemed never to get any nearer the accomplishment of their purpose. On the present occasion, Lord Rawdon was unable, owing to the smallness of his army, to follow up his success; and Greene, by cutting off his supplies, harassing his communications, and fomenting amongst the people a feeling of disaffection to the Royal cause, soon rendered Camden untenable. By the middle of May, Rawdon, finding that he could not bring his opponent to a second general engagement, had withdrawn to Monk's Corner, on the river Cooper, in the vicinity of Charleston. The efforts of Greene's detachments were now beginning to be attended by important results. The fall of Fort Watson was followed by that of Fort Motte, Georgetown, and Fort Granby. These successes determined numerous waverers to side with the Republicans; and even those sincerely attached to the Royal side were disgusted by the arrogance with which they were treated on the part of many British officers, by the rapacious exactions to which they were subjected, and by the violence from which they suffered. The tide was beginning to turn against the representatives of the King's authority.

This was especially the case in Georgia. A vigorous partisan warfare sprang up in that province, where General Pickens, Colonel Lee, Colonel Clarke, Captain M'Koy, and other daring leaders, performed a number of rapid movements, for the most part attended by success. During the month of May, Pickens and Lee laid siege to Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta. Several batteries were raised against the walls, and poured forth a murderous fire, from which the besieged could find no protection, though they almost buried themselves under the ground. On the 5th of June, the garrison capitulated, to the number of three hundred men. The British officers at Augusta had created by their severities a strong sentiment of antagonism in the country people; and after the surrender one of them was treacherously shot dead. Although a reward of a hundred guineas was offered for the apprehension of the murderer, he could not be discovered; and it was only with difficulty that another officer was saved from a similar fate. The latter had recently hanged thirteen American prisoners, and delivered up others to the Indians to be tortured. A very vindictive feeling now characterised the proceedings of both parties; but Greene, to his great credit, did the utmost he could to check the excesses of his own men. When, at the taking of Fort Granby, Lee's militia desired to put to death the American loyalists who were found in the place, Greene declared that he would capitally punish such acts whenever they were committed.

The post of Ninety-six, in South Carolina, was seriously exposed to attack on the withdrawal of Lord Rawdon from Camden to Monk's Corner. Instructions were sent to Colonel Cruger, who was in command at Ninety-six, to abandon the post, retire to Augusta, unite his force to that which he found there, and act according to his discretion. But these directions never reached the person for whom they were intended; and Cruger made the best preparations he could for meeting any attack that might ensue. The place was already rather elaborately defended, but many additional works were hastily thrown up, and, as the event turned out, they sufficed to save the position. At the head of nearly a thousand men, Greene appeared before the walls on the 22nd of May. He erected two works within seventy paces of the fortifications; but a sallying-party destroyed them, killed several of the Americans, and carried off the entrenching tools. The siege-works were then thrown back to a distance of four hundred yards, and, by diligent application, the second parallel was completed by the 3rd of June. Heavy batteries were erected, and gradually advanced nearer to the walls. Several of the defences were enfiladed by a vehement cross-fire. One of the attacking works was erected near the *abatis*, and raised to a height of forty feet, so as to command the interior of the town. Riflemen were posted on the top, and picked off many of the garrison. On the 8th of June, Lee arrived from Augusta with a reinforcement, and Greene extended and increased his siege-works, but was unable to effect the reduction of the place. Its defenders, however, suffered severely, especially from want of water. A rivulet ran by the town, but every one who, during the day, endeavoured to

obtain a supply from this source was shot by the vigilant American marksmen. Nothing could be done but to send naked negroes to the stream by night, in the hope that their dusky bodies would not be distinguished from the equally dusky trees.

As June advanced, the besiegers opened their third parallel, and carried a mine and two trenches within a few feet of the ditch. Field pieces were mounted on batteries at a distance of only a hundred and forty yards from the fort, and the garrison was reduced to such severe extremities that the necessity of surrendering began to be considered. But Lord Rawdon was by this time moving to the relief of the threatened post. He had received considerable reinforcements from England, and on the 7th of June he left Charleston, and marched to the relief of Ninety-six with an army of two thousand men. On the 11th, Greene received notice of his approach, and immediately sent orders to Sumpter to retard the British army by every means in his power. Rawdon, however, contrived to evade him, and Greene, feeling that if he did not take the place at once he could not take it at all, made an attempt, on the 18th of June, to carry it by storm. Supported by a heavy cannonade from the batteries, and a close discharge of musketry from the lines, his men moved to the assault in two columns. On the left they were successful, but on the right were driven back by a spirited sortie. The American General was then compelled to abandon the attack, and on the following day to relinquish the siege altogether. Having crossed the Saluda on the 20th, he encamped on Little River, the worse for his attempt on Ninety-six by one hundred and fifty-five men.

Lord Rawdon arrived at the fortress on the 21st, and found that the garrison had lost eighty-five of their number in killed and wounded. On the evening of the same day he set out in pursuit of Greene; but the latter, having sent off his sick and wounded, rapidly continued his retreat in a north-easterly direction. On his way he destroyed the corn-mills, that the enemy might be deprived of sustenance; and Rawdon, after continuing the pursuit as far as the river Enoree, returned to Ninety-six, in despair of overtaking his adversary. Very soon, however, he found it necessary to evacuate the fortress which Greene had so recently besieged, and to contract his posts. He accordingly marched to the Congaree, leaving more than half his force under Cruger to escort to some place of safety the loyal inhabitants of the district, who feared the vengeance of their countrymen. Greene had for the moment retired behind Broad River, but, on hearing of this separation of the Royal army, he returned towards the Congaree. Rawdon therefore retreated to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by reinforcements from Charleston; but his antagonist was about the same time strengthened by the arrival of Marion and Sumpter with a thousand men. The combined American force marched on Orangeburgh, with the intention of attacking the camp there; but, finding the place far too strong, Greene retreated over the Congaree, and on the 16th of July took up a position on the high hills of Santee. He had previously detached Sumpter, Marion, and Lee to Monk's Corner and Dorchester, that they might threaten the lower posts of the British; but the scattered detachments of the latter fought their way through the opposing ranks, and joined their comrades.

The midsummer heats, and the sickly condition which they generally create, now rendered a few weeks' suspension of the war unavoidable. Lord Rawdon availed himself of leave of absence, granted in consequence of ill-health, and embarked for England. The command devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, and that officer was not long in finding that he had succeeded to a harvest of difficulties. He transferred his forces to the Congaree, and encamped near its confluence with the Wateree. In this position he was in time menaced by Greene, who, when the heats had abated, quitted the high grounds of Santee, and moved towards the locality of his enemy. Not more than fifteen miles intervened between the armies; but they were separated by two large rivers, which an invader could not readily pass without making a circuit of seventy miles. This tedious route was followed by Greene, and, on his approach, Stuart, who had considered himself secure on the Congaree, and had even spread several of his parties widely over the country to collect provisions, retired to Eutaw Springs, sixty miles north of Charleston. He was pursued in a leisurely manner by Greene, who was anxious for the arrival of expected reinforcements before he attacked the enemy. On receiving these, it was resolved to give battle on the following day, September 8th. In the morning, accordingly, the American army marched towards the English; but information of the advance had already been conveyed to Colonel Stuart by two deserters. The British commander therefore drew up his forces obliquely across the road which the enemy was pursuing, and, being on high ground, was in a position of superiority. A battle, lasting nearly four hours, contested with great obstinacy, and attended by much slaughter, was fought between the contending forces. In the first instance, the British outposts were driven in on the main body. The front line

of the Americans attacked with the utmost fury, and the militia exhibited more firmness than was usual with them. But after awhile they were compelled to retire, and their comrades then resorted to the bayonet. A portion of the English line, consisting of raw levies, gave way in turn, and fled in tumultuous rout; but the more seasoned regiments stood their ground, and a wild struggle of intermingled foes set in. Lee had now turned the left flank of the Royal troops, and, charging them in the rear, drove them in formless heaps off the field, seized their artillery, and started in pursuit. On the right the British were more fortunate. Stuart had ordered Major Sheridan to take post with a detachment in a large, three-storied, brick house in the rear of the army, and had sent another body of men to occupy an adjoining palisadoed garden and close shrubbery. These positions were assaulted by the Americans with desperate persistence, but without success. Four pieces of artillery were brought to bear on the house; but the walls were of such strength that they were not seriously injured. The two detachments replied by a sharp and telling fire; most of the American artillerymen were killed or wounded; and when the attacking force withdrew, it was found impossible to bring off the cannon. Colonel Washington endeavoured to turn the right flank of the English, but was wounded and made prisoner in the vain attempt. Notwithstanding the partial success of the assailants, they were unable to retain possession of the field, and Greene, collecting his wounded, retired with his prisoners to the ground he had occupied in the morning. The fight had resulted in heavy losses on both sides, especially on that of the English, and no great advantage had been gained by either. The victory has been equally claimed by the Americans and the British; but with more reason by the latter than by the former. The Americans, it is true, drove back their adversaries at the commencement of the struggle, and seemed for a time to be winning. But the great test of victory is in the possession of the field at the close of the engagement; and, as the Royal troops finally repulsed their assailants, and retained their ground during the ensuing night and a part of next day, while the Americans retreated to a distance of some miles, it seems difficult to deny that the advantage, as far as the mere encounter went, lay with the British forces. This, however, implies no discredit to Greene's troops, who fought with great spirit, resolution, and skill.

The British were in no better position than before. On the afternoon of the 9th of September, Colonel Stuart destroyed part of his stores, and retreated to Monk's Corner, while Greene withdrew to his former position on the hills of Santee. Both commanders found their armies so much weakened by the losses resulting from the late battle, that it became impossible to undertake any further operations on a large scale. The British shortly afterwards continued their retreat to Charleston Neck, and thenceforward confined their operations to the defence of the posts in that vicinity, so that Charleston itself might be preserved to the King. Thus, although Greene had been frequently beaten, had failed in his object at Eutaw Springs, and had been compelled to retire, the advantage in the long run fell to him; for the English, being unable to follow up their successes, or even in any case to retain permanent possession of the ground on which they originally stood, were obliged to relinquish a large region of inhabited country, the people of which, almost by necessity, accepted the Revolutionary rule. The proportion of Royalists in the southern provinces was at one time so great, that, had the English Generals in those parts of America been in command of larger armies, it seems not improbable that both the Carolinas and all Georgia would have been preserved. But neither Cornwallis nor Rawdon had an adequate force at his disposal; and the desultory, erratic movements of Greene, rapidly operating over a wide extent of land, and inclining the inhabitants to favour a cause which was supported by so much cleverness and audacity, gradually broke down the energies of the Royal troops, and turned their very successes into fresh sources of embarrassment. The smallness of Greene's army was of less importance; for his good fortune depended more on quickness of movement over a large area than on actual fighting, while the British had at once to be triumphant in the open field, and to preserve a series of fortified positions. The Americans conquered by operating on the popular sympathies, and abiding their time.

The feeling of fierce antagonism between the two parties to the quarrel grew more intense every month, and led to some lamentable excesses. The British officers commanding at the various posts put to death several Americans as traitors to the Royal cause; and Greene, who in some respects showed an admirable superiority to passionate impulses, was remorseless against deserters, and in one day, while in the neighbourhood of Camden, hanged eight prisoners for having, after serving in the American army, gone over to the enemy. But, without any reference to the question of deserting, the Whigs and Tories of the South, as the opponents and supporters of the King's authority were respectively called, were prone to execute one

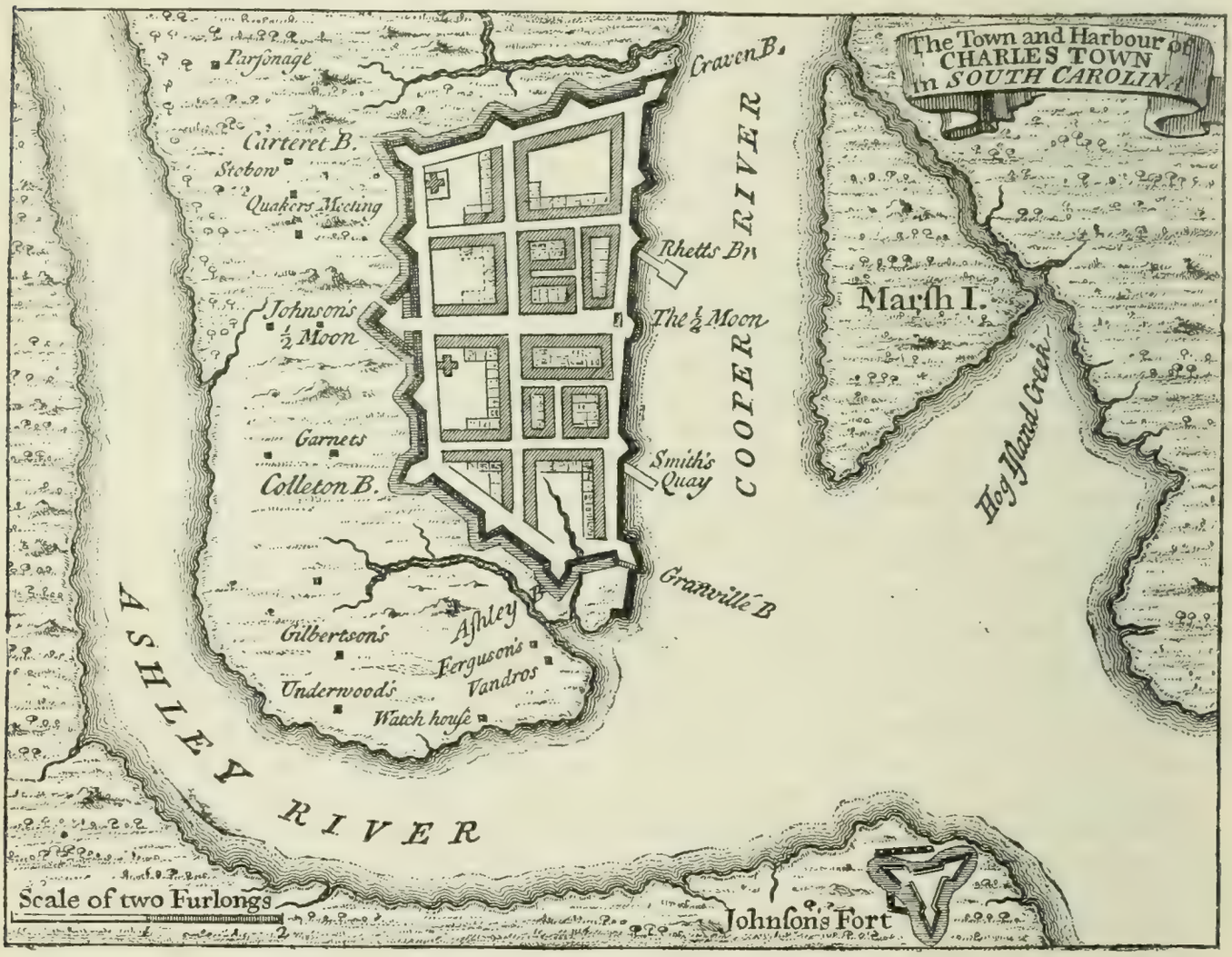
another in cold blood for the mere difference of opinion. While before Ninety-six, in May, Greene wrote to Colonel Davies: "The animosity between the Whigs and Tories of this State renders their situation truly deplorable. There is not a day passes but there are more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage disposition. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be soon put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months more, as neither Whig nor Tory can live." To General Pickens, on the 5th of June, Greene wrote:—"The inhabitants near Parker's Ford, on the Saluda, are in great distress from the savage conduct of a party of men belonging to Colonel Hammond's regiment. This party plunders without mercy, and murders the defenceless people just as private pique, prejudice, or personal resentments dictate. Principles of humanity, as well as policy, require that proper measures should be immediately taken to restrain these abuses, heal differences, and unite the people as much as possible. No violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, unless found in arms. The idea of exterminating the Tories is no less barbarous than impolitic. I hope you will exert yourself to bring over the Tories to our interest, and check the growing enormities which prevail among the Whigs, in plundering as private avarice or a bloody disposition stimulates them."* Such was the testimony of one who was himself a Whig, or, in other words, a patriot.

One of the most conspicuous instances of the execution of military law by the English authorities was that of Colonel Hayne. This officer had served in the American militia during the siege of Charleston, and, on the capitulation, had determined, for prudential and family reasons, though with great personal reluctance, to subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the British Government. Previous to doing so, he had talked of his readiness to pay a fine in lieu of service in the British army; and, on the occasion of his signing, he expressly objected to the clause which required him to support the Royal Government with his arms. The commandant of the garrison, and the intendant of the British police, assured him that this would never be required, and added that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the King's troops to quit it. More than once, however, at a subsequent date, Hayne was called on to take up arms against his countrymen, and he was at length threatened with close confinement if he continued to refuse. He regarded this as a breach of contract, and considered himself released from his engagement. Accordingly he accepted the command of a regiment of South Carolinian troops, and some time afterwards was captured by the English. Colonel Balfour, the chief British officer at Charleston, took a very bad view of his case, and determined that he should die without trial. Lord Rawdon, on arriving at Charleston, previous to embarking for England, was requested by a number of ladies to intercede on behalf of the unfortunate man, whose position, as a widower with a number of young children, rendered him an especial object of pity. Many years later (in 1813), Lord Rawdon, then become Earl of Moira, wrote to the American General Lee that, in ignorance of the complicated nature and extent of the crime committed by Hayne, he incautiously promised to do his best towards changing the intention of Colonel Balfour. That promise he fulfilled, though a more complete knowledge of the facts induced him entirely to acquiesce in the sentence of death. Hayne was executed on a gallows outside Charleston on the morning of August 4th, 1781. Like André, he petitioned in vain for death by the bullet; like André, he suffered with great dignity and firmness, and his hard fate excited very general sympathy. Whether the punishment was actually unjust, and not simply stern and rigorous, is a matter which has been much disputed. It seems, however, absurd to urge, as an argument against the Royal authorities, that Hayne very reluctantly consented to become a British subject, and did so only on account of his family. The authorities had nothing to do with his feelings or his motives. He subscribed the declaration of allegiance, and was bound by it, unless it was rendered invalid by some breach of faith or violation of contract on the other side. The American contention is that such violation actually took place; but it may be a question how far, as a matter of strict law, Colonel Balfour was bound by the loose and unwritten expressions of his subordinates.

Greene shortly afterwards issued a proclamation, threatening to make English officers the objects of retaliatory acts; but it does not appear that he really did so. The Battle of Eutaw Springs, fought on the 8th of September, was the only action of importance subsequent to the execution of Hayne; so that he had not many opportunities of executing his menace. Towards the end of November, how-

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, Vol. IV., pp. 99–100.

ever, the American commander appeared before the British post at Dorchester, and obliged its garrison to retire to the vicinity of Charleston. Both sides of the Ashley were then occupied by Greene, whose detachments completely covered the country from the Cooper to the Edisto. The Royal forces were now confined to Charleston Neck and the adjacent islands, while in Georgia they were concentrated at Savannah. The upshot of the campaign was the



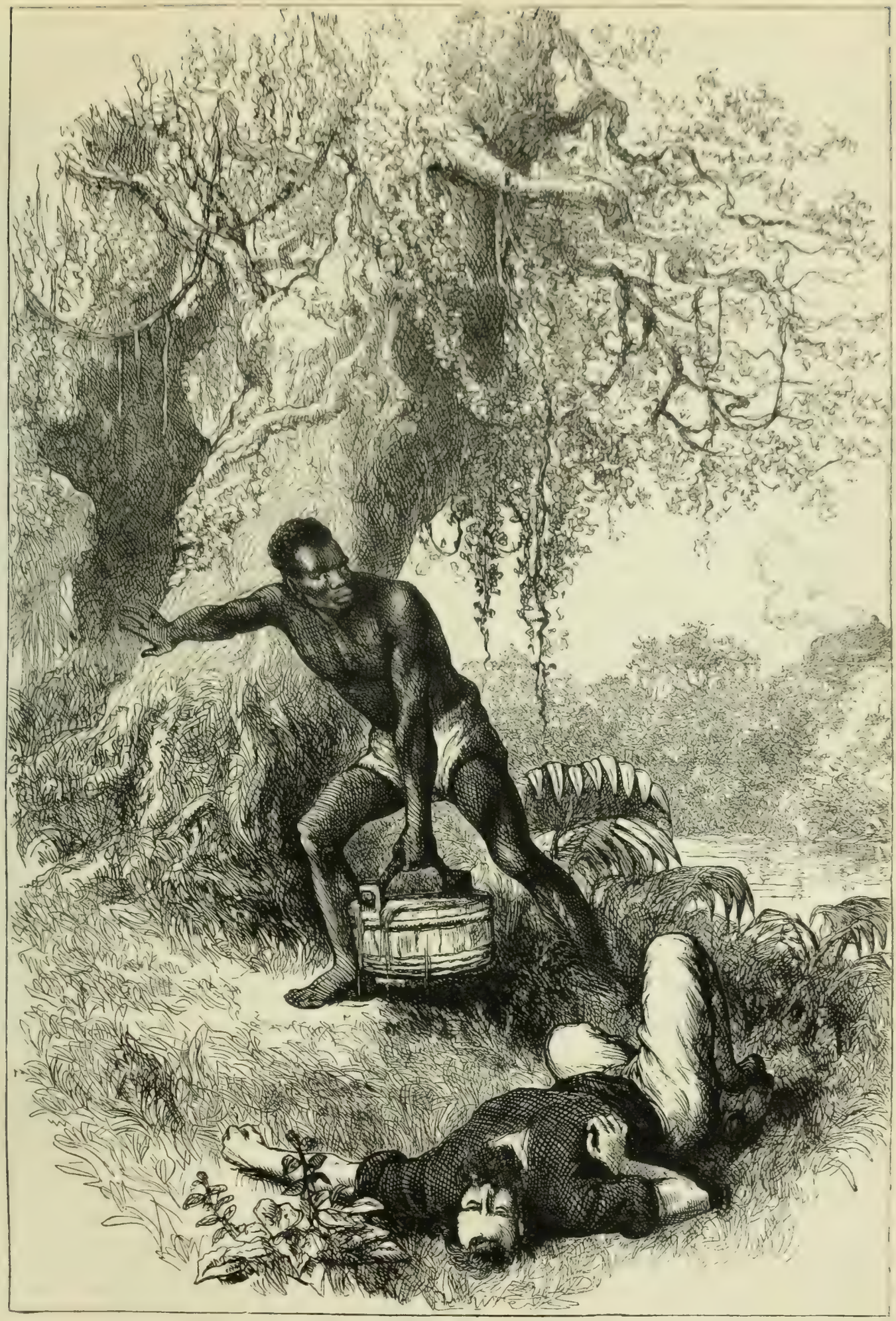
PLAN OF CHARLESTON. (*From Popple's Atlas.*)

sand regular troops; but the people were getting so tired of the war that recruiting proceeded languidly. The several States sent in rather a proportion of what was required than the total amount. Even these contingents arrived in camp very late, and were found altogether wanting in a knowledge of their business as soldiers. The clothing of the men was disgraceful, and it was not at all clear how they were to be fed, or paid, or supplied with weapons.

restoration of nearly the whole of South Carolina and its still more southern neighbour to the popular party. While the campaign between Greene and Lord Rawdon was being developed, an expedition was conducted by General Pickens against the Cherokees, who had been incited to declare war against the Republicans. The warriors of this tribe were so severely handled that they were glad to sue for peace; and thus another obstacle to the American Revolution was removed.

In the North, matters were not going on favourably for the Americans. On the 1st of January, Congress had called for an army of thirty-seven thou-

Congress had resolved to issue no more bills on the credit of the Union, and the States were to provide necessaries in kind. The collection of these was a slow matter, and very imperfectly performed. Thus, the army in the South was left in a meagre and feeble state, while in the North scarcely anything was done in the way of active operations. In the midst of other troubles, a danger of the most serious kind arose, and for a time threatened disastrous consequences. The Pennsylvanian troops, conceiving that they were oppressed by peculiar grievances, rose in mutiny against their officers and against Congress. They had for some time com-



AN INCIDENT IN THE DEFENCE OF "NINETY-SIX."

plained to the Federal Legislature, but in vain, that they were left without pay, without clothing, and without food. In these respects they were doubtless not worse off than their comrades; but they also alleged that they were detained after their term of service had ended. They had been rather ambiguously engaged "for three years, or during the war." When the three years expired, the men contended that their term was over; but their officers replied that they were bound to serve until the restoration of peace. The first open act of mutiny was on the morning of New Year's Day, when, on a given signal, the greater part of the non-commissioned officers and privates paraded under arms, and declared that they would march to the seat of Congress, and either obtain a redress of grievances, or abandon the service. Their officers interposed, and in a scuffle which ensued a captain was killed, and several other persons were wounded. General Wayne then endeavoured to over-awe the malcontents; but, on presenting his pistols at some of them, several bayonets were immediately levelled at his breast, and he was told that, although his men respected and loved him, they would slay him on the spot if he dared to fire. They were not, they said, going over to the enemy; on the contrary, they would fight him, if he appeared, as resolutely as they had done before; but they were determined that the consideration of their wrongs should be no longer evaded. The mutineers afterwards elected officers of their own, and, to the number of thirteen hundred, with six field-pieces, marched from Morristown towards Philadelphia. So serious a rising created great anxiety in the mind of Washington, and filled Congress with alarm. A committee of that body, together with the Governor of Pennsylvania, and some members of the Executive Council of the State, set out from the seat of the Federal Government, to meet the insurgents on the road.

That the rioters were really inspired by nothing more than a determination to obtain what they conceived to be justice, and were not at all disposed to enter into treasonable terms with the enemy, is proved by their conduct towards certain spies who had been sent out by Sir Henry Clinton, in the hope of turning the movement to his own advantage, and who were seized by the Pennsylvanian troops, and delivered up to General Wayne for execution. At Trenton, which they reached on the 9th of January, they met the committee of Congress, and, by the 15th, terms of accommodation had been agreed upon, with which the committee returned to Philadelphia. Subject to the approval of the full body, it was promised that all who had enlisted "for three years, or during the war," should be discharged; that, in cases where the terms of enlistment could not be produced, the soldier's oath should be taken as evidence; that the men were to receive immediate certificates for the depreciation of their pay; and that their arrears were to be settled as soon as circumstances should permit. Congress ratified these concessions, and about half the Pennsylvanian troops obtained their discharge. It was afterwards discovered that many of them had made false declarations concerning the terms of their enlistment. Their success, however, encouraged a proportion of the Jersey brigade, quartered at Pompton, to complain of grievances similar to those of the Pennsylvanian force, and also to threaten violence if they were not at once remedied. But their numbers were so few that it was no difficult matter to act peremptorily. Washington accordingly sent General Howe against them, and, two of the ringleaders having been executed, the others were reduced to unconditional submission.

But, although the danger had for the moment been overcome, it was evident to Congress that the spirit of insubordination would spread, if something were not done to satisfy the just demands of the men. Accordingly, about three months' pay in specie was raised, and presented to the troops, whose sullenness was greatly mitigated by this treatment. Unfortunately, what pleased the army displeased the people. Complaints were made as to the heavy contributions levied on the public for the support of the troops. The enthusiastic feeling with which the several States had entered on the war, was by this time almost entirely exhausted. Peace at nearly any price was desired by many. A sense of despondency spread over the land, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Federal authorities could obtain sufficient means to carry on the struggle. Had there been a more complete union of the States, the power of the whole would have been much better developed; but any movement to this effect was defeated by the jealous distrust of local patriotism. The want of money was a trouble of the most portentous kind, and, to meet it, Congress was obliged to go about begging for loans in the chief European States, with all the fervour of genuine distress. In the final days of 1780, Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, the former President of Congress, was appointed Special Minister at the Court of Versailles, with a view to raising funds. The elder Laurens having been captured by the English at sea, while on his way to Holland, and committed to the Tower, John Adams was commissioned, on the 1st of January, 1781, to be Minister Plenipo-

tentiary to the States General; and some months before he had been empowered to negotiate a loan.

Adams had arrived in Paris, in pursuance of his commission to open negotiations with Great Britain, on the 5th of February, 1780. He soon found himself at issue with the Count de Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, on the claims of French creditors against the Government of the United States. Vergennes conceived that those creditors should be specially protected against the depreciation of the paper money; Adams, on the contrary, argued that the native and the foreign creditor should be treated alike, all contracts having been to some extent graduated to the current value. Such was the policy which Congress had adopted; such was the policy which Adams supported, in opposition to the Ministry of Louis XVI. Franklin favoured the views of Vergennes, and believed, or professed to believe, that Congress would act towards French creditors as the French Minister desired. As Adams had no representative position at Paris, but was there only in furtherance of his contemplated proposals to the English Government, he was not strictly called on to give utterance to his views on the question, and appears to have done so simply in prosecution of a correspondence with Vergennes which that statesman had himself solicited. The plan of opening negotiations with England came to nothing, owing to the opposition of the Count, who, in the development of a selfish national policy, was not desirous of re-establishing friendly relations between America and Great Britain, unless as forming part of a general pacification, contrived with a special view to French interests. Finding himself thus unable to carry out his original mission, Adams, on the 27th of July, 1780, quitted Paris for Amsterdam. It was while at the latter city, and after he had himself taken some unauthorised steps on the subject, that he was directed by Congress to endeavour to obtain a loan. The attempt, however, ended in failure. The English Government had discovered, from the papers seized with Henry Laurens, that certain irregular approaches towards a treaty between the United States and Holland were being made by persons of position in Amsterdam; and it had in consequence assumed so high and threatening a tone as to create the utmost alarm in the Dutch Government, which disavowed all complicity in the movement, and engaged to prosecute the persons concerned "according to the laws of the country." This put a stop to all monetary transactions between the Dutch and the Americans, though it did not long delay the breaking out of war between England and Holland. On receiving, in the early part of 1781, his powers as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, Adams presented a memorial announcing that he was authorised by the United States to give in their accession to the Armed Neutrality. Not until the following year, however, could he obtain a recognition of his official character, and the signature of a treaty between the two Powers.

In July, 1781, Adams was recalled to Paris by the Count de Vergennes, that he might be consulted with regard to certain proposals for the holding of a Congress and the conclusion of a peace, which had been made by Austria and Russia. France had for a long time been getting impatient of the war. The French people grumbled at the heavy burdens that it entailed; and French diplomatists, thinking that the power of England was by this time sufficiently broken, were not disposed to continue the struggle simply for the sake of obtaining for the United States particular advantages, such as a share in the fisheries, or other matters which Americans supposed to be necessary to their well-being. Even a year earlier, France had made pacific overtures to the English Cabinet; and she now favoured the suggestions of the two Imperial Courts. But Adams was quick in discovering that Vergennes was not dealing frankly with him; that he was opposed to his assuming at the Congress a place as Minister Plenipotentiary of an independent sovereignty; that he desired to retain too much power in his own hands; and that it was part of his policy to put the United States in the position of a suppliant, endeavouring to make terms with a superior. For these reasons, Adams disapproved of the proposed negotiations, with their concomitant of an armed truce; though there can be no doubt that Vergennes would in any case have insisted upon the independence of the United States, as a necessary feature of his anti-Anglican policy. Congress was to some extent inclined to defer to Vergennes, for fear of risking the French Alliance; but the questions at issue were settled by the refusal of Great Britain to allow of any mediation between herself and her revolted colonies.*

* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 6.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Bad Political Administration of the Union—Creation of Four Government Departments—Selfish Policy of France—French Intrigues at Philadelphia—John Adams's Distrust of French Designs—Devotion of Franklin to French Policy—Unpopularity of the Alliance with France—Movements of Admiral Arbuthnot and Admiral Destouches—General Arnold in Virginia—Campaign of General Phillips in that State—Death of Phillips, and Arrival of Earl Cornwallis—Affairs in the North—Dissensions between Cornwallis and Clinton—Progress of the Virginian Campaign—Pursuit of Lafayette by Cornwallis—Surprise of Charlotteville—Flight of Steuben—Junction of Lafayette with Wayne—Lafayette foils Cornwallis—Retreat of the Latter—He retires to Portsmouth, and thence to Yorktown—France and the United States—Movements of Washington and Clinton—Financial Operations of Robert Morris—Determination of Washington to transfer the War to the South—The French Fleet in America reinforced by Count de Grasse—March of the Combined American and French Armies, and Entrance into Philadelphia.

UNTIL the latter end of the year, when Greene had succeeded in rescuing nearly the whole of South Carolina and Georgia from the English, American affairs in 1781 were not looking prosperous. The power of the enemy was being vigorously displayed in many directions; the number of loyalists was increasing; and many, even of those who still adhered to the popular side, were getting out of heart, languid, and indifferent. To this feeling of apathy, nothing contributed so much as the maladministration of political affairs. Congress was discredited, and not without cause. Its best men had departed, either that they might serve in the local Legislatures of their particular States, or that the general cause of the Union might be advanced at foreign Courts. A petty spirit, parsimonious, intriguing, and sometimes factious, took the place of that devotion to great principles of statesmanship which had marked the earlier days of the struggle. An idle jealousy of the army, by which alone the independence of the country could be secured, fettered the hands of Washington, marred his best designs, and not seldom irritated even his serene spirit into moods of anger or impatience. The Republic, in short, was badly governed, and the fortunes of the rising nation were compromised by its rulers. A change at length became absolutely necessary. It was tardily discovered that affairs could not be properly administered by Committees of Congress, and in the course of 1781 four of these bodies were superseded by a Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Superintendent of Finance, a Secretary of War, and a Secretary of Marine. The change effected a concentration of power, and facilitated the working of the several departments. It had also the advantage of a more definite fixing of responsibility.

Much had been done, and something had been sacrificed, to obtain the friendship of France; and that friendship, after all, did not yield very valuable fruits. The policy of France was entirely and grossly selfish—selfish without the slightest mitigation of a regard for general principles of right. America was to be used as a means of ruining England. The great humiliation inflicted on the Bourbon Monarchy by the war of 1756–63 was to be revenged by the destruction of English dominion in the New World; for it was assumed with confidence that Great Britain, as a first-class Power, could not survive the loss of her colonies. Whatever diplomatic pretences may have been made to the Americans themselves, the French Ministers, in dealing with one another, never affected the slightest interest in the United States, or in the cause of freedom.* How could they possibly feel any such interest, when their whole natures were bound up in the maintenance of a despotic and feudal sovereignty, totally opposed to the political ideas which Anglo-Americans were undisguisedly working out? It was only when the American Congress, in 1777, directed their Commissioners at Paris to say that without an explicit declaration of France in their favour they could not answer for it that some reunion with the mother country would not be unavoidable in the future,—it was only then, fortified by the success of Gates over Burgoyne, and quickened by the fear of Lord Chatham's return to power with ample concessions to the rebels, that Louis XVI. and his Ministers resolved to give an open, as they had already given a secret, support to the new Federation in America. The paper in which, some months before the resolve was actually taken, the Count de Vergennes recommended the King to recognise the Government of the United States, shows with perfect clearness how treacherous was the pretended friendship of France—how completely that country was using America as a convenient tool for the accomplishment of her own purposes, with the deliberate intention of breaking, or at least of injuring, the tool, when it had done its work, lest it should become dangerous. The Count, desiring to

* Turgot was an exception; but Turgot was dismissed from office in May, 1776.

combat the objection that France was creating a Power which might in the end be formidable to herself, suggested to his Royal master that the clashing of interests, incidental to such a combination of distinct communities as that of the American States, would always be an obstacle to their rapid growth. A still more effective influence, operating to their disadvantage, would result from the introduction of European vices. If both these should fail, France, in the opinion of M. de Vergennes, could always check the growth and prosperity of the United States by favouring the retention of Canada and the adjacent provinces in the hands of Great Britain.* Thus, America was to be played off against England, and England against America. Hence the instructions to M. Gérard, when he was sent out to Philadelphia, to defeat all projects against Canada. Hence the refusals to aid any expedition having for its object the conquest of that province. Hence the earnest support of Spain in making her own support of the insurgents conditional upon their renunciation of the western territories, and of their claim to navigate the Mississippi. Hence the intrigues of M. Gérard to limit the success of the United States to the mere achieving of independence, exclusive of any particular advantages which they might have obtained of England by conceding to her a treaty of commerce with special privileges, leading, perhaps, to the formation of a kind of alliance between the mother country and her enfranchised, but no longer antagonistic, colonies. Hence the opposition of France to John Adams, when that eminent man, in 1779, was commissioned to open negotiations with Great Britain, with a view to the conclusion of peace and the establishment of a commercial league. And hence the determination to prevent, if possible, the assumption by Adams of any Ministerial character, in the event of those negotiations being really brought to pass.

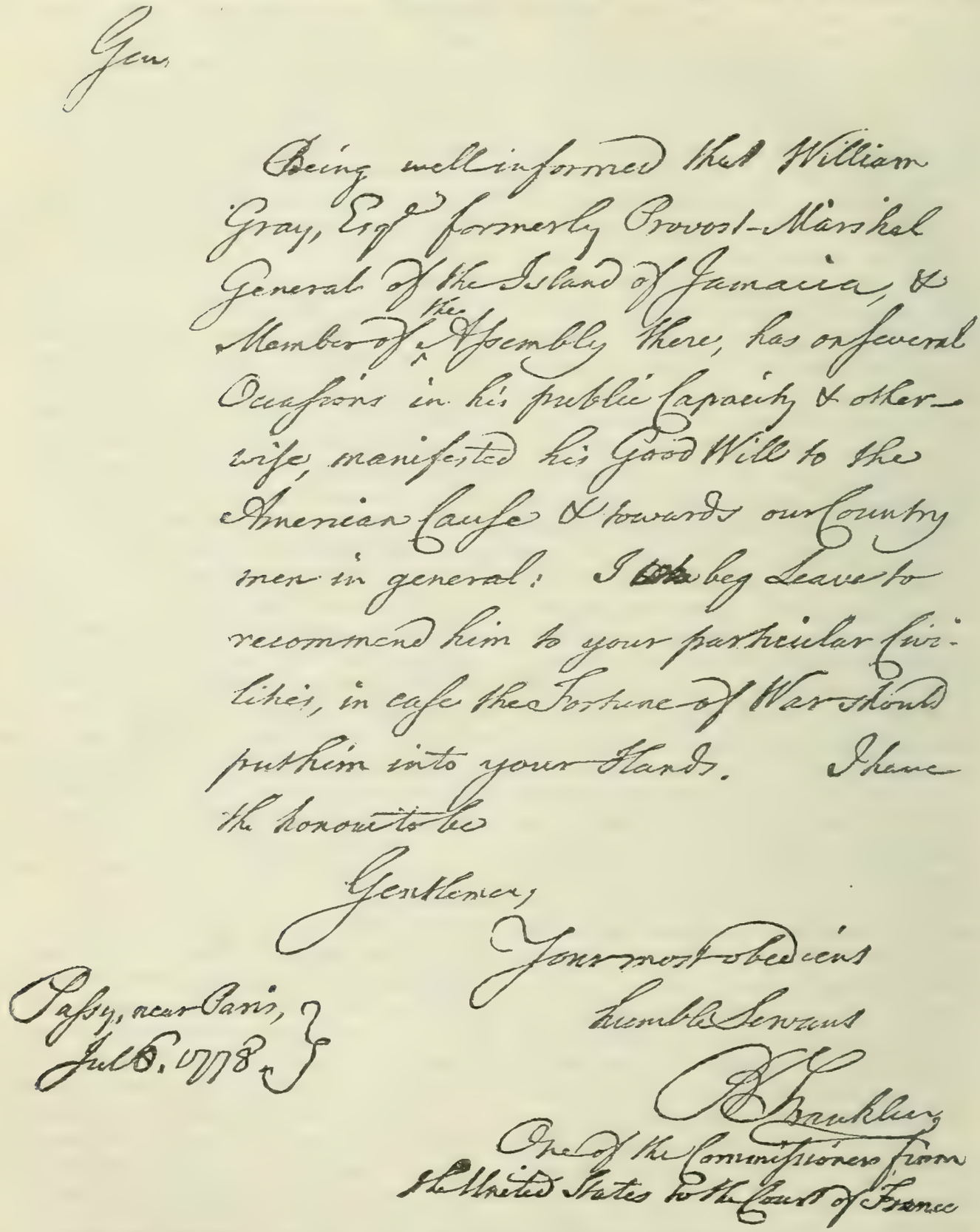
Adams quickly saw through the motives and the designs of France. He was not liked, either by the French agent at Philadelphia, or by the French Ministers at Paris. As long as M. Gérard continued to represent his Government in America (which was until the second half of 1779), he regarded both the Adamses, and all who thought with them, as Tories in disguise—secret adherents of Great Britain, ready to countenance anything which would thwart the policy of the Tuileries. No view could be more absurd or baseless. It is doubtless perfectly true that John Adams would far rather have seen his country in alliance with England than in intimate association with France. He desired to base the institutions of the United States on those of England, consistently with the omission of the monarchical and aristocratic elements. But no man was more passionately in earnest in requiring the absolute independence of the American colonies; nor did one of the Revolutionary leaders do more towards effecting that result, hardly any so much. The enmity of France, however, increased his difficulties when in Europe. Franklin, with all the shrewdness of his penetrating intellect, seems to have been blinded to the real character of French civilities, and to have fallen too much under the influence of the Count de Vergennes. The personal altercations into which he had been drawn while in London, and which were sometimes such as he might have avoided, had embittered his heart against his father's native land, and inclined him to an excess of cordiality with her ancient foe. It is to be feared that he now hated, not merely the injustice of England, but England herself. His devotion to France was carried to an extent that is not morally defensible. When (to anticipate a little) Thomas Grenville was in Paris, in 1782, to confer with the French Government regarding a peace, Vergennes solemnly declared that France had never given the least encouragement to America until long after the Declaration of Independence, and appealed to Franklin to contradict him if he did not speak the truth. It would, perhaps, be expecting too much, under all the circumstances, that Franklin should have compromised his country's ally by publicly stating the fact; but it is rather disconcerting to find that he records the circumstance in his journal without a word of comment.†

There can be no doubt that with many classes of the American people the alliance with France was not popular, however much it was submitted to as a necessity. It awakened painful memories of the time when French soldiers and French priests, in alliance with intoxicated or fanatical Indians, ravaged the eastern colonies, murdered women and children, and threatened the existence of whole communities. It aroused the sense of religious antagonism and sectarian apprehension. It furnished an excuse, and perhaps in reality an additional motive, for the treason of Arnold. Up to the early part of 1781, it had resulted in very little good to set against its numerous disadvantages. The French fleet, ever since its arrival in the previous summer, had been blockaded by the

* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 6.

† Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 6.

English at Newport, and the French army had remained in the same place to co-operate with the naval force. About the middle of January, the French Admiral, to Virginia, but it speedily returned without accomplishing much. On the 6th of March, Washington had a conference at New-


Gen.

Being well informed that William Gray, Esq^r formerly Provost-Marshal General of the Island of Jamaica, & Member of the Assembly there, has on several Occasions in his public Capacity & otherwise, manifested his Good Will to the American Cause & towards our Country men in general: I beg Leave to recommend him to your particular Civilities, in case the Fortune of War should put him into your Hands. I have the honour to be

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant

B Franklin

One of the Commissioners from the United States to the Court of France

Passy, near Paris, July 6. 1778.

A PASS FROM FRANKLIN TO WILLIAM GRAY. (*Fac-simile of an Original Document in possession of Author.*)

1781, however, the English fleet was so much damaged by a storm off the east end of Long Island as to give the French a superiority for the time. A small detachment was sent by Destouches, port with the French commanders. It was agreed that the whole fleet should immediately sail to the Chesapeake, with a body of troops on board; and on the evening of the 8th it left the harbour.



ARNOLD VIEWING THE DESTRUCTION OF NEW LONDON.

Notice of the expedition was sent to the American officers in Virginia; and Washington indulged the hope that he should be able to capture Arnold. In anticipation of such an event, he directed Lafayette (who had command of the expedition) to deal with him in the most summary way—which of course meant that he should be put to death at once. The sailing of the French fleet was somewhat delayed, and this gave Admiral Arbuthnot time to repair his damages, to pursue the enemy, and to overtake Destouches. An engagement occurred off the Capes of Virginia on the 16th of March. It was of so undecided a character that both sides claimed the victory; but the French expedition was frustrated, and Destouches felt it necessary to return to Newport.

The English forces in Virginia were consequently left undisturbed. They consisted of about one thousand six hundred troops, and were under the command of Benedict Arnold. This was Arnold's first active employment since the discovery of his treason; and he was instructed to consult on all occasions two officers who were sent with him—Colonels Dundas and Simcoe. The expedition started towards the end of 1780, and in the early part of 1781 was in full operation. Arnold, however, was able to do nothing more than ravage several places, and destroy a large amount of property. He then, on the 20th of January, in accordance with his instructions, went to Portsmouth, on the river Elizabeth, where he took post, and threw up entrenchments. Baron Steuben, who commanded the American forces opposed to Arnold, had not sufficient troops to take any decisive measures, and therefore contented himself with guarding the passes leading from Portsmouth into the open country. Arnold likewise was much shackled for want of men; and the campaign, if such it can be called, seemed as if it would end in little. In the middle of March, however, the English forces were increased by the arrival of General Phillips with two thousand picked men from New York. Phillips had served under Burgoyne as his second in command, and had of course shared his captivity at Saratoga. By the terms of the Convention, he ought to have been released on giving his parole not to serve again during the war; but, together with others, he was held a prisoner until he could be exchanged with an officer of equal rank. Being now set at liberty, in exchange for General Lincoln, taken at the surrender of Charleston, he was despatched by Clinton to Virginia, where, as being the senior officer, he assumed the chief command, relegating Arnold to the inferior place. His first work was to complete the fortifications of Portsmouth; his second, to march through the country, destroying all the public property he could find. The Virginians offered scarcely any resistance, and at the close of April the whole State appeared to be at the mercy of the two commanders.

The chief American command in Virginia was now held by the Marquis de Lafayette. His troops were far from good, and were disposed to complain at finding that their services would be required for a longer period than they at first supposed. The young French nobleman did his utmost to inspire them with his own lofty enthusiasm, and, that he might provide for their necessities, borrowed money on his personal credit from the merchants of Baltimore, to purchase shoes, linen, and other articles of clothing. He established his headquarters behind the Chickahominy, and sent out small parties to watch the actions of the British, who were now returning down the James. General Phillips took up his station at Hog's Island, in that river, but had scarcely done so when he received a letter from Earl Cornwallis, intimating that he had begun to march from the Carolinas into Virginia, and appointing Petersburg as the place at which he should expect to meet the troops under Phillips. That officer accordingly once more ascended the James, and arrived at Petersburg on the 9th of May, surprising and capturing some of Lafayette's officers who had been sent there for the purpose of collecting boats to convey the American soldiers across the river. On his route, Phillips was seized with fever, and he died four days after his arrival at the appointed town. For about a week, the principal command was again in the hands of Arnold; but on the 20th of May, Lord Cornwallis reached Petersburg, and placed himself at the head of the united army.

In his march through Virginia, Cornwallis had found his chief impediments in the number of rivers to be crossed, and the other natural obstacles of the country. The people themselves declined to fight him, and the troops whom he was to encounter were mainly drawn from the Northern States. He had now a force of nearly seven thousand men at his disposal, and was animated by the most sanguine anticipations of victory. But the services of Arnold, such as they were, did not long remain to him. That renegade had recently written to Lord George Germaine that his former post at West Point might even then be reduced by a few days' regular attack. The idea was favoured by Lord George, and Clinton expressed a wish that Arnold should join him at New York, to consult on the project. Thither he went; but the plan was never

carried out, or even attempted. Clinton, indeed, did not feel nearly strong enough to hazard so dangerous an exploit. He had barely eleven thousand troops at New York, and feared an attack on that city by the combined French and Americans. Washington, as Clinton was aware, had several times planned such an attack, but was always thwarted, on the brink of execution, by some unforeseen circumstance, or by some defect in his forces. It unfortunately happened at this time that considerable differences existed between Cornwallis and Clinton. Both were men of ability and courage; but their views of the manner in which the war should be prosecuted failed to cohere. The service necessarily suffered from want of unity in the command, and the disasters that ensued may perhaps be in part attributed to this cause.

Lafayette did not think at all well of his own prospects in Virginia. He was greatly outnumbered by Lord Cornwallis, and wrote to Washington that he was not strong enough even to get beaten. His situation was in truth very perilous. Cornwallis, on commencing operations, is said to have written home that "the boy" could not escape him. The phrase was afterwards used with great effect by the Americans, when matters turned out so differently. But for the moment it seemed as if the anticipation (if really formed) would be fulfilled. Unable to do anything else, Lafayette, with one thousand Continentals, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons, took up a position at Richmond, and gave orders for removing the military stores to places of greater safety. On the 24th of May, Cornwallis left Petersburg, and, being joined by a reinforcement from New York, marched at the head of four thousand seasoned troops towards Richmond; but before he could reach that town the young Frenchman had left it, retiring to the back country in a north-westerly direction. His object was to form a junction with General Wayne, who was approaching with a reinforcement of eight hundred men. Cornwallis pursued his enemy as far as the upper part of Hanover county; then, finding it impossible to overtake the Marquis, or to prevent his junction with Wayne, turned back, destroying on his route a good deal of property, both public and private. His youthful antagonist had succeeded in escaping him; but the Earl was the more free to act in the absence of any opposing force.

Being insufficiently supplied with cavalry, he seized a number of horses from the stables of private gentlemen, and mounted several of his infantry. He was thus enabled to make very rapid marches, and now determined on attacking Charlotteville, to which the General Assembly of Virginia had removed from Richmond. He therefore sent against the former town a small force of cavalry and mounted infantry, commanded by Colonel Tarleton, who moved with such swiftness that the whole Legislative Body of the province were very nearly captured. Fortunately for them, a Mr. Janiette, perceiving the march of Tarleton's men, suspected their object, and, riding on a fleet horse along a shorter road than that which the troops were following, reached Charlotteville two hours before the English cavalry entered it. Even as it was, seven of the Assembly were captured; the rest escaped, including Thomas Jefferson, who was at that time Governor of the State. They re-assembled at Staunton, beyond the Blue Ridge; and Tarleton, having destroyed all the public stores at Charlotteville, while scrupulously respecting private property, made his way down the Rivanna to co-operate with Colonel Simcoe, who had been ordered to surprise Baron Steuben in the position he had taken up at the confluence of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Simcoe's expedition was so skilfully conducted that Steuben knew nothing about it until he saw the detachment approaching, when, believing it to be the van of the British army, he fled precipitately during the night, leaving behind him a part of his stores, and did not halt till he had reached a distance of thirty miles. Yet, despite these trifling successes, Cornwallis was not in a much better position than when he entered Virginia. Lafayette joined his forces to those of General Wayne at Racoon Ford on the 7th of June, and immediately afterwards re-passed the Rappahannock, and advanced towards the British.

The military stores of Virginia were at this period deposited at various places, but principally at Albemarle Old Court House, on the southern shore of the Fluvanna. To gain possession of them would be an advantage to the English, and a corresponding injury to the Americans. Resolved to make the attempt, Lord Cornwallis marched to the Court House; but Lafayette, by a rapid movement, arrived near the spot before his adversary, and, evading the British army by following a nearer and long-disused road, got between the Earl and the stores which he had come to seize. The position thus assumed by the Americans was so good that Cornwallis declined to attack, especially as he believed the enemy's forces to be more numerous than they really were. He commenced a retrograde movement, retreated upwards of fifty miles, and on the 17th of June entered Richmond. After remaining there three days, he continued his route to Williamsburgh, where the main body of his army arrived

on the 25th. The forces of Lafayette, now strengthened by Steuben's detachment, followed cautiously. Some twenty miles separated the main bodies of the two armies; but the light parties of the Americans hung on the rear of the British, and a sharp encounter occurred near Williamsburgh, when Colonel Simcoe was so hard-pressed that it was necessary to send reinforcements to his relief before the assailants would retreat. At Williamsburgh, Lord Cornwallis made a temporary stand, and the Americans at the same time occupied a strong encampment twenty miles off, not venturing to run the risk of a general battle. The chief results of the campaign in Virginia were to be seen in the devastation spread far and wide by the invading forces. This had been greatly helped by the exertions of various ships of war, which sailed up the rivers, pillaged the farms, and committed an amount of havoc that was in many cases quite unjustifiable. The people were exasperated by these acts into a more vehement hatred of English rule, though but little was done to aid the northern army in resisting the Royal troops. Nevertheless, Virginia was not without its bands of loyalists, against whom General Morgan proceeded at the head of a few mounted riflemen, and soon reduced the malcontents to submission.

The forces under Lafayette were quite unable to encounter Cornwallis in the open field; but they were augmenting in numbers every day, and the French nobleman had managed so well that he had baffled all the movements of the English commander, and had caused him to retreat to Williamsburgh. Cornwallis was now still further embarrassed by a requisition from Sir Henry Clinton for part of the troops under his command, to aid in the defence of New York against one of those attacks which Washington was constantly threatening, but which in fact never took place. The Earl had no choice but to obey; and, conceiving that with diminished forces he would be unable to hold Williamsburgh any longer, he informed Sir Henry of his intention to pass the James, and retire to Portsmouth. The baggage and a portion of the troops crossed the river on the 5th and 6th of July, and the others, while still remaining on the northern bank, were attacked, on the afternoon of the latter of those days, by Lafayette, who, on the first movement of his antagonist, had rapidly crossed the Chickahominy. Believing that he had only a rear-guard to deal with—an impression which Cornwallis managed to strengthen by a clever disposition of his troops—the Marquis ordered General Wayne to advance against the enemy. Wayne soon found himself in front of the main body of the British army, drawn up in order of battle. He had himself no more than eight hundred men with him; but with these he engaged the adversary, and fought for some time with great determination. Upon Lafayette discovering his mistake, however, he ordered a retreat, which was made with so much haste that two pieces of cannon were left behind. As dusk was coming on, the Americans retired behind a morass, and Cornwallis, fearing an ambuscade, forbore from pursuit. The Royal army shortly afterwards proceeded to Portsmouth, where the troops required by Clinton were embarked; but, before they sailed, the order was countermanded. Clinton disapproved of abandoning the Chesapeake, and recommended the establishment of a defensive post, for the reception of ships of the line, either at Yorktown, on the river York, or at Point Comfort, in Hampton Roads. Cornwallis ordered surveys to be made, and in the end resolved on fortifying Yorktown and Gloucester, as the only points capable of receiving ships of the line in safety, and on evacuating Portsmouth. By the 22nd of August, the English army in Virginia was concentrated in the two selected positions upon opposite banks of York River.

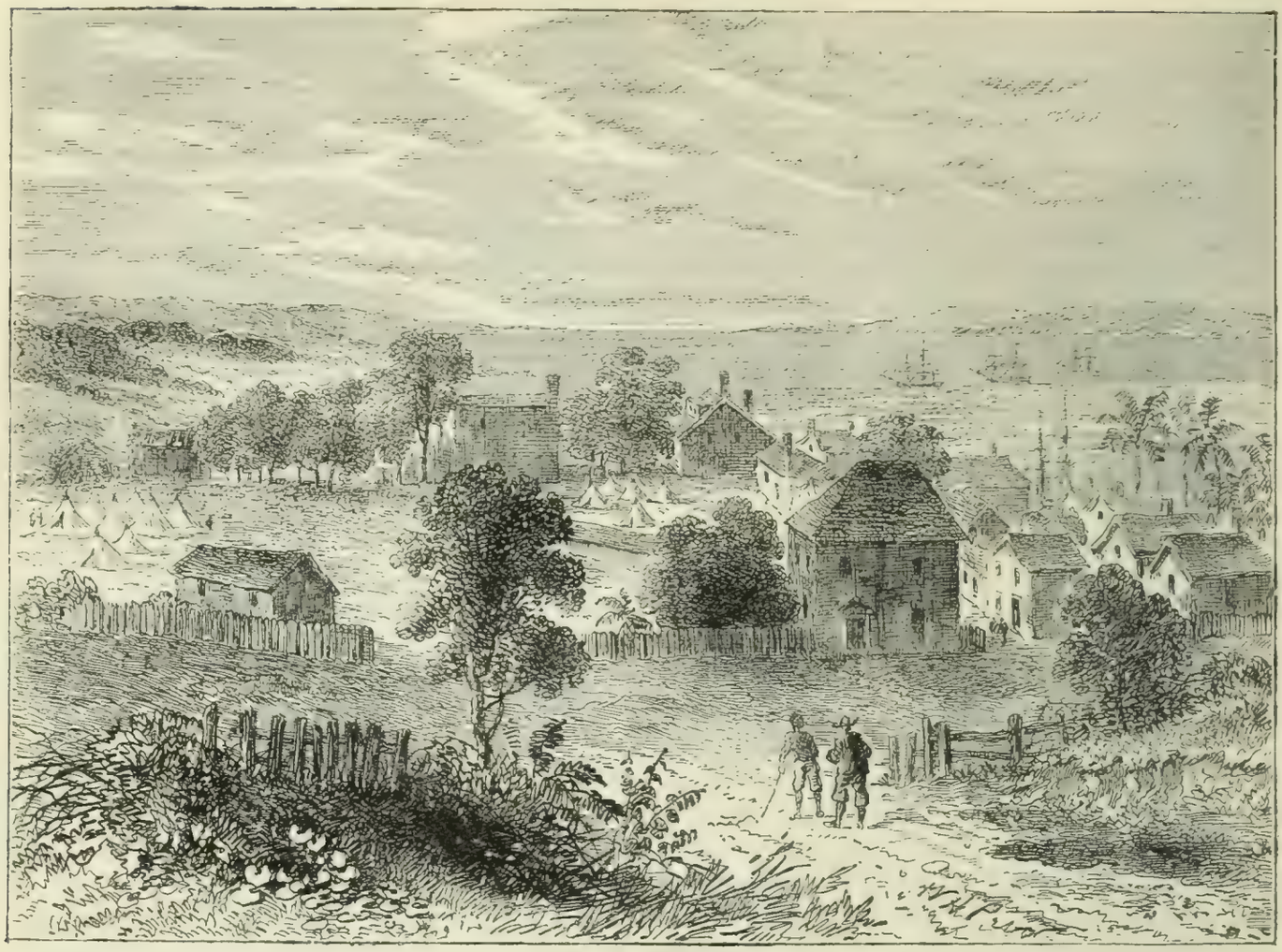
While these events were proceeding in the South, Washington, in the North, was consulting with his French allies as to what should be the future direction of the war. As the year advanced, it became evident that the enthusiasm in the cause of American independence which had formerly characterised the Ministers of Louis XVI. was beginning to slacken. The finances of France were in a delicate state, notwithstanding the able administration of Necker; the expenses of the war were almost overwhelming; and the difficulties of the Government became more serious with every year. The French King doubtless felt uneasy at the possible consequences of encouraging Republican revolutions; and, although he sent the Americans a present of six millions of livres, he made it known to Congress that that was the last campaign in which they were to expect either troops or ships from France, as it was doubtful whether the country would be able to continue its support, if the war should go on much longer. By means of an intercepted mail, Sir Henry Clinton knew of this resolve on the part of the French Government, and it very naturally had the effect of making him all the more desirous of holding his ground, in the hope that the American cause would presently collapse. Washington was desirous of striking an important blow while he could yet count on the assistance of his powerful friends. The plan most favoured was to unite the French and American armies on the

Hudson, and attack New York. Washington required of the New England States a body of six thousand militia; but reinforcements arrived so slowly that by the middle of June his army was still quite inadequate to such an enterprise. Clinton had by this time discovered the plan, and taken measures for defeating it, should any active operations occur. Towards the close of June, an attempt was made to surprise the British posts at the north end of New York Island, and a severe engagement ensued, during which Washington himself was in the field; but the movement ended in nothing but failure. Other demonstrations followed, without producing any other effect than to keep the English General on his guard; and when the latter received from England a reinforcement of three thousand troops, he sent word to Cornwallis that he should not need the regiments he had previously ordered. Washington had himself been reinforced by one thousand five hundred French soldiers, who arrived at the encampment at Dobbs's Ferry on the 6th of July.

A change had by this time taken place in the command both of the French and English fleets. About the month of May, the Count de Barras succeeded to Destouches in the former, and Admiral Graves to Admiral Arbuthnot in the latter. Arbuthnot had always been a very unwelcome colleague of Sir Henry Clinton, and his command of the naval force seems never to have been remarkable for vigour or enterprise.

The financial affairs of the Federation were now directed by an administrator of some ability. This was Mr. Robert Morris, a merchant and member of Congress for Pennsylvania, who, to the extent of half a million of dollars, pledged his personal credit for articles of necessity to the army. He also planned a national bank of 400,000 dollars, the notes of which were to be received as cash into the treasuries of the several States, and to be regarded as payment for the necessaries which the States were bound to provide for the army. His clever management helped greatly towards the restoration of public confidence, and mitigated the bad name which the United States Government had acquired in matters of finance. Morris lost a great deal of property during the war, a hundred and fifty of his vessels having been taken by the enemy; but, as others escaped and made large profits, the balance on the whole was not much against him. His services to the commonwealth, however, were such as to deserve an ample recompense. The removal of the army to Yorktown, when it was at length resolved to change the seat of war, could hardly have taken place without his munificent assistance; and even then it was necessary also to borrow money of Count Rochambeau. Morris was a merchant prince, using his wealth for the advancement of public ends.

Washington was beginning to turn his thoughts to the South, as the most favourable field of operations; but it was impossible to move in that direction as long as the superior naval force of the English commanders enabled them to retain possession of the coast and of the great navigable rivers. To overcome this difficulty, Congress had besought of the French Government a large addition to their fleet in American waters. The application was granted, and early in March the Count de Grasse sailed from Brest with twenty-five ships of the line, twenty of which were destined for the West Indies. Arriving there, and effecting a junction with the force already on the spot, in spite of the opposition of Admirals Rodney and Hood, de Grasse found himself in possession of a fleet superior to that of the English. He sent word to the Americans that he would visit their coasts in August, but that he could not stay long. On receiving this despatch, Washington at once resolved to transfer the main operations of the war to Virginia. It was necessary, however, to conceal the design from the watchful scrutiny of Sir Henry Clinton, and this was done by sending a large body of the army across the Hudson in the direction of New York, so as to induce a belief that that city was about to be attacked. These movements took place in the latter days of August, and they had the effect of completely blinding the English General as to the intention of his opponent. A sudden change in the American march, followed by the crossing of the Delaware, at length revealed the fact that the combined armies were on their road to the South. On the 30th of August, they entered Philadelphia, amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and general demonstrations of delight. A new prospect was opening before the American cause, and the popular heart seemed to feel instinctively that a happy end was near.



VIEW OF YORKTOWN.

CHAPTER XLIX.

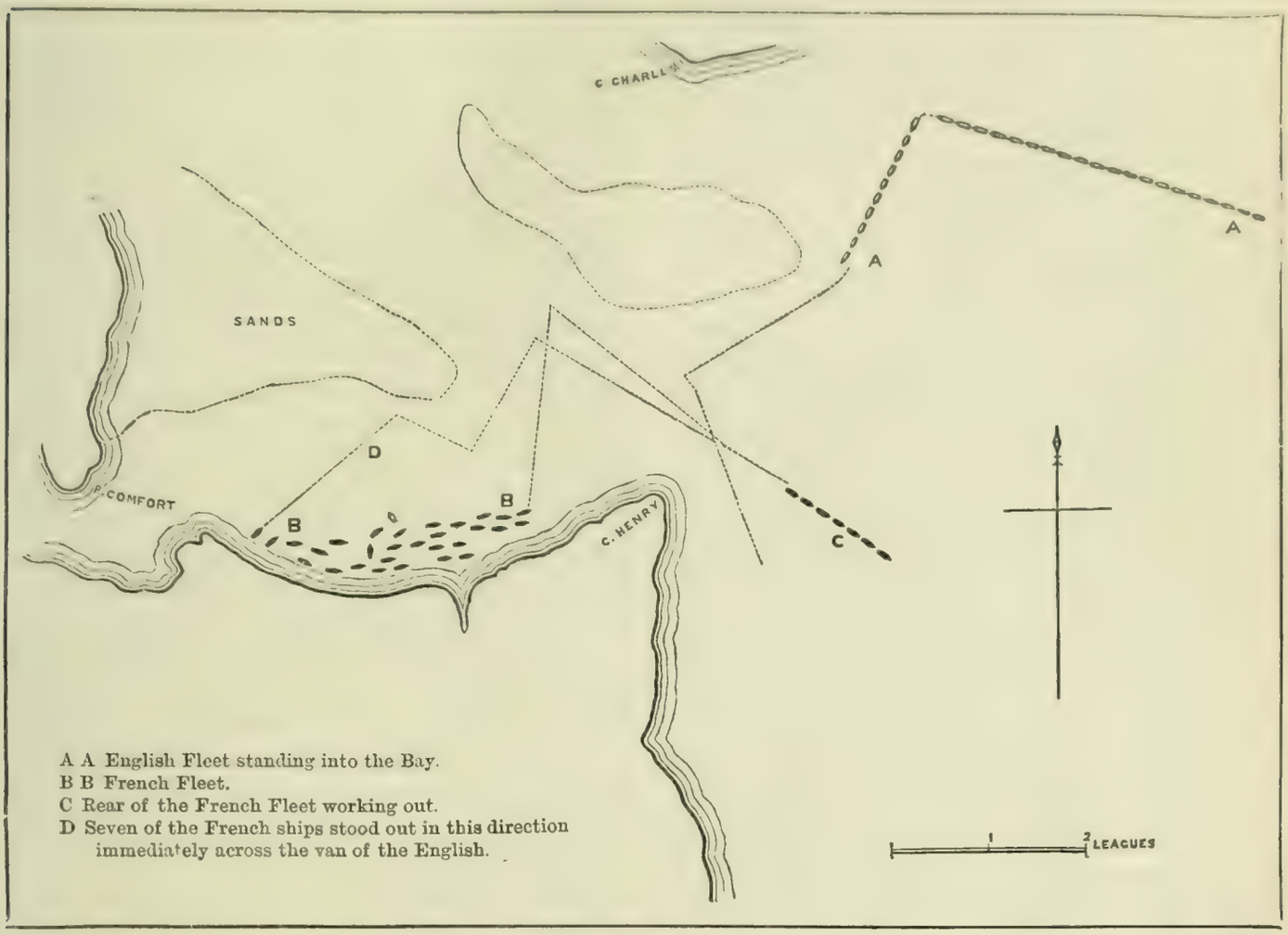
Washington's Instructions to Lafayette—Expedition of Arnold against New London, in Connecticut—Burning of the Town—Continued March of Washington to the South—The Allied Armies arrive at Williamsburgh, Virginia (September 14th)—Arrival of Count de Grasse with a French Fleet—Operations of Admirals Hood and Graves—Interview between Washington and de Grasse—Necessity of striking a Decisive Blow—Situation of Yorktown—Earl Cornwallis establishes himself in that Position—Measures of Lafayette for enclosing him—Defensive Works of Cornwallis—Instructions from Sir Henry Clinton—Succour promised—Cornwallis withdraws within the Town—Progress of the Siege—Taking of Two Redoubts by the Americans and French—Anecdotes of Washington—Perilous Position of the English Forces—Despondent Views of Lord Cornwallis—Ineffectual Sortie—Plan for Escaping—Failure of the Attempt—Proposals for a Capitulation—Preliminary Discussions—Surrender of Yorktown and Gloucester by the English Commander—The Conditions finally settled—The British Troops lay down their Arms—Conduct of the Americans and of the French—The Climax of the Revolutionary War.

PREVIOUS to starting on his expedition to the South, Washington had written to Lafayette, informing him of the expected arrival of the Count de Grasse, and giving directions that, in combination with that event, he was to take up such a position as would best enable him to prevent the sudden retreat of the English through North Carolina, which he thought would be attempted directly they perceived so formidable an armament. Lafayette was to be particularly careful to conceal the expected appearance of de Grasse, because, if the enemy were not apprised of it, they would stay on board their transports in Chesapeake Bay, which, observed Washington, would be "the luckiest circumstance in the world." The date of this letter was the 15th of August. It was followed by another on the 21st, which contained the earliest information that the writer himself was on the march for Virginia. The Marquis was again urgently enjoined to make arrangements, by a combination of the land and sea forces, by which the English should be precluded from all possibility of escape. Not only was Clinton deceived as to the object of Washington's movements; the American troops themselves knew not whither they were bound until they were approaching Philadelphia. By an admirable piece of strategy, Washington had slipped away from one British General, and woven a net for another,

which was destined to entangle him beyond his power to break through.

It was now too late for Clinton to stop the march of the American army: he therefore determined to make a diversion, which might have the effect of bringing Washington back, and thus of saving Cornwallis. Arnold was placed at the head of a naval and military armament, and sent against New London, in Connecticut. On the 6th of September he appeared off the harbour, and prepared

Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, who was ordered by Arnold to take the position by assault. The latter afterwards discovered that the work was stronger than he had supposed, and consequently countermanded his first directions; but the attack had already commenced. Great courage and determination were shown on both sides. At length, the fort was carried at the point of the bayonet; yet the slaughter did not cease for some time after. It is said that the attacking force slew many of the



PLAN OF THE POSITION OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE ACTION, SEPT. 5, 1781.
(*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

for the attack. The approach to the town, which stands on the west bank of the river Thames, was defended by two forts, stationed, about a mile off, on both sides of the stream. The western structure was entitled Fort Trumbull; the eastern, situated on Groton Hill, was known as Fort Griswold. Of these, the former was attacked by Arnold himself, who met with very little opposition. The militia who had charge of the works crossed the river to Fort Griswold, and Arnold pushed on, and took possession of the town. The eastern fort was manned by a hundred and fifty-seven men, commanded by Colonel William Ledyard, brother of the celebrated traveller. It was now attacked by defenders after they had laid down their arms, and that acts of wanton cruelty were committed. A large proportion of the assailants consisted of Hessians and American Royalists, and the rancour of the latter towards their countrymen seems to have been extreme. On the side of the Americans, eighty-five men were killed, and sixty wounded—for the most part, after all opposition was over. The British lost forty-eight killed, and a hundred and forty-three wounded. The commanders on both sides—Eyre and Ledyard—were amongst those who perished in the assault on Fort Griswold. New London itself was set on fire by order of Arnold, who, it has been related, stood in the

belfry of a church, and witnessed the progress of the flames, though the place was almost within sight of the spot where he was born, and close to objects which must have been associated with his childhood and his youth.* Arnold's own account of the matter, in his official report, is that he simply fired the public stores, and that the explosion of the powder, followed by a change of wind, caused the flames to extend to the rest of the town, which, in spite of efforts to save it, was destroyed. Be this as it may, the catastrophe was lamentable, and it resulted in reducing many persons from affluence to beggary. On retreating to his boats, Arnold was followed by the yeomanry of the country, who killed and wounded several of his men, and would doubtless have hanged him on the nearest tree, had he not escaped their fury.

The operations against New London had simply added to the enmity and anger of the New Englanders: they had utterly failed to effect the purpose which Sir Henry Clinton hoped to serve. Washington was so convinced of the importance of proceeding against Cornwallis that he declined to turn back, and continued his march towards the South. On the day when the outrage took place, he had reached the head of the river Elk, whence, leaving the army for awhile, he pushed on to Baltimore. Arriving there on the 8th, he left on the 9th, accompanied only by Colonel Humphreys, being resolved to spend a short time at Mount Vernon, his paternal estate in Virginia, which he had not seen for six years and a half. There had been a temporary separation of the American and French armies, the latter remaining at Philadelphia a little longer than the former. At the head of the Elk, the provision for transporting the troops, ordnance, and stores by water was found to be insufficient, and it was arranged that a part should proceed by land. Washington himself reached the head-quarters of Lafayette, near Williamsburgh, on the 14th of September; and the army was re-united at the same place on the 25th.

Count de Grasse, with three thousand troops on board his fleet, had arrived in Chesapeake Bay towards the end of August, and the welcome news of his presence greeted the allied commanders during the early part of their march to Virginia. The French Admiral (who on his voyage had captured the packet from Charleston in which Lord Rawdon was returning to England) was immediately informed by Lafayette of the posture of affairs in that part of America, and of the plan of operations against the British army. De Grasse thereupon detached four ships of the line, and some frigates, to block up the entrance to York River, and convey the reinforcement of troops to Lafayette's camp. The rest of his fleet took up a station at the entrance to the bay. Admiral Hood, who had been detached by Rodney from the English fleet in the West Indies, with instructions to counteract the designs of de Grasse, arrived off the Capes of Virginia a few days before the French seaman, and, finding no enemy there, proceeded to Sandy-hook. About the same period, de Barras sailed with his fleet from Newport, to join his countryman in Chesapeake Bay; and Admiral Graves started in pursuit on the 31st of August, with nineteen sail of the line. Reaching his place of destination on the 5th of September, before the arrival of Barras, Graves saw the French fleet of Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty-four vessels, lying at anchor between the Capes. De Grasse was taken by surprise, and, though stronger than his adversary by five ships, resolved to slip his cables, and depart with all speed. The hostile fleets actually passed one another, the one entering, the other leaving, the bay; but Graves at once tacked about, overtook the French, and gave them battle. The fight continued from four in the afternoon till nightfall, and much damage was received on both sides, without any decisive result. The fleets continued in sight of each other five days; but de Grasse evaded any renewal of the engagement, which Graves felt himself not sufficiently strong to force on his opponent. By the 11th of September, the French Admiral was again in Chesapeake Bay, where he found de Barras, who had in the meanwhile arrived from Newport with fourteen transports, laden with heavy artillery and other appliances for carrying on a siege. Graves followed de Grasse to the Chesapeake, when, seeing himself confronted by a force so greatly superior to his own, he abandoned all idea of further operations, and shortly afterwards left for New York.

The departure of the English fleet was followed, on the 19th of September, by an interview between Washington and de Grasse on board the Admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, then lying off Cape Henry. The vessel, it may be stated in passing, is believed to have been the largest then afloat. It carried 106 guns; had been built at great cost and with much scientific exactness; and was presented by the citizens of Paris, at whose charge it had been constructed, to Louis XVI. Not long after, it was taken by Rodney, and, together with other

* Sparks's Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold. The watching of the flames from the belfry, however, is mentioned by Mr. Sparks as a mere tradition, and has a rather suspicious resemblance to the apocryphal anecdote of Nero.

prizes, foundered in a tempest while on its way to England. In visiting this ship, Washington was accompanied by Rochambeau, and the three chiefs consulted on the plan of their campaign. The assistance of de Grasse proved to be so bound by conditions that it was less valuable than had been anticipated. He gave his colleagues to understand that, in accordance with precise instructions from his Government, he could not continue on that station beyond the 1st of November. He also informed them that he had heard of the arrival at New York of Admiral Digby, with a reinforcement of six ships of the line, so that he expected to be presently attacked by a force little inferior to his own. Regarding the position he then held as unfavourable to a naval engagement, he was extremely desirous of leaving the bay at once, so as to encounter the enemy in the open sea. Washington had some difficulty in dissuading him from this purpose, the execution of which might have greatly prejudiced the combined operations against Lord Cornwallis. The American Commander-in-Chief was deeply impressed with the necessity of making an immediate attempt at some decisive action. It was most essential that the apathy which had been gradually creeping over the country should be powerfully aroused. The Eastern States, in particular, now that the war had rolled a long way from their own shores, were growing indifferent to the progress of military events. They were practically in the enjoyment of independence, and, in the absence of a common national feeling between New England and the South, were not very eager to make sacrifices for those whom they regarded as aliens. A happy combination of circumstances opened the way for a vigorous campaign, and the conference terminated in a general resolve to press the English Earl with unsparing energy.

Yorktown is a small village on the southern bank of York River—a stream in which ships of the line can ride with safety, and which empties itself into Chesapeake Bay. Eight miles to the south lies the James River, which also falls into that great receptacle of waters; and the two channels form between them a narrow peninsula, very ill-adapted for an army threatened by enemies, owing to the difficulty of retreating in case of the worst. Opposite Yorktown, on the northern shore of the York River, is Gloucester Point, which, projecting considerably into the stream, narrows it to the breadth of about a mile. Both these places were occupied by Lord Cornwallis, who proceeded to fortify them. Nevertheless, the Earl did not regard the locality as at all suited to defence against a powerful foe; but he conceived himself bound by the instructions of Clinton, who, however, afterwards declared that his orders were not compulsory, but only permissive. On their return to England, these two eminent Generals carried on a paper war on the first causes of the great disaster which occurred at Yorktown, but without convicting each other of more than errors of judgment under very perplexing circumstances. On the 16th of September, Cornwallis wrote to Clinton:—"This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must expect to hear the worst." The main body of Cornwallis's army was now encamped near Yorktown, under the protection of redoubts and field-works, while Colonel Tarleton, with six or seven hundred men, occupied Gloucester Point. The Earl hoped to have all his surrounding fortifications finished by the 1st of October, by which time Clinton proposed to recommence operations on the Chesapeake. As long as he had only Lafayette to guard against, Cornwallis thought himself secure in his position; but the French Marquis was taking measures to bring up troops from various points, so as to enclose his adversary on all sides but the sea. Even before the arrival of the allied forces under Washington and Rochambeau, and of the French fleet under de Grasse, the situation of Cornwallis was grave: at a later date, it became hopeless. The French Admiral, in his eagerness to return to the West Indies, proposed to Lafayette to make an attack on the British position with the American and French troops under his command, without waiting for the combined force from the vicinity of New York, and offered to aid him with marines and sailors from the ships. He was strongly of opinion that both Yorktown and Gloucester might be carried by storm; but Lafayette thought the loss of life would be too serious to justify the attempt.

Cornwallis had but seven thousand troops with which to encounter the vastly superior army that was being drawn about him. His only chance was in extending his defensive works, and thus making an assault almost impossible. By the latter end of September, he had erected at Yorktown seven redoubts and six batteries, connected by entrenchments, on the land side; along the river was another line of batteries; and on each flank of the town were the natural defences of deep ravines and creeks, the heads of which, in front of the town, and at the point of junction with York River, were about half a mile apart, while along their course the English General had planted redoubts, field-works, and felled trees, with their branches

pointing outwards. The channel of York River was obstructed by sunken vessels; ships of war were stationed under protection of the guns of the forts; and Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river, was also strongly fortified. Such was the state of the defences when, on the 25th of September, the greater number of the French and American troops encamped near Williamsburgh. On the night of that day, Washington and his staff bivouacked on the ground in the open air. The Commander-in-Chief slept under a mulberry-tree, the projecting root of which served for his pillow. Next day, the allied armies took up positions on the two sides of Beaver Dam Creek; the Americans, who formed the right wing, occupying the east side,—the French, to the left, covering the western bank.

A letter from Sir Henry Clinton reached Cornwallis on the evening of the 26th. It informed him of the arrival of Admiral Digby, who with a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, and above five thousand troops, would sail to his assistance about the 5th of October. A heavy firing would be made by them on arriving at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and Cornwallis, if all went well at Yorktown, was to respond with three separate columns of smoke, or with four should he still possess the post at Gloucester Point. The Earl at once replied:—"I have ventured these last two days to look General Washington's whole force in the face, in the position on the outside of my works, and have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that there is but one wish throughout the army, which is that the enemy would advance. . . . . I shall retire this night within the works, and have no doubt, if relief arrives in any reasonable time, York and Gloucester will be both in the possession of his Majesty's troops. I believe your Excellency must depend more on the sound of our cannon than the signal of smokes for information; however, I will attempt it on the Gloucester side." The feeling of despondency had not then set in, or at least was not yet avowed, though, as we have seen, the General did not think his position a good one. That same night, Cornwallis abandoned his outworks, and drew his troops within the town—a step of very doubtful propriety, since it diminished the defences of the position, and confined the soldiers to very narrow quarters. The outworks were next day seized upon by detachments of American light infantry and French troops, and proved serviceable in covering the men employed in throwing up breastworks. Counting Americans and French, Washington had now at his disposal an army of full twelve thousand men, exclusive of the Virginian militia. On the night of the 28th of September, these combined forces encamped within two miles of Yorktown, and General de Choisy was sent across York River with a sufficient detachment to watch the enemy on the side of Gloucester Point. Very shortly the line of the besiegers (where the Americans still formed the right, and the French the left, wing) described a semicircle, each end of which rested on the river, thus completing the investment by land, while Count de Grasse kept guard towards the sea. On the 3rd of October, Choisy succeeded in cutting off all communication by land between Gloucester and the country.

The first parallel before Yorktown was commenced by General Lincoln on the 6th of October. It was within six hundred yards of the British lines, extending nearly two miles, and was begun during a very dark night with so much secrecy that Cornwallis's troops knew nothing about it until daylight. The fortifications then opened fire, but the men were by that time under cover, and continued working with great self-possession. In less than three days the parallel was completed, and on the afternoon of the 9th a few of the batteries were ready to fire upon the town. Washington himself put the first match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars burst forth, producing a serious effect on the buildings against which it was directed. The batteries thus brought into play were soon aided by three others managed by the French; and the cannonade was kept up almost incessantly for three or four days. Many of the English guns were dismounted or silenced; several men were killed; and the fortifications suffered to a serious extent. All day, the air was laced by the black lines of shells crossing each other's paths; by night, the blackness changed into a brilliant and fiery red, filling the heavens with a glare as of innumerable meteors. The French batteries, which were to the north-west of the town, threw red-hot shot, and in this way set fire one night to a large English ship and three transports. The terrible explosions of the vessels, and the flames and bursting shells illuminating the darkness, produced a spectacle of the most impressive kind, but did not shake the confidence of the heroic defenders of Yorktown. They had, however, much to trouble them by this time. The cavalry were greatly distressed for want of forage for their horses, and many of the animals were slain, and sent floating down the river. Moreover, an epidemic had broken out in the town, and hundreds were stretched helpless on their pallets. British and Germans bore their hardships with great patience and courage, and everything was done that resolution and mili-

tary knowledge could suggest. But the situation was desperate from the first, and it grew worse with time.

The second parallel was begun by Baron Steuben's division on the night of the 11th of October. It was not more than three hundred yards from the opposing works, and the British now made new embrasures, and for two or three days kept up a galling fire on the besiegers, who were still more seriously troubled by the flanking fire of two redoubts, which enfiladed the entrenchments, and were thought to command the communication between Yorktown and Gloucester. These it was resolved to storm on the night of the 14th; and, to avoid any jealousy between the two allied nationalities, it was arranged that the one farthest from the river should be attacked by a French detachment, and the other by a detachment of Americans under the command of Lafayette. The signal for the simultaneous assault was the sending up of rockets at eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans rushed up to the bastion they were to attack, pushed aside the *abatis* with their hands, and scrambled over the obstructions which stood in their way. With impetuous daring, the men mounted the parapet, and, without firing a musket, carried the work at the point of the bayonet. A New Hampshire captain of artillery would have taken the life of Major Campbell, who had command of the redoubt, in revenge for the death of a Colonel Scammel, who had been killed in a reconnoitring skirmish, but was restrained by his superior officer. It has been alleged that Lafayette, with the consent of Washington, ordered that no quarter should be given, but that the garrison should be killed, even after resistance had ceased, as an act of retaliation for cruelties said to have been committed by the English.* This statement, however, was denied by Lafayette, and also by Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the advanced corps. The French were equally successful with the other redoubt, which they attacked with all the precision of military science, and which was defended with much obstinacy. In the end, the position was carried, though not without considerable slaughter. The struggle at both these redoubts was viewed by Washington with great anxiety from the grand battery, together with Generals Knox and Lincoln and their staffs. Taking his stand at an embrasure, he was open to the danger of chance shots, and one of his aides-de-camp pointed out that the situation was much exposed. "If you think so," replied Washington, "you are at liberty to step back." A few minutes afterwards, a musket ball came in at the opening, and fell close to the Commander in Chief. General Knox begged him to move; but he answered that it was merely a spent ball, and still remained at his post. When the redoubts were both taken, he drew a long breath of relief, and observing, "The work is done, and well done," called for his horse, and departed.

Howitzers were mounted next day on the two redoubts, and the works of the besiegers were thus strengthened, while those of the besieged were proportionately decreased. Lord Cornwallis, who had been losing heart for some time, now wrote to Clinton that his situation was very critical; that he dared not show a gun to the old batteries, and that he expected new ones would be opened on the following morning. Experience had proved that the earthworks newly thrown up did not resist the powerful artillery of the allies; "so that," said his Lordship, "we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers." The safety of the place was consequently so doubtful that he could not desire the fleet and army to run the risk of endeavouring to save them. The arrival of the promised fleet might, however, even then have turned the fortune of the day; but no sail appeared on the far-reaching waters that spread towards the Atlantic. In this extremity Cornwallis determined on making a sortie on the second parallel. A little before daybreak on the 16th of October, three hundred and fifty men attacked two of the enemy's batteries, spiked eleven of the guns, and killed or wounded a hundred of the French. But the cannon had been so hastily damaged that they were easily repaired, and by the evening of the same day the batteries of the second parallel were nearly ready. There was now (according to the English General's own account in his despatches) no part of the whole front on which the guns were not dismounted; and the shells of the besieged were almost wholly expended. Cornwallis had therefore only to choose between preparing to surrender next day, and endeavouring to get off with the greater part of his troops. He determined on the latter course.

His plan was to cross the river during the night with his effective troops; to leave behind him his sick, baggage, and other incumbrances; to attack the French officer who commanded on the Gloucester side; to mount his infantry, partly with the horses of the hostile cavalry, which he hoped to overcome, and partly with such animals as he might find by the way; to push on towards the fords of the great rivers in the upper country; and then, turning northward, to pass through Maryland, Penn-

* Gordon's History, Vol. IV., p. 192.

sylvania, and the Jerseys, and so join the army at New York. For the carrying out of this hazardous enterprise, sixteen large boats were secretly prepared, and ordered to be in readiness to receive troops on the night of that same day (the 16th of October), at ten o'clock. A detachment was appointed to remain behind, and conduct the capitulation for the townspeople, the sick, and the wounded; and a large number of the troops were transported to the northern bank of the river before midnight, without discovery. So far, the scheme had gone well; but, under the best of circumstances, it



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

seems very improbable that it should have succeeded. Between Yorktown and New York lay a wide extent of country; in the rear of the retreating army was an army greatly superior in number; and it is certain that the latter would have started in pursuit, and probable that it would have overtaken and defeated the fugitives, unless, as the English General anticipated, the allies had directed their steps towards the south. Cornwallis, however, felt his position to be so desperate, and the thought of capitulating was so bitter, that he resolved to dare the river, under a heavy fire from the American batteries. The guns of the second parallel were now playing in combination with those of the first. Great gaps were torn in the already crumbling defences of Yorktown; it was obvious that an assault would not be long delayed; and it could hardly be supposed that so small a garrison, exhausted by incessant labours, and many of them weakened by disease, could resist the onslaught of a numerous host. All hope, then, was at an end. The mortification of a surrender could no longer be avoided.



THE HOUSE WHERE CORNWALLIS SURRENDERED.

the utmost dangers of an almost hopeless attempt at extrication, rather than agree to a surrender before every means of avoiding it had been exhausted.

Up to the time when the first detachment of the British troops had landed at Gloucester Point, the night was calm and fine; but a storm then arose, scattering the boats in which the second division had already embarked, driving them a long way down the river, and putting a stop to the further transportation of the army. The boats were afterwards brought together again with some difficulty; but it was then too late to proceed with the enterprise, and, on the morning of the 17th, the first detachment was conveyed back across

The fate of Burgoyne was to be shared by Cornwallis. Both of them men of ability, honour, and courage, they had nevertheless placed themselves in positions from which escape was impossible; and to Cornwallis was reserved the additional misery of reflecting that so serious a blow, occurring a second time, would probably ruin the British cause in America beyond the possibility of redress.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis ordered a parley to be beaten, and despatched a flag with a letter to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours, and that two officers should be appointed by each side to meet and settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and

Gloucester. Washington replied that, previous to the meeting of commissioners, his Lordship's proposals should be transmitted in writing. For this purpose, a suspension of active operations for two hours would be granted. The English General then required that the garrisons of York and Gloucester, though laying down their arms as prisoners of war, should be sent home,—the British to Great Britain, and the Germans to Germany,—under an engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until exchanged. These terms were declared by Washington to be inadmissible, and the Earl agreed to waive them. As it was evident that there would be no great difficulty in finally adjusting the conditions of capitulation, the suspension of hostilities was continued throughout the night. Washington then drew up a schedule of such terms as he would grant, and forwarded the document with an intimation that, if Lord Cornwallis approved of the proposals, commissioners might be at once appointed to reduce them to form. Accordingly, Viscount Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London (of which fortress, by a singular coincidence, Cornwallis was at that time Constable), met Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, of the British army, at a house in the rear of the first parallel, on the 18th of October. It is remarkable, as regards the time of year, that this capitulation corresponds, almost to a day, with the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, four years earlier. The commissioners thus brought together prepared a rough draft, but were unable to arrange the terms definitively. It was agreed that the draft should be submitted to Lord Cornwallis; but Washington would not suffer any delay, and, having caused the articles to be transcribed, sent them, on the morning of the 19th, to the English General, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and that the garrison would march out at two in the afternoon.

Cornwallis having no choice but to submit, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester, with the artillery, military chest, public stores, &c., were that same day surrendered to General Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies; and the ships of war, transports, and other vessels, to the Count de Grasse, as Admiral of the French fleet. In accordance with the terms previously shadowed forth by Washington, the articles (fourteen in number) provided that the garrison of Yorktown and Gloucester, including the officers of the navy, and seamen of every description, should surrender as prisoners of war; that the land forces should remain prisoners to the United States, and the sailors to the King of France; that the garrison should be allowed the same honours that had been granted to the garrison of Charleston when it surrendered to Sir Henry Clinton; that the officers and soldiers should be permitted to retain their private property; that the officers should have liberty to proceed upon parole, either to Europe or to any maritime post on the continent of America in possession of British troops; and that the private soldiers should be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations as the American soldiers. The officers were allowed to retain their side arms, and the baggage and papers were to be exempt from search. The *Bonetta* sloop-of-war was to be placed at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, to convey an aide-de-camp with despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and this gave an opportunity for overcoming a difficulty with regard to the native loyalists. Cornwallis had proposed, as the tenth article of capitulation, that these unfortunate men should not be punished on account of having joined the British army. Washington would not agree to any such stipulation; but the matter was compromised by permitting Lord Cornwallis to put on board the sloop, which was to be allowed to sail unsearched, as many soldiers as he pleased, provided only that the vessel should be returned, and the soldiers be accounted for as prisoners in a future exchange. In this way the American loyalists were safely conveyed to New York; but their fellow-countrymen and sympathisers in that city complained bitterly of any capitulation being signed after the tenth article was disallowed. Another matter of considerable delicacy had reference to the Virginian slaves who had joined the Royal forces. Washington was determined that they should be recovered; yet there was a harsh absurdity in a nation which professed to be struggling for its liberties stipulating for the return of men into slavery. The American Commander-in-Chief therefore added to the article on private effects the words — "It is understood that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these States, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed." An ugly and unpleasant act was thus accomplished under a convenient cover.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of October, the British troops marched out of Yorktown, with drums beating, muskets shouldered, and colours cased, to lay down their arms before the American and French army, drawn out in two lines (the Americans on the right side of the road,

the French on the left), to the extent of more than a mile. Washington, with an honourable feeling of compassion for brave men in misfortune, ordered mere spectators to keep aloof from the ceremony (which, however, they do not seem to have done), and suppressed all public signs of exultation. Lord Cornwallis spoke well of both divisions of the army. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he wrote:—"The treatment in general that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper. But the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every English officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them in our power."

When the British troops issued forth, they were headed by General O'Hara, riding on horseback, who, taking off his hat to Washington, apologised for the non-appearance of Lord Cornwallis, on account of indisposition. In reply, Washington informed him that to General Lincoln had been assigned the duty of receiving the submission of the garrison. Lincoln was the officer in command at Charleston when it surrendered to Clinton in the preceding year. By him, the British troops were now conducted into a field, where they were to ground their arms. Their march has been described by an American on-looker as careless and irregular, and their aspect as sullen. The order to "ground arms" was given by their platoon officers in a tone of great chagrin, and many of the soldiers threw down their muskets with a violence sufficient to break them—an outburst of temper which General Lincoln found it necessary to check. The ceremony being concluded, the men were conducted back to Yorktown, there to remain under guard until removed to their places of destination.* What proved to be in truth the climax of the Revolutionary War had been accomplished. The infant Hercules in his cradle, as Franklin afterwards expressed it, had strangled his second serpent,—the first being General Burgoyne. Peace was still distant, but to most Americans it seemed secure.

CHAPTER L.

Statistics of the Surrender at Yorktown—Results of the Capitulation—Delay in the Despatch of Reinforcements from New York to Cornwallis—Sir Henry Clinton on the Probabilities of an Attack on the French Fleet—Departure of Count de Grasse—Removal of the American Army—Washington on the Prospects of the War—Fighting in North Carolina and on the Mohawk—Reception by Lord North of the News of the Capitulation—The King's Letter on the Subject to Lord George Germaine—Franklin on the Crisis—Meeting of the British Parliament—The Speech from the Throne—Debates in the Lords and Commons—Speeches of Fox, Lord North, and Burke—Further Debates on the American Question—The Opposition gathering Strength—Statement of Lord North as to the Limitation of the American War—Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the City of London to the King—Change in Popular Opinion with Regard to the Coercion of the Colonies—Meetings in London and Elsewhere—Resignation of Lord George Germaine—General Conway's Motions against the Government—The Ministerial Majority dwindles to a Minority—Resignation of Lord North, and Formation of a Ministry by the Marquis of Rockingham.

EXCLUSIVE of seamen, nearly seven thousand persons surrendered to General Washington at the capitulation of Yorktown. Of these, about four thousand were fit for duty, and many of the others would doubtless have been again available as fighting men in the course of a few months. During the siege the garrison had lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and fifty-two men, and an army originally much too small was thus rendered still more incapable of coping with an enemy who numbered, when the militia were included, at least sixteen thousand. The misfortune which overtook Lord Cornwallis was by no means remarkable, considering the strength of the adversary, the situation of the town, and the absence of naval aid. Nor was it to be compared in magnitude with some of the capitulations of modern times; for it was, after all, only the surrender of a detachment of the British Army in America, leaving the main body untouched at New York. But it was the second capitulation that had occurred during the war; and it showed, taken in conjunction with the previous disaster, that there were special circumstances in the configuration of America, in the

* Gordon's and Stedman's Histories of the War; Sparks's Washington, and Irving's Life of Washington; Earl Stanhope's History of England.

character of the people, and in the resources of the Government, which rendered success in such a war almost impossible, even to such a Power as England. In the open field, the Royal forces prevailed again and again; but no sooner had they retired from any one spot than the waves of rebellion closed once more over the land, and the work of conquest was instantly annulled. Success was scarcely better than failure, and the penalty of failure was ruin. In a country so abounding in wide deserts, in woods and morasses, in hills and valleys—so intersected by large rivers—so commanded by bays, creeks, and inland waters—an army which had once got into a false position found extreme difficulty in getting out of it. This was seen in the cases of Burgoyne and Cornwallis; and it was a fate which constantly overhung the British armies in America, directly they removed from the large cities and the more cultivated parts of the country. A considerable number of the people were in favour of British rule; but they had no organisation, the conduct of affairs was not in their hands, and the leading intellects of the country were all on the side of Independence. Nature herself aided the national cause, and the mistakes of British administrators did the rest.

Had Clinton been enabled to despatch his reinforcements in time, the result would probably have been very different; but the fleet, which was to have sailed on or about the 5th of October, was delayed until long after. The soldiers were ready by the appointed date; but the ships were not prepared for such an expedition, and the land forces were compelled to wait while the vessels

Illumination.

COLONEL TILGHMAN, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, having brought official acounts of the SURRENDER of Lord Cornwallis, and the Garriſons of York and Glouceſter, thoſe Citizens who chuſe to ILLUMINATE on the GLORIOUS OCCASION, will do it this evening at Six, and extinguiſh their lights at Nine o'clock.

Decorum and harmony are earneſtly recommended to every Citizen, and a general diſcountenance to the leaſt appearance of riot.

October 24, 1781.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION RESPECTING ILLUMINATIONS ON THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

were making good the damages they had received in the recent action with de Grasse. "We had the misfortune," wrote the English General at New York, "to see almost every succeeding day produce some naval obstruction or other to protract our departure;" and it was the afternoon of the 19th of October—the very day of the capitulation—before the fleet was fairly at sea. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, two vessels of fifty guns each, and eight frigates; and it arrived off the Bay of Chesapeake on the 24th, when Sir Henry Clinton learned, to his deep mortification, the lamentable ending to Lord Cornwallis's campaign. He remained on the coast, however, until the 29th, to make sure that the news was correct, and then returned to New York. It is true that, had the fleet arrived earlier, it would have had to encounter a superior naval force; but this would not necessarily have ensured defeat. Sir Henry Clinton, in his unpublished Memoirs, quoted by Earl Stanhope, has said:—"The flag officers of the fleet, who were present when this matter was debated in council, were all clearly of opinion that thirty-six ships of the line could not, in the position the French fleet had taken between the Middle Ground and Horseshoe Flats, prevent even twenty-three from passing, with a leading wind and tide, into either York or James's River. The reasons given were, that, the enemy's ships being unable, from the violence of the tide and great swell of the sea that runs in that channel, to avail themselves of the springs upon their cables, their broadsides could not be brought to bear on ships approaching them end on; and, after a passage should be effected, they would not dare suddenly to weigh or cut, for the purpose of following, lest they should be driven on shore." While Sir Henry Clinton continued in the neighbourhood of Chesapeake Bay, the French fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, lay at anchor not far off, without making any hostile demonstration.

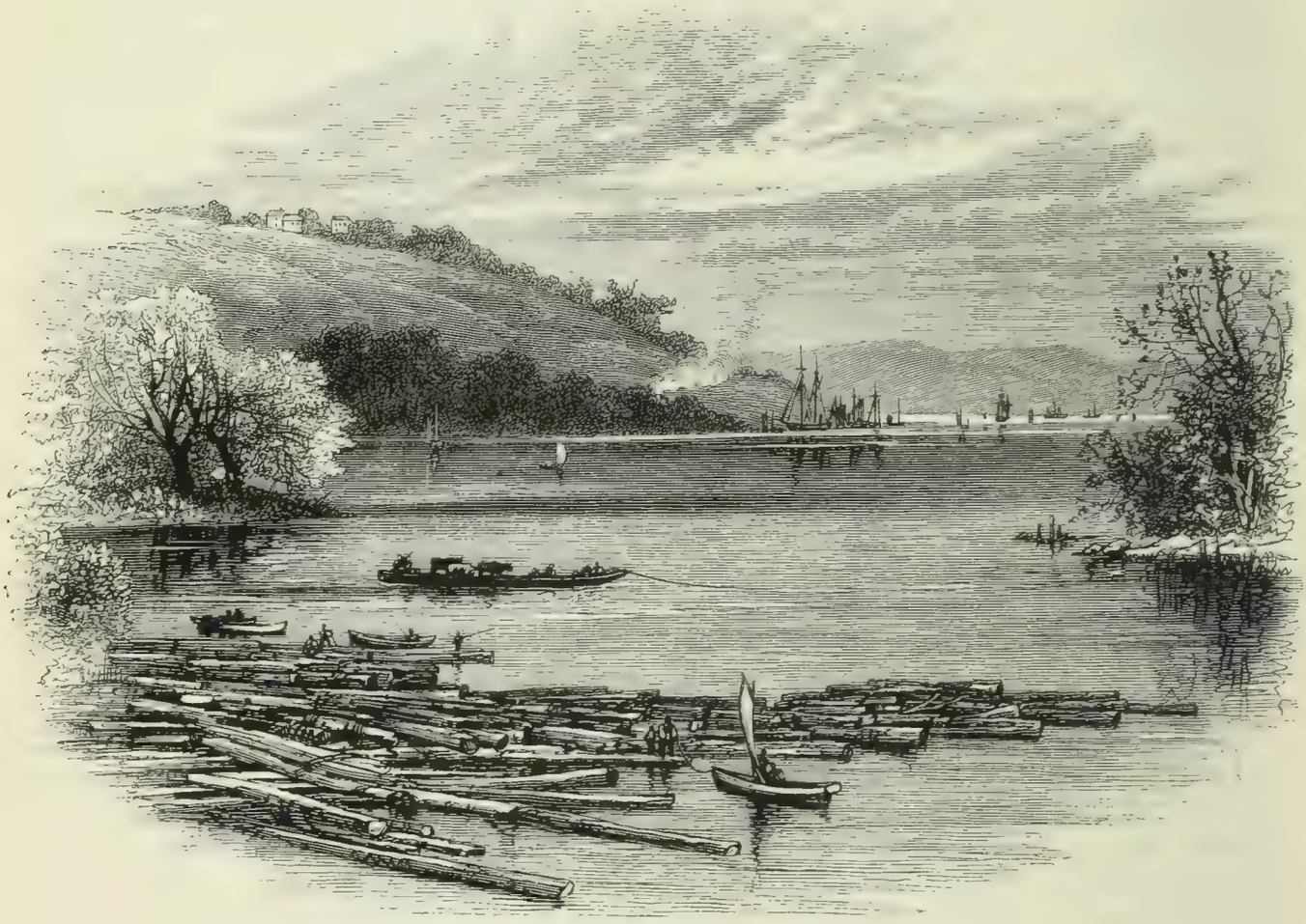
Count de Grasse soon after prepared for departure. Washington was very desirous that he should remain on the coasts of the Southern States, so that he might assist in the reduction of Charleston; but his orders did not leave him free to follow such a course, and he had already entered into engagements with the Spaniards, who, earlier in the year, had re-conquered the province of West Florida. He stayed in the Bay only long enough to cover the embarkation of the American troops and ordnance destined to be conveyed by water to the head of the river Elk, whither some of the other brigades proceeded by land, that they might be cantoned for the winter in the Jerseys and on the Hudson, and be ready for operations against New York or elsewhere in the ensuing spring. Another portion of the army marched to join Greene in South Carolina; and, while the French troops under Rochambeau remained in Virginia, as a convenient base for ulterior operations, whether in the South or in the North, those under St. Simon, who had arrived with de Grasse, sailed for the West Indies, with that commander, early in November. The British prisoners were marched to Winchester, in Virginia, and Frederickstown, in Maryland, while Lord Cornwallis and his principal officers sailed for New York on parole. A few weeks later, Lafayette returned to Europe. Immediately on the capitulation, Washington, in various general orders, congratulated the allied armies on their victory, awarded high praise to the officers and troops, both French and American, acknowledged the important services rendered by de Grasse and his fleet, appointed a thanksgiving service, and granted a pardon to all those of the army who were under arrest. He subsequently, after a brief visit to his home at Mount Vernon, proceeded to Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 27th of November. Congress did not forget to do him and his comrades honour, and the country generally was wild with delight at the signal triumph that had been achieved.

To the acute mind of Washington, this excess of delight had its dangers. He feared lest Congress and the country should regard the capitulation at Yorktown as a final and conclusive victory, and should fall into a state of languor and relaxation Enthusiasm never perverted his clear judgment, nor did he suffer his pride as an American to blind him to the fact that the great success of October 19th was due in a very large degree to the co-operation of the French. Replying to inquiries made by the Marquis de Lafayette as to his plans for the ensuing year, he remarked that everything would absolutely depend for success on the naval force to be employed; and of that force the States themselves could furnish only a very small proportion. "No land force," he wrote, "can act decisively unless it is accompanied by a maritime superiority; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it. For proof of this, we have only to recur to the instances of the ease and facility with which the British shifted their ground as advantages were to be obtained at either extremity of the continent, and to their late heavy loss the moment they failed in their naval superiority. . . . A doubt did not exist, nor does it at this moment, in any man's mind, of the total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia, if the

Count de Grasse could have extended his co-operation two months longer."

During the progress of the siege of Yorktown, and in the weeks immediately succeeding its surrender, a few military events, of a slight and not very important character, were taking place in other parts of the Union. The loyalists of North Carolina, under M'Neil and M'Dougall, made themselves masters of Hillsborough in the early autumn, and took several prisoners. In a subsequent encounter with the supporters of Congress, M'Neil and some of his followers were killed. M'Dougall was pursued, but escaped with several of his prisoners to Wilmington. These movements had no marked effect on the state of affairs in that part of the Union; nor did anything beyond a little desultory fighting result from an incursion by Major Ross into the country on the Mohawk, at the head of a mixed force of regulars, rangers, and Indians, to the number of five hundred. The invaders were met by an equal force under Colonel Willet, when the British retreated, and, being followed, were overtaken at a ford on Canada Creek. Here they were again defeated, and among the slain was Walter Butler, who had been the chief agent in the massacre at Cherry Valley. He begged for quarter, but was answered by a reference to his great crime, and by immediate death.

News of the capitulation of Yorktown reached London about noon on the 25th of November. It was received first by Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary, who at once communicated the intelligence to Lord North, and, by letter, to the King. Mr. Wraxall (afterwards Sir Nathaniel Wraxall), whose "Historical Memoirs" of his own time have made us acquainted with a large amount of personal anecdote, was that day dining with Lord George, and he asked him how the Prime Minister took the communication. "As he would have taken a cannon-ball in the breast," replied his host. "He opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the room for a few minutes, 'Oh, God! it is all over!'—words which he repeated many times, under the deepest agitation and distress." This was the more remarkable, because Lord North was generally a man of imperturbable temperament, with a gaiety of manner like that of Lord Melbourne or Lord Palmerston. The King, in replying to Lord



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George Germaine, which he did in the course of the afternoon, expressed himself deeply concerned, yet as resolved as ever to continue the struggle. The Colonial Minister, however, detected one little circumstance which seemed to betray an unusual degree of emotion on the part of the monarch. The King was in the habit of dating his letters with such scrupulous exactness that he marked the hour and even the minute of his writing. On this occasion he omitted to do so. But in other respects the letter seemed to be the composition of a man perfectly self-possessed, and entirely master of his feelings, thoughts and actions.

It is singular that Franklin, writing in Paris to Governor Pownall only three days before the arrival of the great news, had said:—"I wish most heartily with you that this accursed war was at an end; but I despair of seeing it finished in my time." On the 26th of November, the fact of Cornwallis's utter discomfiture was known in Paris; and Franklin then wrote to John Adams, in Holland, congratulating him on so splendid a success, and making use of his classical figure about the infant Hercules, which he afterwards caused to be pictorially represented on a medal commemorative of the event. This remarkable change in Franklin's views, occurring within three days, was not without a sufficient explanation in the aspect of the facts. To a distant observer, it might well have seemed, previous to the news of Yorktown, that the struggle between the colonies and the mother country would still be indefinitely prolonged. After that news, it was evident that one of the great turning points of history had been reached. There was still another serpent to be strangled; but everything indicated the probability of a termination to the war such as the leading minds of America desired. The French alliance had at length enabled the supporters of Independence to obtain that position of indisputable predominance which for several years they had been labouring to reach.



AMERICAN SOLDIER UNDER ARMS. (*From a Print of the period.*)

The session of the British Parliament opened on the 27th of November. As the Royal Speech had been composed before the Virginian disaster was known in England, it became necessary, in the two intervening days, to re-cast a good deal of what had been said as to the progress of American affairs. In the Speech as finally settled, the King, after expressing his sorrow at the sad reverse which had occurred, declared that he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire for peace, or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests on which the strength and security of Great Britain must always principally depend. He retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause; and he called for the concurrence and support of Parliament, together with a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people. In the Upper House, Lord Shelburne moved an amendment to the Address, implying censure on the Government, and criticised the whole policy of Ministers with great severity. He was supported by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Camden, and Lord Rockingham; but his motion was rejected by 75 peers against 31. The amendment in the Commons was moved by Fox, who attacked the Government in a speech of considerable power, full of fierce and venomous invective. Replying to an assertion on behalf of the Ministry, that all the calamities of the nation had been caused by the conduct of the Opposition, he ex-

claimed:—"Oh, miserable and unfortunate Ministers! blind and incapable men!—whose measures are framed with so little foresight, and executed with so little firmness, that they crumble to pieces, and bring ruin on the country, merely because a rash, weak, or wicked man in the House of Commons makes a speech against them! Retrospective measures are deprecated; but Ministers must bear to hear them from the representatives of an abused people. I will not say they are actually in the pay of France, for I cannot prove the fact; but I will venture to say that they have worked for the aggrandisement of the Grand Monarque more faithfully and successfully than any Ministers of his own have ever done." The clause which Fox concluded by moving, as an amendment, pledged the Commons to apply themselves with united hearts to propose and adjust such counsels as might, in that crisis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and by a total change of system command the confidence, of all his Majesty's subjects.

Lord North replied to Fox, and expressed great indignation at the suggestion that Ministers were in the pay of France—a philippic, however, which was hardly worth noticing, since it is tolerably certain that Fox did not believe it himself. The American war, he maintained, was prosecuted, not with the design of aggrandising the Crown, but with the wish to preserve unbroken the venerable fabric of the Empire. The quarrel had been begun by Parliament, not by the King, and by a Ministry formed out of that party which constituted the existing Opposition. A melancholy disaster had occurred in Virginia; but were they on that account to lie down and die? Rather it should rouse them to vigorous action, since by united exertions everything might be saved, while by dejection and despair everything would be lost. Ministers had been threatened by Fox (using a licence now happily abandoned even by the most extreme partisans) with impeachment and the scaffold; but Lord North declared that that should not deter him from striving to preserve the rights and legislative authority of Parliament. The war had been unfortunate, but not unjust: it was founded in right, and dictated by necessity. He had always thought so, and should continue to think so, at whatever risk. At the present day, we know that Lord North had, privately, considerable doubt as to the justice and expediency of the war; and in bringing forward his conciliatory proposals he almost conceded the point of right to the colonists. But now, driven to bay by the Opposition, he again asserted with fervour the predominance of the mother country over its dependencies.

The most striking speech of the evening was that of Burke. "Good God, Mr. Speaker!" he exclaimed, "are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war? Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights, that have cost England thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions of money! Oh, wonderful rights, that have lost to Great Britain her empire on the ocean,—her boasted grand and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her! Oh, inestimable rights, that have taken from us our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and our commerce; that have reduced us from the most flourishing Empire in the world to be one of the most compact, unenviable Powers on the face of the globe! Oh, wonderful rights, that are likely to take from us all that yet remains! We had a right to tax America, says the noble Lord, and, as we had a right, we must do it. . . . . Oh, miserable and infatuated men! miserable and undone country! not to know that right signifies nothing without might; that the right without the power of enforcing it is nugatory and idle in the copyhold of rival States, or of immense bodies. 'Oh,' says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, 'there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be sheared.' What! shear a wolf? 'Yes.' But will he comply? have you considered the trouble? how will you get this wool? 'Oh, I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, but my right: a wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn; and therefore I will shear the wolf.'" Notwithstanding this telling speech, and others on the same side, the Address was carried by 218 votes, against only 129 for the amendment. The eloquence was almost entirely with the Opposition, who had, indeed, no small amount of reason likewise on their side; but it was probably felt that they exaggerated their case, and compromised truth itself by the spirit of faction.

The debate was resumed when the Report on the Address was brought up. On that occasion, the younger William Pitt, who had but recently entered Parliament, delivered a speech which was admired on all sides. He pronounced strongly against the war, and asserted that no two members on the Treasury Bench agreed in sentiment on the subject, or were in heart sincere friends. Burke spoke with horror of the omission from the articles of capitula-

tion of any clause protecting the American loyalists from the vengeance of their countrymen. Alluding to the fact of the young Prince William (afterwards William IV.) being at that time, in his capacity as a naval officer, on the coast of America, he said that he must frequently behold the faithful adherents of his father hanging in quarters on every headland. This, however, was not owing to the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, who had by indirect means managed to provide for the safety of the loyalists of Yorktown and its neighbourhood. One of the most striking features of the later debate was the speech of the Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas, who, notwithstanding his official position, expressed opinions not very dissimilar from those of Fox, Pitt, and Burke, hinted at disunion in the Cabinet, and obscurely blamed some who in Council did not deliver their sincere opinions. The Report was adopted by 131 votes against 54; but the troubles of Government were not yet over. On the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther moved a resolution declaring that the war carried on in the colonies of North America had been ineffectual for its avowed purposes, and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force must be injurious to Great Britain, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies. The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys, afterwards Lord Lilford, who, as a leading member of what has been called the party of the country gentlemen (usually supporters of Lord North's Government), was regarded as a very important accession to the side of the Opposition. He drew with him the votes of more than twenty of the ordinary adherents of Government; yet the motion was negatived by 220 to 179.

In the course of the debate, Lord North made an important statement, which was to the effect that it would no longer be right to proceed with the American war on the method previously followed—that was to say, by sending armies to conduct active operations throughout the country. He said he would have withheld this intimation, as a kind of signal or notice to the national enemies, had it not been plainly declared by the moderation of the Estimates which had been laid on the table. It was not intended to send out a fresh army to supply the place of that which surrendered at Yorktown; but it was necessary to retain certain posts in America, if it were only for the convenience of carrying on the war with France and Spain. England could not do without ports and harbours in that part of the world, such as would enable her to act upon the seas; and British trade must be protected against American privateers. Thus was the war of coercion virtually given up. It was evident from the Premier's speech that he intended to do no more than hold certain positions as a means of protection against external enemies, and at the general peace to acknowledge the independence of the colonies. The House was greatly agitated at such a declaration, and Burke made a speech which Horace Walpole has described as wild and passionate.

The great question of the day was again discussed on the 14th of December, when an attempt—defeated by a large majority—was made to delay the supplies. Pitt again spoke, and declared that the Ministry were intent only on one thing, and that was the destruction of the Empire. "God grant," he exclaimed, "that their punishment be not so long delayed as to involve a great and innocent family, who, though they share not the guilt, will most likely participate in the atonement." Shortly afterwards, a debate occurred on the subject of the imprisonment of Henry Laurens in the Tower, when Burke (who had presented a petition from him) gave notice of a motion on his behalf. It soon became unnecessary to take any further steps in the matter, as Laurens was discharged on the 31st of December, in exchange for General Burgoyne, who had been in England on parole since the Convention of Saratoga. Amongst other indications of public opinion in that closing month of 1781, was an address, remonstrance, and petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London to the King, which his Majesty declined to receive in any other way than at a levee, and which was consequently not presented at all. The document was published, however, and produced a great effect. "It is with inexpressible concern," said the promoters of this petition, "that we have heard your Majesty declare, in your Speech to both Houses of Parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Your Majesty's Ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your Majesty and the nation into the present unnatural and unfortunate war. The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses; the landed property through the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree; the property of your Majesty's subjects, vested in the public funds, has lost above one-third of its value; private credit has been almost wholly annihilated by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract; your Majesty's fleets have lost their wonted supe-

riority; your armies have been captured; your dominions have been lost; and your Majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful, if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the Empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity. We beseech your Majesty no longer to continue in a delusion from which the nation has awakened, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to relinquish entirely and for ever the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force." The petition concluded with a prayer that his Majesty would dismiss from his councils all the advisers, both public and secret, of the measures which the petitioners regarded with so much disfavour.

A very strong feeling against the war was undoubtedly growing up in many quarters. The West India merchants declared, at a meeting which they held, that their total ruin must result from a further continuance of hostilities with America. The electors of Westminster had a political gathering, at which Fox delivered a vehement speech, and proposed several resolutions, which were carried. Similar meetings, with similar results, were held in Southwark, and for the counties of Middlesex and Surrey; indeed, the country generally was growing sick of a contest so fruitful in disaster, so barren of fortunate results, so inordinately expensive, and so void even of the most meagre hope. This feeling was enhanced in no slight degree during the Christmas recess of Parliament; and when the two Houses met again, at the latter end of January, 1782, the Opposition felt themselves far stronger than before the adjournment. Their influence was augmented by the equivocal position of Lord North and his colleagues. Ministers would not frankly declare themselves in favour of peace, yet it was plain that they were not heartily in favour of war. Their first act was to get rid of Lord George Germaine, who was still eager for the subjugation of the Americans. He had declared, in the debate on Sir James Lowther's motion, that, be the consequences what they might, he would never be the Minister to sign any treaty which gave independence to the colonies. It was accordingly arranged that he should resign, and at the same time be raised to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Sackville. His dismissal—for such, in fact, it was—showed the growing weakness of Government, who endeavoured to conciliate the Opposition, and succeeded only in discrediting themselves.

Ill-success and mismanagement in other quarters besides America increased in a still greater degree the unpopularity of Ministers, and gave point and force to the attacks of their enemies. Their majorities grew less and less, and it was evident that the end could not be long delayed. On the 22nd of February, General Conway—who several years before had proposed the repeal of the Stamp Act, and who had always been one of the sincerest English friends of America—moved an address to the King, entreating his Majesty not to pursue any further the existing war in the colonies, "for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants to obedience." The reply of the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Welbore Ellis, was considered unsatisfactory and ambiguous, and the motion was defeated by a bare majority of one. This was so nearly a triumph for General Conway, that on the 27th of the same month he brought forward another motion to the same effect, but taking the form of a resolution against any further attempts to reduce the insurgent colonists. Lord North did not venture on any direct resistance to this motion, but simply asked for a short delay, in order to convince the House that Ministers were sincere in their intention not to recruit the army in America; and the Attorney-General professed his readiness to introduce a Bill enabling the Government to treat with the colonies on the basis of a truce. But the Opposition, conscious of their strength, would listen to no compromise whatever. A motion that the debate should be adjourned was lost by a majority of 19, and Conway's resolution was carried by 234 against 215. An address was accordingly sent up to the King, to which his Majesty returned an answer expressing assent, but in cold, guarded, and somewhat vague language. Conway then moved, on the 4th of March, a new address, setting forth that the House would consider as enemies to the Sovereign and the country all those who should advise the continued prosecution of the war in North America. The motion was carried without a division, and on the following day the Attorney-General introduced his Bill for effecting a truce. The hours of the Ministry, however, were numbered, and the final blow soon came.

Nevertheless, there was a temporary rally. On the 8th of March, Lord John Cavendish brought forward a number of resolutions, the last of which declared that the chief cause of all the national misfortunes was want of foresight and ability in the members of the Administration. A majority of ten on the side of Government defeated this attempt. On the 15th, Sir John Rous, one of the members for Suffolk, a Tory in politics, and for-

merly a supporter of Lord North, moved that the House could no longer repose confidence in Ministers. The motion was lost by a majority of nine. But with such small and such uncertain majorities it was evident that the Premier and his friends could not continue to hold office. Before the Earl of Surrey could bring forward a motion of the same nature, of which he had given notice, Lord North had resolved to escape by a voluntary act from the turmoil wherein he had become involved. On the 19th of March, he sent a message to the King, intimating the necessity of his immediately resigning. On the following day he had an interview with his Majesty at St. James's Palace, when his resignation was accepted. He then rode direct to the House of Commons, and, interposing when the Earl of Surrey was about to speak, said that, as the object of the intended motion was the removal of his Majesty's Ministers, such a motion had become unnecessary, as the Administration was no more. Before sitting down, he moved an adjournment for five days, to allow time for new arrangements; and to this the House agreed. The Ministry of Lord North had lasted twelve years. They had been years of great difficulty and trouble, and it cannot be said that this statesman's conduct of affairs had been at all successful, or marked by any large share of political wisdom. Yet Lord North was a man of ability, readiness, and tact, and, more than that, he was an honest man. He left office poorer than he entered it, and would probably have been seriously embarrassed had not George III. secured to him the post of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

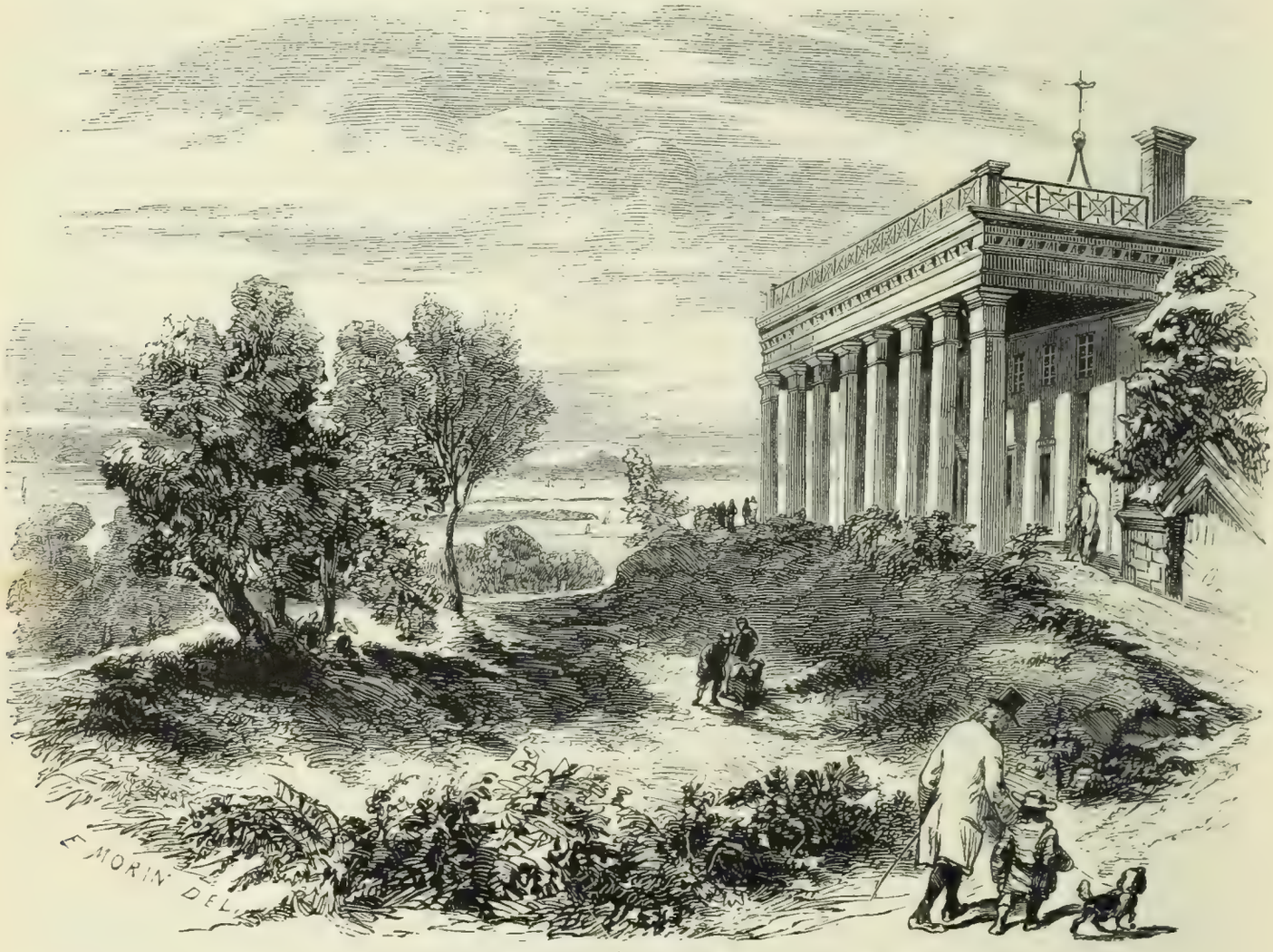
The Ministry of Lord Rockingham, which succeeded to that of Lord North, was composed of those men who had for so many years supported the cause of the Americans. It included Lord Shelburne, Charles James Fox, Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr. Dunning (now created Lord Ashburton), the Duke of Richmond, Burke, Sheridan, and Colonel Barré. The combination was not a happy one. The Cabinet was divided into two parties—that of Rockingham himself, and that of Shelburne; and they represented somewhat different views. Shelburne, as a follower of Chatham, was disinclined to the entire independence of America; Rockingham was willing to grant the complete separation of the colonies from the mother country. The latter had held office in the early days of the quarrel, and had not distinguished himself as an administrator, being in truth a man of very moderate capacity. He was now to try what he could do for the pacification of a deadly feud which had cost both the antagonists an amount of blood and treasure which no one could contemplate without dismay.

CHAPTER LI.

Washington in Philadelphia—Plot for the Seizure of Prince William Henry at New York—The Law of Retaliation—Hanging of Captain Huddy by the New York Loyalists—Washington's Demand for the giving up of the Offender—The Case of Captain Asgill—Sir Guy Carleton succeeds Sir Henry Clinton in the Command of the British Forces in America—Disorganised and Miserable Condition of the American Army—Proposal to Washington that he should assume the Title of King—His indignant Reply—Pacific Overtures of Sir Guy Carleton—Cessation of Warlike Operations in the North—Washington's Advice that the Country should continue prepared for War—Occasional Skirmishing in the South—The British evacuate Georgia—Proceedings at Charleston—Death of Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens—Agitation and Distress of George III. at being compelled to entrust the Government to Lord Rockingham—Principles of the Rockingham and Shelburne Sections of the Cabinet—Measures of Shelburne and Fox towards the Restoration of Peace—Negotiations for Peace in Paris—Rodney's great Naval Victory over de Grasse—Differences between Fox and Shelburne—Death of Lord Rockingham, and its Consequences.

On arriving at Philadelphia, towards the end of November, 1781, Washington had many consultations with the Military Committee of Congress, and with the Secretaries of War and Finance. His advice as to the campaign of the ensuing year was in accordance with those principles which he had before unfolded to Greene and Lafayette; and the exposition of his views produced a great impression on the political rulers of the country. It was resolved to push the war with vigour, and not, as Washington had feared, to rest content with the success obtained at Yorktown, and relax all further efforts. On the 10th of December, resolutions were passed in Congress for requisitions of men and money from the several States, and Washington himself wrote to the Governors, urging them to do

their utmost in this respect, and with as little delay as possible. At Paris, Franklin used all his influence to induce the King to continue his aid, and the prospects of the Federation were placed in the brightest colours before the eyes of Louis and his Ministers. In America, the exertions of Congress and of Washington produced but slight results. The States responded grudgingly to the demand for troops and funds, and the popular



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sentiment fully supported them in this hesitation and parsimony. The Americans were as tired of the war as the English. To the latter, it appeared that a prolongation of the struggle was hopeless; to the former, it seemed idle to make further sacrifices for an end which was already virtually obtained. Thus, two very opposite feelings conduced to the same effect.

Washington quitted Philadelphia in March, 1782, and, on reaching Morristown, in New Jersey, on the 28th of that month, was requested by Colonel Matthias Ogden to sanction a scheme of a bold and adventurous character. Prince William Henry, the King's third son, was at that time serving as a midshipman on board one of Admiral Digby's ships, and was staying at New York with his principal commander. Ogden's idea was to surprise the Prince and the Admiral at their quarters in the city, and carry them off. He proposed that he himself, a captain, a subaltern, three sergeants, and thirty-six men—in all, forty-two—should embark from the Jersey shore on a rainy night in four whale-boats, rowed with muffled oars, and should land in New York at half-past nine, at a wharf not far from Hanover Square, where the objects of the plot were residing. Part of the men were to guard the boats, while Colonel Ogden should proceed with the others to the house, force open the doors, and capture the two chief occupants. In returning to the boats, one detachment of the men was to precede the prisoners with bayonets fixed, and another to follow at some little distance, so as to keep in check any persons who might pursue in the hope of effecting a rescue. It was a desperate project, but, supposing it to be successfully carried out, it might fairly be expected to hasten the conclusion of peace. To Washington

it seemed feasible, and he accordingly gave it his sanction, but only on condition that no insult or indignity should be offered to the young Prince or to the Admiral. They were to be treated with all respect, and without delay to be conveyed to Congress. The attempt, however, appears never to have been made. Great apprehensions of an impending American attack were felt at that time in New York, and some inkling of the plot, with accompanying exaggerations, had been obtained by the citizens. A number of flat bottomed boats had been discovered by a sentinel on the banks of the Hudson, and were supposed to be intended as a means of firing the suburbs, during the confusion resulting from which, a descent on the lower part of the city was to be made, with a view to carrying off Sir Henry Clinton, Prince William Henry, and several other illustrious personages. In consequence of these rumours, unusual precautions were taken for the security of those gentlemen, by augmenting their guards; and it was probably felt that the attempt would be too hazardous. At any rate, as far as can be ascertained, the scheme never passed out of the limbo of mere speculation; and it can hardly be doubted that, had it done so, it would have failed.

The attention of Washington (whose headquarters were now established at Newburgh, on the Hudson) was at this period engaged by a matter of much greater importance. One of those cases had arisen in which the perplexed and painful question of the right to retaliate, and the limits by which that asserted right is bound, were involved. Not long before, Washington, writing to General Greene, had said: "Of all laws, it [the law of retaliation] is the most difficult to execute where you have not the transgressor himself in your possession. Humanity will ever interfere, and plead strongly against the sacrifice of an innocent person for the guilt of another." Three or four months after the American Commander-in-Chief had given expression to this humane and reasonable sentiment, Philip White, one of the New York loyalists (or refugees, as they were called), engaged in marauding expeditions in New Jersey, was captured by the people of that province, and killed in attempting to escape from the custody of those who were conducting him to the jail at Monmouth. His fellow-loyalists in New York determined on revenge. They had in their possession one Captain Joseph Huddy, who had been seized while defending a blockhouse. This unfortunate person was now taken out of his prison in New York, conducted into New Jersey,



VIEW OF WASHINGTON'S QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN.

and hanged, with a label affixed to his breast, bearing an inscription which concluded with the words, "We determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. Up goes Huddy for Philip White!" Sir Henry Clinton, who justly regarded this act as a murder—though it was in some degree palliated by the frequent cruelties practised on the loyalists by the Republicans—ordered the arrest of Lippencott, the leader of the gang who had put Huddy to death, and prepared to bring him to trial. Washington, however, desired to get the offender into his own hands, and, after taking the opinion of a board of general and field officers, who supported his view of the case, wrote to Clinton, demanding that Lippencott, or any other officer who commanded the execution of Captain Huddy, should be given up for execution, or, if the perpetrator of the crime were inferior in rank, so many of the offenders as would, according to the tariff of exchange, be an equivalent. In the event of this being refused, retaliation was plainly hinted at. Clinton adhered to his original determination to bring Lippencott to trial himself; and Washington, being countenanced in his resolves by Congress, ordered a selection to be made by lot from among the British officers who were then imprisoned at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. The fatal chance fell on Captain Charles Asgill, of the Guards, a youth of nineteen, whose character was such as to enlist the sympathies of all very powerfully in his favour. As Clinton had promised to bring the offender to trial, it would seem that Washington should at least have waited for the result of that investigation before threatening the life of any person; but the time was not one in which the animosities of men suffered much to stand in their way.

While this matter was pending, Sir Henry Clinton, who had long solicited his recall, was succeeded in his command by Sir Guy Carleton, who had been appointed to that position just before the resignation of Lord North, and who arrived at New York in the beginning of May. That gallant officer and humane gentleman did his utmost to ward off the menaced fate of Captain Asgill, who bore the burden of his hard sentence with great fortitude; but his representations were not favourably received. On Lippencott being brought to trial, it was found that he was not mainly answerable for the crime, having acted in conformity with what he believed to be his orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists sitting at New York, under the presidency of William Franklin, the son of Dr. Franklin. This miscarriage had the natural effect of jeopardising the life of Asgill still more; and for several months his fate hung in suspense. The Board of Loyalists was broken up by Sir Guy Carleton, as a mark of his disapproval of its practices; but the American authorities long refused to listen to any plea for the young officer who had been cast for death. Washington, indeed, relented after awhile; admitted Captain Asgill (who had always been treated with much consideration) to parole; and conveyed to the Secretary of War his private opinion that, after the action taken by the new British commander with respect to the loyalists, the prisoner should be set free. But the majority in Congress were strongly disinclined to any merciful interpretation of their duties, and it seemed as if Asgill would have shared the fate of André. What finally procured his release was the interposition of France. Lady Asgill, the mother of the anticipated victim—whose husband was at that time on the point of death, and whose daughter was seized with a fever and delirium at the prospect of her brother's execution—wrote a touching letter to the Count de Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, imploring his intercession. The letter was shown to the King and Queen, and by their direction the Count wrote to Washington on the 29th of July. "Captain Asgill," he observed, "is doubtless your prisoner; but he is among those whom the arms of the King, my master, contributed to put into your hands at Yorktown." And he added:—"In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to select another victim: the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire." Washington, who seems to have sincerely pitied the youth, and to have really desired his safety after the first feeling of anger had passed away, sent the letter of Vergennes to Congress, and pressed for a favourable decision. On the 7th of November, the Legislative Body came to a vote that Captain Asgill should be released.

In confirming Sir Guy Carleton in his command of the British army in America, the Rockingham Ministry instructed that General to adopt the most conciliatory policy towards the Americans, and associated him with Admiral Digby as joint Commissioners for negotiating a peace independently of France. Many circumstances operated to the furtherance of such a design. To the best-informed among the Americans, the necessity of bringing the war to a speedy close was painfully apparent. The resources of Government were exhausted; the credit of the country was at an end. The people were visibly shrinking from further sacrifices, and openly murmuring at the burdens they had to bear.

The army was on the verge of revolt, and could only be restrained by acts of great severity. Those brave men who had fought the battles of Independence found themselves creditors for large arrears of pay, and were in the meanwhile deprived of the sheer necessaries of life. They were often as nearly naked as men could be, short of being reduced to the actual state of nature; they were frequently left without bread or meat, and were so entirely devoid of medicines and surgical appliances that the sick and wounded had very little chance of recovery. This was especially the case with that detachment of the army which had been fighting in the South. Greene's soldiers were constrained to cover themselves with a ragged cloth about their loins, or a few tufts of moss across their shoulders. Many were so ashamed of their condition that they would not issue out of their tents; and even the others were, in the expressive phrase of Greene, as ragged as wolves. Large numbers gave in their resignations in a body, and were with difficulty induced to remain; and a portion of the army entered into a secret correspondence with the British, for the purpose of delivering Greene himself into their power—a conspiracy which was discovered in time, when the ringleader was shot, and the other principals fled. This state was in some degree mitigated as the summer advanced; but the army was still far from being in a condition to meet the enemy. In the North, matters were only a few degrees better. On the 28th of May, Washington had expressed alarm for the safety of his positions, feeling very doubtful whether his starved and enfeebled army would be able to resist a vigorous assault by the British.

The discontent existing amongst the military, as a consequence of these prolonged sufferings and of the incapacity of the Government, led to a remarkable proposal, which, had Washington been a man of strong personal ambition, might have occasioned a complete revolution in the political constitution of the country. Among the officers serving immediately under the American Commander-in-Chief was a certain Colonel Lewis Nicola, an elderly man of respectable character, who had formerly been in command of Fort Mifflin, and who was now on terms of great intimacy with Washington. He appears to have been consulted by the other officers, and to have been made by them the medium for submitting to their superior those grievances which they had so much occasion to allege against the Government. Washington had listened to these complaints with many expressions of sympathy for the sufferers, and with promises that no exertion of his should be wanting towards a redress of all wrongs. His friendly words induced Nicola, in the month of May, to approach the General in a communication of a startling nature. Having in the first instance remarked on the deplorable condition of the army, and the little hope that could be entertained of any proper rewards from Congress, he went on to a political disquisition on the characteristics of various forms of government, with a view to showing that Republics are the least adapted to secure the liberty of communities, or the property of individuals. America, he believed, would never prosper, or become a nation, under such a mode of rule. The English Constitution he regarded as the most successful experiment of the kind that had ever been tried. Alluding to the financial embarrassments of the country, and to the multiplied and increasing burdens which pressed so heavily on the people, he continued:—"This must have shown to all, and to military men in particular, the weakness of Republics, and the exertions the army have been able to make by being under a proper head. Therefore, I little doubt that, when the benefits of a mixed government are pointed out and duly considered, such will be readily adopted. In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages."

To this letter, Washington, on the 22nd of May, returned an answer, in which he expressed (and doubtless with perfect sincerity) the most painful astonishment at learning that such ideas existed in the army—ideas which he viewed with abhorrence, and reprehended with severity. He was at a loss to conceive what part of his conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to him seemed big with the greatest mischiefs that could befall the country. The writer could not have found a person to whom his schemes would be more disagreeable, though he (Washington) would employ his utmost influence, in a constitutional way, to secure ample justice to the army. He concluded with the earnest entreaty,—"Let me conjure you,

if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature." This dignified rebuke put a stop to any renewed proposals. Washington promised to keep the communication to himself, unless some further agitation of the matter should make a disclosure necessary; and this hint probably helped to repress the desires of those for whom Nicola acted as a mouthpiece. Yet it would seem that there existed, not only at that time, but for some time after, a very considerable party in the army, including some men of influential character, who were disposed to support a monarchical form of government, as that which was most likely to secure the permanent well-being of the nation.* The Republic had certainly done little up to that date to inspire general confidence; yet a Monarchy is so much the creation of a feudal and military form of society that it would have been wholly out of place in the English colonies of America.

Acting in accordance with the instructions of his Government, Sir Guy Carleton, on the 7th of May, informed Washington of the powers to negotiate which had been conferred on him. He likewise transmitted printed copies of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 4th of March, when the address to the King in favour of peace was, on the motion of General Conway, affirmed without a division; also a copy of a Bill reported in consequence of that motion, authorising the King to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted provinces of North America. A similar letter was written by Sir Guy Carleton to Congress, and he now requested of Washington a passport for the person who was to deliver it. The American Commander-in-Chief forwarded the communication to Congress himself; but the passport was refused. This refusal was based on the considerations that no assurance had been given of the Commissioners being empowered to offer any other terms than those which had already been rejected; that the members of Congress were suspicious of the offers being merely intended to amuse and put them off their guard, when they might be successfully attacked in a moment of fancied security; and that they were resolved to enter into no treaty without the agreement of France. The state of war, however, now existed at the North in little more than the name. Sir Guy Carleton took no military measures beyond those of mere defence, and Washington felt that he was not strong enough to attack New York. An informal truce existed on the Hudson, and every one looked with confidence to the actual conclusion of peace.

Washington, nevertheless, always kept strictly in view the necessity of being ready for a continuance of the war, should the better prospects of the hour be clouded over. He still counselled the rulers of his country to hold their arms firmly in their hands, and to take advantage of every favourable opportunity until their wishes were fully obtained; and he bade them remember that no nation ever suffered in treaty by preparing, even in the moment of negotiation, for vigorous operations in the field. Precaution, he urged, could at any rate do no harm, whereas too much confidence and supineness might be pernicious in the extreme. These views were fully shared by General Greene, who did all he could towards strengthening his war-worn and almost naked regiments. He was reinforced to some slight extent by the troops from Yorktown, under General St. Clair; yet these did little more than fill up vacancies caused by the departure of those soldiers who were entitled to their discharge. Greene, however, finding himself in a rather better position after their arrival, detached General Wayne across the Santee, to provide for the safety of Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded the British forces in that province, then withdrew into Savannah. Some skirmishes ensued between the troops of General Wayne and the outposts before the town; and on the 11th of July the garrison evacuated Savannah, and retired from the whole province. On the 7th of August, General Leslie, who held Charleston, announced to his troops that that city would speedily be evacuated; but the movement did not really take place until the 14th of December. In the meanwhile, some skirmishes occurred, owing to the determination of Greene not to accept the suspension of arms which Leslie proposed. The English General even offered full payment for all provisions sent into the town, while at the same time threatening to take them without compensation if withheld. The American commander suspected that his adversary intended to collect a large quantity of rice in Charleston, with which to victual the army while it acted against the French in the West Indies. He therefore declined to accede to the proposal, and the British made some foraging incursions into the country, and occasionally came into collision with the enemy. During one of these frays, Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens was killed, to the great regret of his countrymen, who knew and respected his many virtues. He was the son of Henry Laurens (at one time President of Congress),

* Sparks's Washington, Vol. VIII., pp. 300–1–2.

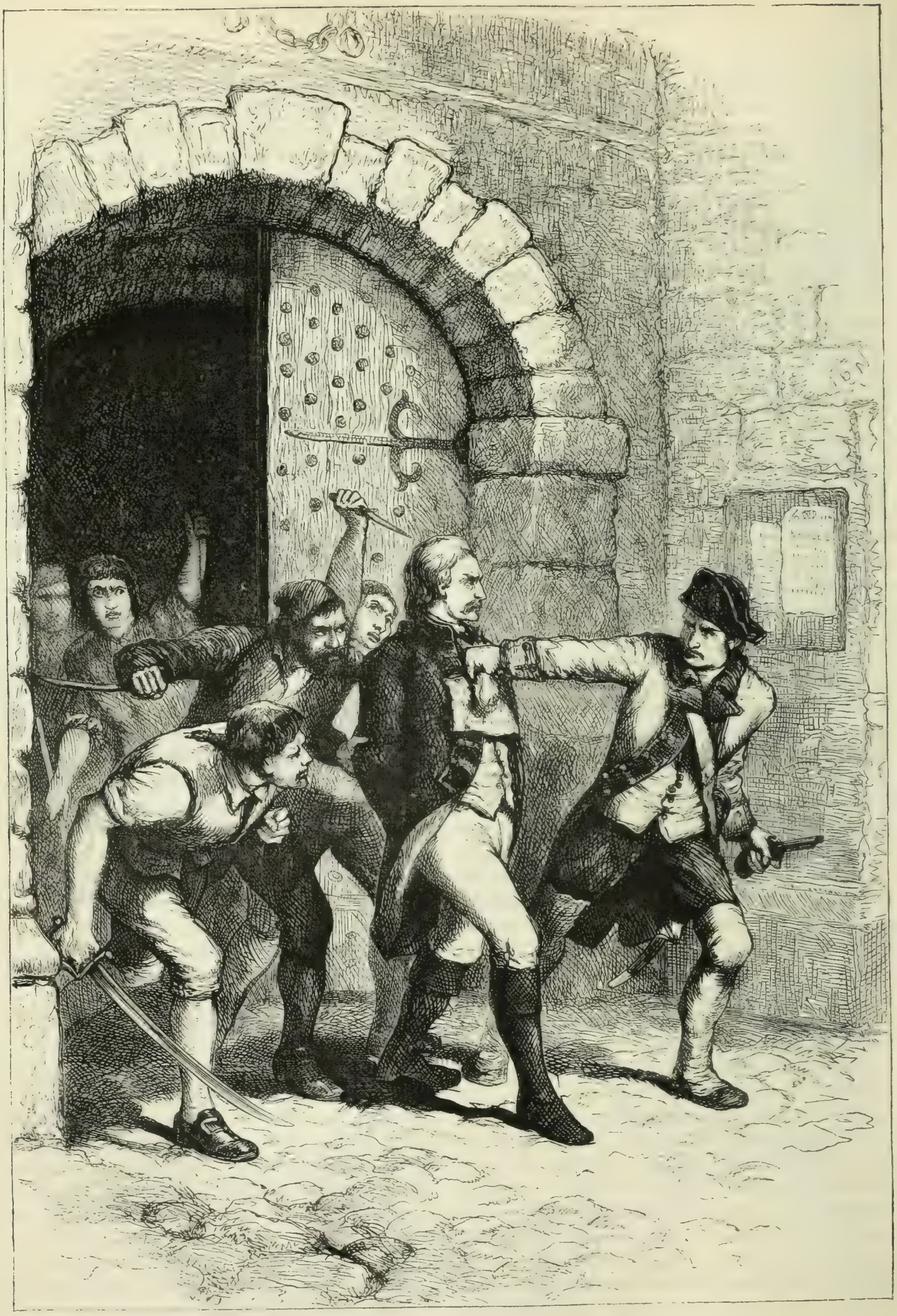
and early in the previous year had acted as special Minister to France with a view to obtaining the assistance of money and a fleet—a double object which he very successfully accomplished.

Political affairs in England were now undergoing several fluctuations. The King desired as much as ever to proceed with the war; but the pacific party had become too strong for him. On the resignation of Lord North, he had, on finding the terms of Lord Rockingham too hard, sent for Lord Shelburne, as representing the more moderate section of the Whig party. The Premiership being declined by Shelburne, George would not at once revert to Lord Rockingham, who, as the nominal leader of the more extreme section, was greatly disliked at Court, but made overtures to Lord Gower. That nobleman, however, did not feel himself able to undertake such a charge, and it was then that the distracted monarch (who seems, in moments of irritation, to have regarded Lord North's unavoidable resignation as a desertion of the Throne) was compelled to commit the direction of affairs to the men whom he most abhorred. The renewed communications with Lord Rockingham were made through the medium of Lord Shelburne, and they resulted in the formation of a Government. There can be little doubt that the mind of the King was at this time somewhat unhinged by the prolonged excitement and bitter disappointments of the American war, and by the attacks of the Opposition in Parliament. It is said that he actually contemplated abandoning his British dominions, and retiring to Hanover, and that he talked, with a strange degree of emphasis and particularity at such a crisis, of the dresses and liveries he should take with him. His situation was indeed most painful and mortifying. Only a few months before, he had declared that nothing should induce him to consent to a peace at the expense of relinquishing the colonies; only a few days before, he had expressed his determination not to throw himself into the hands of the Opposition.* Yet he was now compelled by the force of circumstances to do both.

The Marquis of Rockingham had for his chief Parliamentary supporters the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Cavendish, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and was pledged to a complete satisfaction of the American demands. The Earl of Shelburne (afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne) was the acknowledged head of that division of the Whigs which counted amongst its most distinguished members Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, Colonel Barré, and John Dunning, now created Lord Ashburton. He had adopted, and he still professed, the political views of the late Lord Chatham, and was therefore unwilling to grant the independence of America, though desirous of redressing all grievances. Shelburne was a person of far superior abilities to Rockingham. He was a most effective speaker, an adroit tactician, a man of large administrative experience, an authority in foreign affairs, an admirable financier, and one of the earliest exponents of the great principles of Free Trade. He has, however, been charged with systematic duplicity, amounting to a kind of political Jesuitism; and, whether owing to this imputation, or to some other, was not in a position of Parliamentary command. The first place in the Government, therefore, fell to Lord Rockingham; but the Cabinet was equally divided between the adherents of both leaders. On the one hand were Lord Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, Admiral Keppel, the Duke of Richmond, and Fox,—on the other, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, and Lord Ashburton; with a kind of centre in the person of the Tory Lord Thurlow, who retained the post of Lord Chancellor which he had held under Lord North. It was well known by the King that Rockingham would mitigate nothing of his policy; nor did he. He demanded, amongst his conditions of taking office, peace with the Americans, the acknowledgment of their independence, and the diminution of the influence of the Crown. The potion was bitter; yet George III. had no choice but to accept it with as much grace as he could assume.

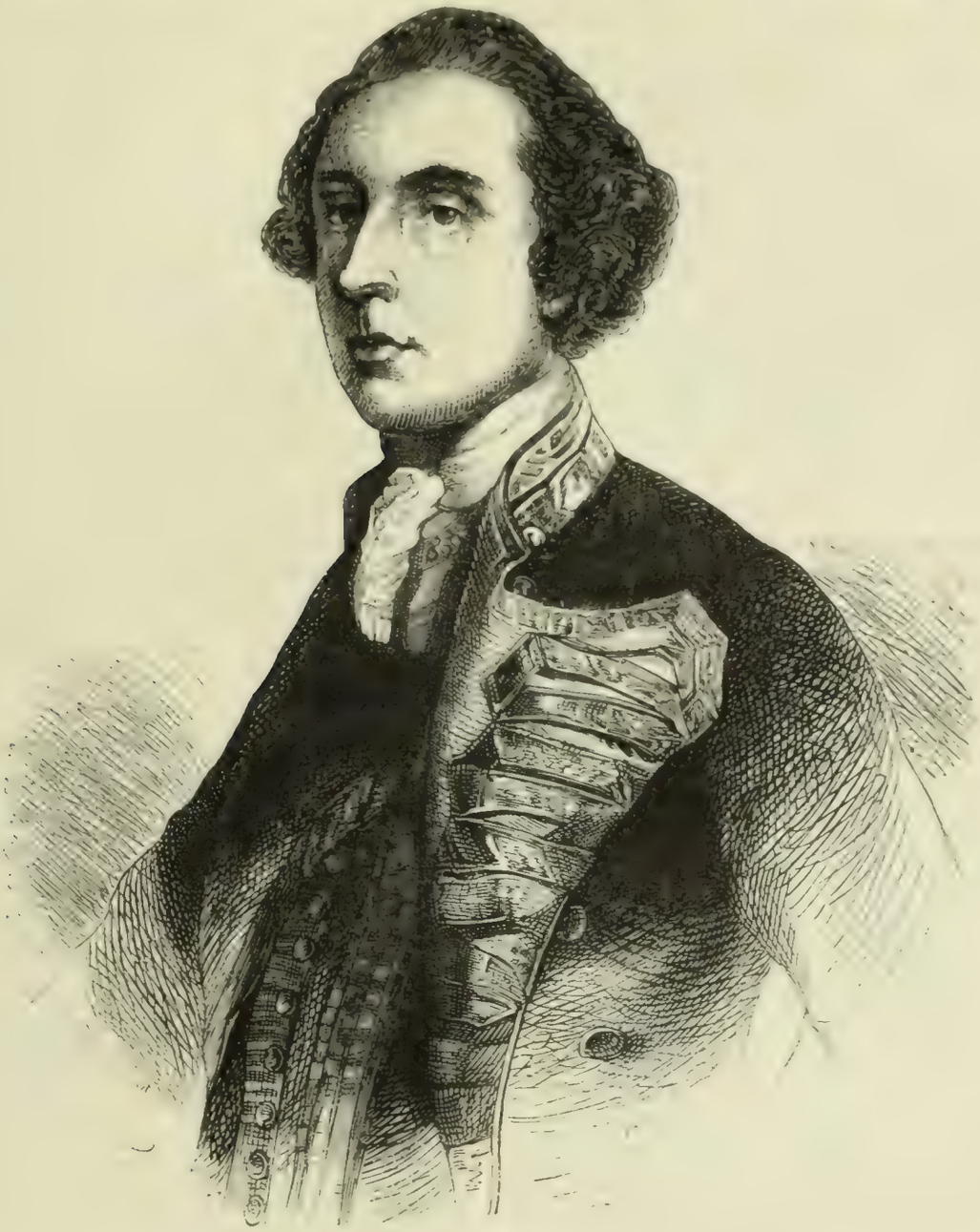
In the new Government, the Secretaryship for the Colonies was abolished, for indeed England had now but few colonies to govern. The two other Secretaryships, instead of being divided, as formerly, into what were called the Northern and Southern Departments, were for the first time distinguished as the Foreign and the Home Secretaryships—a much more natural and reasonable arrangement. The charge of the colonies was attached to the Home Office, to which Lord Shelburne was appointed; and to Lord Shelburne, therefore, appertained the special duty of dealing with the United States, which, until their independence should be acknowledged, were still colonies in the eye of the mother country. Fox was the Foreign Secretary, and was responsible for any arrangement which might be made with France, Spain, and Holland, the belligerent Powers of the Continent. This division of authority, with respect to the final adjustment of the quarrel, led to some complications in the Cabinet. On the 19th of June,

* Letters to Lord North.



HUDDY LED FROM PRISON TO BE HANGED.

the Royal assent was given to the Bill—introduced by the former, and carried through by the existing, Government—for concluding either a peace or a truce with the insurgent colonies, "any law or Act of Parliament to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." Shelburne wished to enter into separate negotiations with the Americans, and, as we have seen, instructed Sir Guy Carleton to that effect. Fox was no sooner in office than he sought to establish a distinct understanding with Holland through the medium of Russia. The attempt ended in failure, though Fox was thought to have carried his overtures to the point of humiliation. A certain disposition to offer their services to England in the interests of peace was manifested by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; but their good intentions in this respect came to nothing. Affairs took a more direct turn towards the desired end. Franklin, a little before the appointment of the new Government, had placed himself in communication with Shelburne; and that nobleman, when he became Home Secretary, sent to Paris, as a sort of private agent, Mr. Richard Oswald, a London merchant known to be well acquainted with American affairs, who carried with him, not only a letter from Shelburne, but a note of recommendation from Henry Laurens, now liberated on parole. The result of the personal consultations between Franklin and Oswald was that Franklin drew up a paper, suggesting that, in order to produce a thorough reconciliation between England and the United States, and to shut out the probability of future quarrels, the former should cede to the latter the province of Canada, besides acknowledging the



ADMIRAL RODNEY.

independence of the old colonies. Mr. Oswald seems to have thought this an excellent arrangement, and it was certainly one which had for a long while been greatly desired by Franklin, though, when he visited Canada during the American expedition of 1775–6, as one of the Commissioners from Congress, he reported that the people were very generally opposed to the invasion, and that a speedy retreat was desirable. But the eminent American Minister at Paris could hardly have imagined that England would voluntarily relinquish a large and important dependency, which had been mainly won by her blood and treasure, which the Americans had proved their inability to conquer, and which was not at all inclined to join the Federation. On returning to England, Mr. Oswald found that in this respect he had entirely misapprehended the probabilities of the situation; and he was again sent to Paris with instructions which most distinctly excluded the discussion of any such matter. According to these instructions, the Independence of the United States was to be admitted; but all other things were to remain as they stood at the Peace of 1763. A second agent was likewise despatched to Paris, to treat, on the same basis, with the Count de Vergennes; and the person so chosen by Fox was Mr. Thomas Grenville.

The dissensions which, almost immediately after the formation of the Government, had arisen between Fox and Lord Shelburne, owing to their divided and somewhat clashing offices and their divergent opinions, were repeated in their representatives at the French capital. Shelburne accused Fox of encroaching on his department; Fox retorted that he rather endeavoured to encroach on *his*. The two agents in Paris speedily developed conflicting views, and the negotiations did not make very hopeful progress. While matters were in abeyance, news arrived from the West Indies of a magnificent naval victory gained by Admiral Rodney over Count de Grasse. The French commander had for some time been pursuing a very successful career in that part of the world, and in the spring of 1782 he made preparations for conquering Jamaica. Rodney, who was in command of the English fleet, was resolved to foil this design, and, hearing on the 8th of April that the French had put to sea from Port Royal, he sailed out from St. Lucia, and sought the enemy, whom, after an indecisive collision on the 9th, he brought to a more serious engagement on the 12th. The number of the opposing ships was about equal, but the French were greatly superior in weight of metal. Throughout the whole of that day did the tremendous conflict continue, with scarcely a minute's pause in the firing; but the result was a most signal triumph for the arms of England. Not only were the French utterly defeated with terrible slaughter, but several of their ships were taken, including the Admiral's flag-ship, the celebrated *Ville de Paris*, with the Admiral himself on board. Rodney became, as he deserved to be, the great naval hero of the day; but, some time before news of this action arrived, orders had been sent out for his recall—for Rodney was a Tory, and, in those days, even naval and military affairs were brought within the circle of party politics. When the Ministry received Rodney's despatches announcing the victory, they sent out an express to bring back the newly-appointed officer; but the latter arrived at his post before he could be overtaken, and Rodney returned to England, where he was raised to the Peerage as Baron Rodney, and received an addition of £2,000 a year to a former pension.

This splendid achievement saved the British West Indies. It also, together with other successes obtained about the same period, placed England in a better position for making terms when the peace should be finally arranged. The Ministry were elated by it, though all they had done with regard to Rodney was, not to send him out, but to bring him back. Mr. Oswald, at Paris, told Franklin that he feared some of them would be unduly influenced by their satisfaction, and would perhaps develope a warlike spirit. Such, however, did not prove to be the case. The Government continued in favour of peace, and the negotiations at Paris still went on, although languidly, and without any decisive result. The split in the Cabinet, which grew wider every day, necessarily weakened the counsels of England, and another difficulty soon arose in the illness of Lord Rockingham. The Premier, though only fifty-two years of age, had for some time been declining in health, and the fatigues and anxieties of office had sorely taxed what little strength yet remained. Dropsy on the chest now supervened, and an attack of influenza —a malady which had made its first appearance in England about fifteen years earlier—still further reduced his vital powers. He took part in a debate in the House of Lords on the 3rd of June, but he was so ill as to be at times not in entire possession of himself. Towards the end of the month, his condition was such as to excite the gravest apprehensions; and on the 1st of July he expired. The day before, Fox, at a Cabinet Council, earnestly, and for the second time, begged of his colleagues to concede the independence of America freely and at once, without waiting for a treaty of peace. The majority, however, dissented

from this view, and desired to associate the surrender of the colonies with a general peace, though willing to put forward the proposed arrangement as a basis on which to treat. Fox then declared, with many expressions of regret, that he should resign his office, and that in fact he held it for the present solely in consideration of the Premier's illness.

The point for which Fox contended was but slight, and it is not easy to escape the conclusion that he was acting with personal aims. He probably hoped to obtain the Premiership himself, if, by embarrassing his colleagues, he could break up the Government; or, at any rate, to place at the head of affairs one who would agree with him in every respect. Shelburne, however, was the Minister appointed by the King to succeed Lord Rockingham; and with Shelburne, Fox would not agree. The Earl made very liberal overtures towards the distinguished commoner, and even offered to let him have his own way as to the immediate and unconditional recognition of American Independence; but Fox was not to be satisfied. He and his friends held a meeting, at which they agreed to recommend the Duke of Portland to his Majesty as the most fitting successor to Lord Rockingham. But the matter was already settled, and accordingly Fox, Lord John Cavendish, the Duke of Portland, and some of the subordinates not in the Cabinet, such as Burke and Sheridan, resigned their offices. The King was heartily glad to be rid of them, or at any rate to be rid of Fox. He disliked that brilliant and, in many respects, admirable politician, for the democratic freedom of his views, for the bitter attacks he had made on himself, for the debauchery of his private life, and for the evil influence he was supposed to exercise over the young Prince of Wales. On the other hand, he was beginning to like Lord Shelburne, and it was with some satisfaction that he committed the State to his guidance.

CHAPTER LII.

The Government of Lord Shelburne—General Condemnation of Fox's Abandonment of the Ministry—Mr. Thomas Grenville in Paris—He is succeeded by Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert—Progress of the Negotiations—Franklin's Statement of the Conditions of Peace—Lord Shelburne's Exposition of his Views—Sincerity of George III.—Communications with John Adams at Amsterdam—Desire of the English Government to treat separately with the Belligerents—The American Commissioners disposed to follow this Course—Adams's Distrust of the European Powers—The Feeling shared by Jay—Self-seeking Policy of France and Spain—A Punctilious Objection to Oswald's Commission raised by Jay—His Adherence to his own Ideas—Interviews between Lord Shelburne and M. de Rayneval—Their Friendly Interchange of Opinions—France inimical to some of the American Claims—Issue of a New Commission to Mr. Oswald, the English Agent in Paris—Partial Recognition by England of the Independence of the United States—Despatch of a Second English Representative to the French Capital—The Claims of the American Loyalists—Mutual Distrust of France and America—Position of Spain—France tired of the War, and of subsidising the United States.

In the new Government of Lord Shelburne, the Home Secretaryship was conferred on Thomas Townshend; that of Foreign Affairs on Lord Grantham. These were the two appointments which, next to the Premiership, most concerned America; and they were filled in a manner that augured well for a speedy conclusion of the war on liberal terms. Townshend, in particular, was known to have been always opposed to those despotic principles of colonial rule which had brought England into collision with her American dependencies. Shelburne himself, it is true, was personally averse from the separation of the colonies from the mother country; but he was a man of the world, and could understand the teaching of events. The policy of the Rockingham Cabinet was continued by the new Ministry, and it became only too obvious, even to many of his own followers, that the conduct of Fox, in abandoning his colleagues, and going once more into Opposition, was incapable of defence or excuse. It seems not improbable that this remarkable man's love of riotous indulgence was one of the motives which determined his course. During his few months of power, he had, indeed, applied himself to business with the most admirable assiduity; but it is doubtful whether he could long have persevered in the painful drudgeries of office. On the very day that he resigned the seals, he entertained the Prince of Wales at dinner, drank deeply, proceeded to Brooks's, where he stayed till four o'clock in the morning, and then went to White's, where the carouse was kept up to a still later hour. Fox found it necessary to vindicate his political con-

sistency in the House of Commons; but he did not succeed in persuading many that he had acted properly. His uncle, the Duke of Richmond, was highly offended with him; Horace Walpole, his ardent admirer, thought him much to blame; so also did Lord Temple. These were his own followers and supporters—men who regarded him as the greatest politician of the day, the Prime Minister of the future by right of genius and of a large and liberal insight into affairs. Others were still more severe; and unfortunately he gave them the means of making effective assaults.

Fox's agent at Paris, Mr. Thomas Grenville, was a young man of twenty-seven, and was no match for an old and experienced politician like Vergennes. The French Minister asked the extent of his powers, as France could not treat except in conjunction with her allies. Mr. Grenville's commission, however, empowered him to deal only with the Court of Versailles. Vergennes said that this was a barrier to his treating, but he was willing to listen, in an informal way, to anything his visitor might have to state. The young Englishman mentioned the fact that his Government was prepared to grant the independence of the colonies; but Vergennes replied that many other concessions might be required of Great Britain before the conclusion of a peace. A further conference took place next day, when the Spanish Minister, Count d'Aranda, was also present. Grenville wrote home to solicit an extension of his powers, and it appears to have been the intention of the Government to grant his request; but, owing to some blunder, the new commission was substantially the same as the old. Shortly afterwards, Oswald, in a conversation with Grenville, casually divulged the fact, which he had been charged to conceal, that Franklin had suggested to the English Ministry the desirability of ceding Canada to the United States—a plan which France did not favour. Shelburne, then the Home Secretary, had replied evasively by waiving all consideration of the subject until a later stage, though, as we have seen, his new instructions to Oswald excluded any such proposal; and Grenville, inferring (though no doubt quite wrongly) that Shelburne rather approved the idea, wrote to Fox, desiring to be relieved of a mission in which he considered himself hampered by secret negotiations. This was one of Fox's reasons for quarrelling with Shelburne.

The negotiations at Paris were necessarily hindered for awhile by the change of Government; but Shelburne speedily removed any doubts that might have been entertained as to his policy, by reiterating the most pacific assurances, and by sending to Paris, in place of Mr. Grenville, a gentleman then known as Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, but afterwards as Lord St. Helen's. It was the business of Mr. Fitzherbert to treat with the French Government. Oswald still remained as the agent who was to consult with Franklin on matters specially affecting the United States. On the 10th of July, Franklin and Oswald had an interview, at which the former proposed to the latter the American conditions of peace. These were—the entire independence of the thirteen States; the withdrawal of all British troops; for boundaries, the Mississippi towards the west, and, in the direction of Canada, those which existed previous to the Quebec Act of 1774; finally, the freedom of fishing off Newfoundland and elsewhere, as in times past. With respect to the American loyalists, Franklin said that the estates of those men had been confiscated by laws of the particular States to which they belonged, which Congress had no power to repeal; that the British in the Carolinas had set an example of severity by confiscating and selling the lands and property of all patriots; and that the American Commissioners for peace could not allow compensation of refugees to form any part of the treaty. He even hinted at the possibility of a claim being made for indemnity on account of the destruction of American property by British troops. In conclusion, Franklin gave Mr. Oswald to understand that he should be ready to sign the preliminary articles of the treaty as soon as they could be agreed upon.

Shelburne was prepared to accept the ultimatum of Franklin, with but slight modifications; and in writing to Mr. Oswald, on the 27th of July, he observed:—"You very well know I have never made a secret of the deep concern I feel in the separation of countries united by blood, by principles, habits, and every tie short of territorial proximity. But I have long since given it up, decidedly, though reluctantly; and the same motives which made me perhaps the last to give up all hope of re-union make me most anxious, if it is given up, that it shall be done so as to avoid all future risk of enmity, and lay the foundation of a new connection, better adapted to the temper and interest of both countries. In this view I go further with Dr. Franklin, perhaps, than he is aware of, and further, perhaps, than the professed advocates of Independence are prepared to admit. I consider myself as pledged to the contents of this letter. You will find the Ministry united, in full possession of the King's confidence, and thoroughly disposed to peace, if it can be attained upon reasonable terms." Parliament had adjourned several

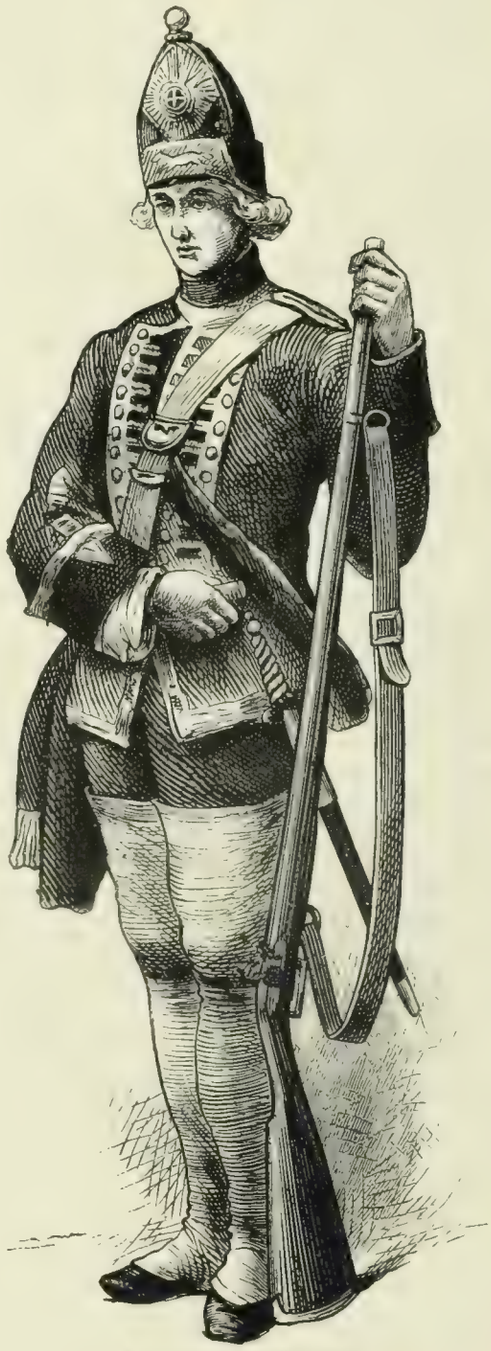
days before the date of this letter—viz., on the 11th of July; but it had conferred on the King ample power to conduct negotiations. In the commission to Oswald, which followed shortly on the Earl's letter, his Majesty pledged himself to ratify and confirm whatever might be concluded between Oswald and the American Commissioners; "our earnest wish for peace," said this document, "disposing us to purchase it at the price of acceding to the complete independence of the thirteen States." Those words must have cost George III. a world of bitter regret; but, having made up his mind to yield, he did so fully, and acted throughout with the good faith of an honourable nature.

Franklin was ultimately assisted in the conduct of the negotiations by three other American Commissioners—by John Jay, who reached Paris from Spain, by John Adams, who came from Holland, and by Henry Laurens, who arrived from London. An attempt to open irregular communications with Adams, while still in Holland, had been made by Lord North at the period of his resignation, with the knowledge and consent of Lord Shelburne, General Conway, and some of the other leaders of the Opposition, who, there was every reason to believe, would soon be in power, as in fact they were. The agent thus selected was a person of the name of Digges, who had an interview with Adams at Amsterdam, on the 20th of March. The American representative, however, would not consent to any such interview without first stipulating that a witness should be present, and that he should be at liberty to communicate all that might pass to Franklin and Vergennes. As the desire of those by whom Digges was sent out was to conclude a separate negotiation with the Americans, and thus detach them from the French alliance, the agent, feeling himself fettered by the second of these conditions, made no great progress with his mission, and soon returned to London. It would appear that at the same time overtures were addressed to France for a separate treaty with her also; but this proposal, which originated with Lord North, was not known to the Whigs. An American writer has alleged—but on authority which is either insufficient, or insufficiently stated—that the restoration of Canada was offered as the price of a separate peace, and refused by Vergennes, partly because he doubted whether the proposal was made in good faith, partly because France preferred that Canada should remain in English hands, as a check on the United States.* It is not likely, however, that any English Minister would have had the audacity to make such a proposal to Parliament, or that Parliament would have sanctioned it, had it been made.

The desire of the English Government to treat separately with the several belligerents was natural enough, for it was hoped in this way to isolate and weaken each, and thus obtain better terms. Several events occurred in the course of 1782 to confirm the desirability of this method of procedure. The defeat of de Grasse, and some other naval successes, materially improved the position of England towards France; the triumphant defence of Gibraltar gave her the command over Spain; and every day made it still more clear that Holland was no longer, as in the previous century, a match for the sea-forces of Great Britain. Yet, if these Powers, in combination with the United States, were free, in the negotiation of a treaty of peace, to throw all their resources and elements of strength into a common stock, against which England could only oppose her own unaided might, it was obvious that the latter would treat at a great disadvantage. Hence the desire to treat separately. But, as regarded France and the United States, this was barred by the treaty of alliance between the two nations, which provided that neither party should conclude a peace or truce with England unless with the consent of the other. The Americans, however, had temptations to break that understanding. The substantial objects of the war had been gained, and its continuance, simply to oblige France and Spain, and enable them to recover from their discomfitures, would have been highly unpopular, since the Federated States were already almost ruined by the long and arduous struggle. The distrust of France, whether justified by facts or not, was extending every week. It had always been strongly felt by John Adams; towards the close of 1782 it was felt by him more than ever; and he then included other Powers as well in this sentiment of suspicion. Mr. Oswald said to him, one day in November, "You are afraid of being made the tools of the Powers of Europe?" "Indeed I am," replied Adams. "What Powers?" asked Oswald. "All of them," rejoined the New Englander. And he did not stand alone among the American Commissioners at Paris. Jay, who,

* This statement is contained in the Life of John Adams by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams (chap. 7, p. 357). It is admitted, however, that no mention is made of this offer in a letter written two days later by Vergennes to the French envoy at Madrid, containing the substance of the conference with the English agent; and that the same omission occurs in the communication of the overture made by the Count's order to Congress. Mr. C. F. Adams does not reveal his authority for so strange an assertion, but only says it comes "from elsewhere."

previous to his leaving the United States as Commissioner to the Spanish Court, had been an enthusiastic supporter of France and all her views, as far as he then knew them, was converted to very different opinions on his voyage from America to Europe. He travelled with M. Gérard, the first French representative at Philadelphia; and it would appear, from writings left by Jay, that something was said by his companion—it is not known precisely what—which created a suspicion of France in the mind of the American envoy. What he observed at Madrid, where he was frequently in communication with the French Minister, confirmed this impression, and induced him to think that Louis XVI. and his advisers were not incapable, if occasion arose, of sacrificing some of the objects of American policy to their own more immediate interests. At the same time he became equally distrustful of Spain, from which, in spite of many promises to the contrary, he was never able to procure the pecuniary aid he was sent to ask.

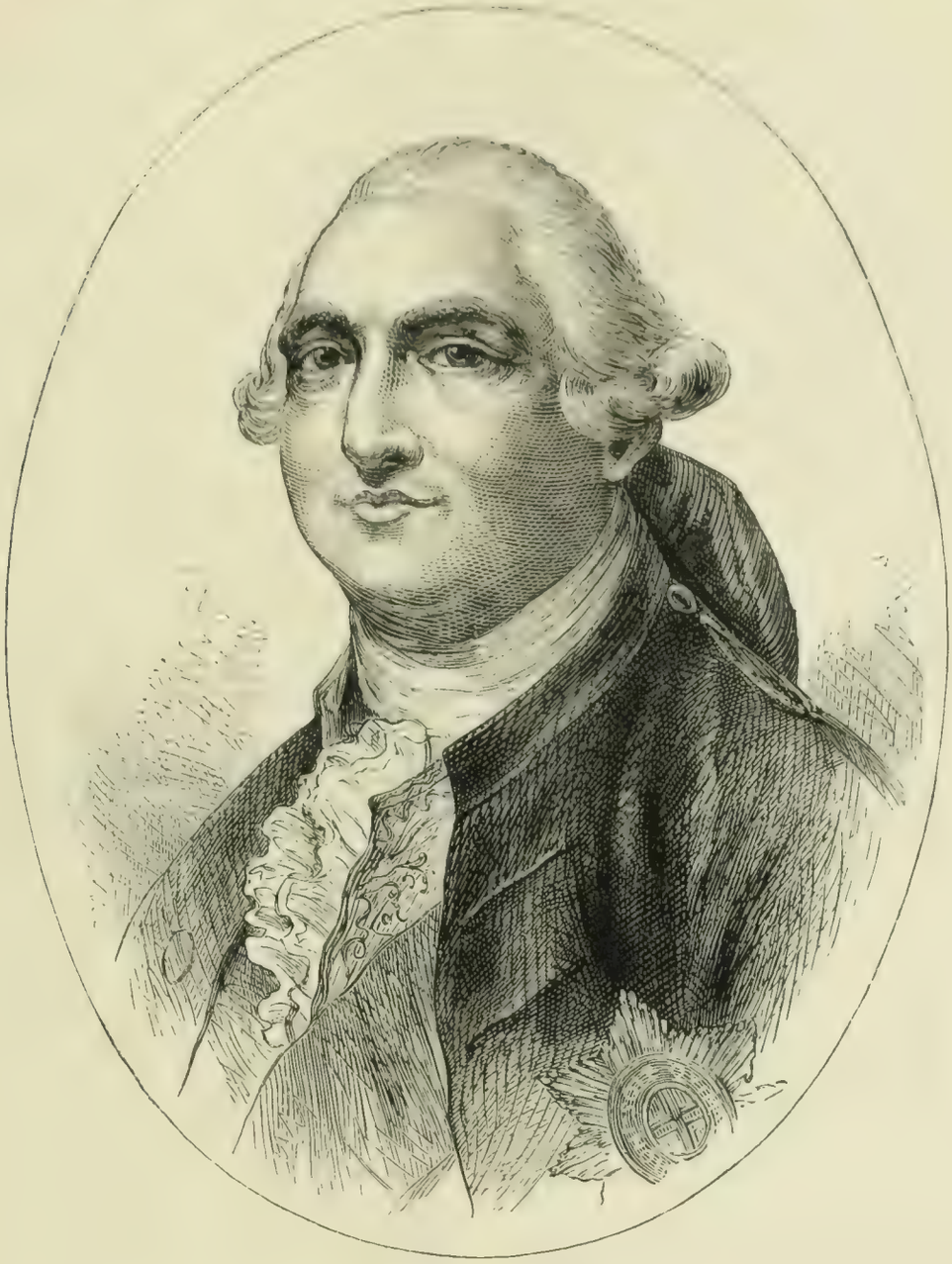


A BRITISH GRENADIER.

When Jay arrived in Paris, he found the French Minister eager to press on him an acceptance of the Spanish claims to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and to the vast territories watered by that river, previously, even, to the recognition by Spain of the independence of America. Such a course made him all the less inclined to identify the interests of his country with those of either Spain or France; and a separate treaty with England found in him an advocate and a secret supporter. Even Franklin came in time to think the arrangement desirable. In the month of July, Oswald wrote privately to Lord Shelburne that the Commissioners had shown a wish to treat on a separate footing from the other Powers. This was exactly what Shelburne wanted; but negotiations of any kind, whether separate or joint, were for awhile stopped by a point of form raised by Jay. The King's order, directed to the Attorney-General on the 25th of July, to prepare a commission for Mr. Oswald, spoke of the American communities as colonies, not as sovereign States; and this authority was issued through the Home instead of the Foreign Department. Jay contended that, before treating for peace, the independence of the United States should be acknowledged by Act of Parliament, and the British troops be withdrawn from America. Parliament, however, was not sitting, and Jay then suggested as an alternative that they should require a proclamation of American independence under the Great Seal. Franklin and Jay laid before the Count de Vergennes a copy of Mr. Oswald's commission with which they had been furnished, and requested his advice. The Count thought the terms sufficient, and that the point mooted by Jay was immaterial; and he pertinently observed—so far, however, regarding the matter rather from an English than either a French or an American point of view—that it was not to be expected that the effect, independence, should precede its cause, the treaty. Franklin (the only other American Commissioner at that time in Paris) supported this reasoning; but Jay was still dissatisfied, and declined to proceed.

The objection of Jay was certainly captious. Vergennes very fairly argued that the acceptance by Great Britain of the powers of the American representatives, wherein they were styled, by their Government, Commissioners from the United States of America, was a tacit confession of the independence of those States. But Jay had a more

positive guarantee than this. On the 1st of September, Oswald communicated to the Americans a part of his instructions, and a letter from the Home Secretary, promising, in the King's name, to grant to America "full, complete, and unconditional independence, in the most explicit manner, as an article of treaty." Jay's obstinacy threatened to bring everything to a dead lock. It is difficult to imagine any other motive for such punctilios than a desire to humiliate England by forcing her to accept even the most frivolous exactions. Adams had not then left the Hague; but, on Jay communicating to him by letter his views on the subject, he replied by suggesting a middle course, which he thought might remove the difficulty. If Oswald's commission could be so altered as to confer authority to treat with the Ministers of "the United States of America," that, in the opinion of Adams, would be sufficient. Jay at length brought himself to accept this view, which was also accepted by Oswald, and submitted by him to the English Ministers, together with a copy of Jay's argument. Lord Shelburne had at that time a private agent in Paris, named Benjamin Vaughan. This gentleman, after consulting with Jay (who does not seem to have been aware of his semi-official character), earnestly begged of his principal to grant what was required, and on the 11th of September left Paris to urge his views personally. The day before his departure, a secret and confidential despatch, addressed by Barbé de Marbois, secretary to the French Legation at Philadelphia, to Count de Vergennes, which had been intercepted by the English, was put into the



LORD SHELBURNE.

hands of Jay. It referred to the Eastern States in general, and to Samuel Adams in particular, as setting up unreasonable pretensions to the fisheries, and revealed a strong leaning to the Southern States, as being more in harmony with France. The English Ministers probably thought that the communication of this despatch would induce Jay to relinquish his objections to immediate negotiation, by demonstrating to him how little cause he had to depend upon the disinterested friendship of Louis XVI. But it had no such effect. Jay still insisted, and Vaughan supported his views in London.

As a reason why the British Cabinet ought to accede to his desires, Jay, for once adopting a conciliatory tone, suggested, through the medium of Vaughan, that it was the obvious interest of England to cut the cords which tied the Americans to France. Franklin also urged on the Government of Lord Shelburne a compliance with the demand of a new commission for Oswald. But the matter was not immediately settled. The attention of the Prime Minister was now greatly occupied by the opening of negotiations in England with M. de Rayneval, an agent of Vergennes, whose confidence he possessed in no small degree. The action of this agent was to be entirely secret, and he travelled under a fictitious name; but Jay came to a knowledge of the fact the day before that on which he had been informed of the despatch from Marbois. De Rayneval's mission is involved in some obscurity; but it seems to have arisen out of a desire on the part of the French Government to sound the real designs of the English Premier, whose reputation for duplicity had pursued him even to Paris, where, at this date, it was suspected that he was pursuing some underhand design. The French diplomatist, after obtaining explanations which quieted his immediate doubts, proceeded, according to his instructions, to discuss the chief questions incidental to a peace.

The earlier interviews took place at Lord Shelburne's country seat at Bowood Park, Wiltshire, in the month of September, and, on the whole, they facilitated the desired end by bringing out the points on which the French and English Ministers approximated, together with those whence they diverged. Rayneval spoke for Spain as well as for France, and strongly represented the desire of the Spanish monarch to recover Gibraltar, which, he said, was as dear to him as his life. Shelburne replied that he dared not submit such a proposal to Parliament; but, as regarded Florida, he evinced a disposition to be conciliatory. With respect to the United States, he confessed his personal disinclination to acknowledge their independence; but, having made up his mind to the necessity of such a course, he was resolved to concede it without any reservation. "As to the question of boundaries and fisheries," observed Rayneval, "I do not doubt the earnest purpose of the King [Louis] to do everything in his power to restrain the Americans within the limits of justice and reason. Be their pretensions to the fisheries what they may, it seems to me that there is one sure principle to follow on that subject; namely, that the fishery on the high seas is *res nullius*, the property of no one, and that the fishery on the coast belongs of right to the proprietaries of the coasts, unless there have been derogations founded upon treaties. As to boundaries, the British Minister will find in the negotiations of 1754, relative to the Ohio, the boundaries which England, then the sovereign of the thirteen United States, thought proper to assign them."*

On the 15th of September, Shelburne and Rayneval came up to London, where, on the 16th, Rayneval had an interview with Lord Grantham, the Foreign Secretary. To him, as previously to Shelburne, he broached the subject of Gibraltar, but met with as much discouragement as before. Next day, the French envoy took his leave, and, in parting from him, Lord Shelburne used some remarkable words. "I have been deeply touched," he observed, "by everything you have said to me about the character of the King of France; his principles of justice and moderation, and his love of peace. I wish, not only to re-establish peace between the two nations and the two Sovereigns, but to bring them to a cordiality which will constitute their reciprocal happiness. Not only are they not natural enemies, as men have thought till now; they have interests which ought to bring them nearer together. We have each lost consideration in our furious desire to do each other harm. Let us change principles that are so erroneous. Let us re-unite, and we shall stop all revolutions in Europe." By revolutions (an American historian remarks) he meant the division of Poland, the encroachments on Turkey, and the attempt of the Court of Vienna to bring Italy under its control by seizing the harbours of Dalmatia.†

Another subject on which Shelburne expressed himself with great liberality was that of Free Trade. He desired, he said, to effect the destruction of monopoly in commerce; and, while admitting that the English nation was tainted with that vice more than any other, he flattered himself that he

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 29.
† Ibid.

should be able to come to an understanding with the French Court on the subject. He added that he had spoken to his King on all topics likely to arise between the two Courts, and he had reason to believe that, when they had made peace, the most frank cordiality would be established between the Sovereigns of France and England. Rayneval replied, "Your principles on trade accord exactly with those of France. Count de Vergennes thinks that freedom is the soul of commerce." And thus they parted. The general result of the conversations between Shelburne and the French envoy—though the statements of the latter were very guarded—was to create in the English Premier a belief that France would not support the United States in their demands for a share in the fisheries and for extensive boundaries, and that in fact she was only interested in securing the independence of those communities. So it ultimately proved.

Ere Rayneval left London, the Government had determined to issue a new commission to Oswald, empowering him to conclude a peace or truce with Commissioners from the thirteen United States of America, which were enumerated one by one. The amended commission bears date September 21st, and the concession is thought to have been in some degree brought about by the representations of Rayneval and of Mr. Vaughan. It was not made, however, until Ministers had consulted Lord Ashburton, as a great law authority, and been assured by him that the proposed change would do no hurt. Thus the matter ended in a compromise. Jay's demands received a partial gratification; yet the English position was not entirely given up, for the direct acknowledgment of independence was still reserved to form the first article of the treaty. The negotiations now proceeded for awhile without further obstructions. The American diplomatists were Franklin and Jay: Adams and Laurens had not yet arrived. Jay, at the request of Franklin, drew up the articles of peace, and included in them clauses relating to the boundaries and the fisheries, together with a provision for reciprocal freedom of commerce, and a concession to the British of the free navigation of the Mississippi. He was very desirous that West Florida, which had been taken by the Spaniards, should be restored to England, for Spain was now the great object of his dislike. It was not long, however, before new causes of dissension arose. The English Ministry thought that Mr. Jay was demanding too much, and that Mr. Oswald was too compliant. They therefore despatched to the assistance of their envoy, but in fact with a view to over-ruling him, Mr. Henry Strachey, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs—a gentleman more skilled in the ways of diplomacy. He was to insist on indemnity to the refugees or loyalists, to narrow the line of boundaries, and to oppose the reciprocity of the fisheries and of trade. The question with regard to the loyalists was one which specially concerned the honour of England. They had suffered cruelly, and in many ways, for their devotion to the Royal cause; and it would have been simply shameful for England to abandon them without at any rate an effort to obtain some favourable terms. The point had been mooted at Paris before the arrival of Strachey. Lord Shelburne had hoped to retain a property in the yet ungranted lands of the western territory, and to derive from the sale of those lands some compensation for the wretched objects of his care—a very considerable body numerically, it must always be recollected. Jay stoutly denied that any such right of property remained to the King. Oswald thought that the refugees should at least be restored to their civil rights; but Jay replied, as Franklin had done before, that the case was one for the decision, not of Congress, but of the individual States, against whose laws the loyalists had offended. The reply was a clever evasion of all responsibility in the matter; for England was dealing with the Federal Union as a whole, and knew nothing of the individual States. The unfortunate people, who were smarting for their love of principle, and for a too lively faith in the power of Royalty, were thus withdrawn from all protection; but Oswald yielded the point, as he would doubtless have yielded any other that had been asked of him by his astute opponents.

Of the development of these negotiations, Vergennes had no exact knowledge. The American representatives did not even communicate to him the new commission of Oswald, and the Count afterwards wrote to the French Minister at Philadelphia that they cautiously kept themselves at a distance from him, and, whenever he inquired briefly respecting the progress of the discussions, answered simply with vague generalities, giving him to understand that nothing was being done, and that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the British Ministry. M. de Vergennes was a good deal hurt at this conduct; but the American Commissioners probably found their justification in the fact that France—as Jay discovered in a conference with Rayneval after the return of the latter to Paris—was opposed to the claims of the United States as regarded the fisheries and the boundaries. To this extent, therefore, France appeared rather as the ally of the English than of the Americans. The Spanish Minister, moreover, was exhibiting an

unfriendly spirit; was pressing on Jay the acceptance of those boundaries which Spain desired, and bringing into view the fact that his Sovereign had not yet acknowledged the independence of the American States. As the year advanced, France became more urgently desirous of a speedy peace; and the defeat of the combined French and Spanish fleets before Gibraltar rendered this desire so strong as to over-ride pretty nearly every other consideration. The American Congress, on the 3rd of October, renewed a former resolution to hearken to no propositions for peace except through Franklin; and, shortly before, that Minister was instructed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain from France a loan of four millions of dollars. But the day for such things had passed. On the 14th of October, the Count de Vergennes wrote to M. de la Luzerne at Philadelphia:—

"If we are so happy as to make peace, the King must then cease to subsidise the American army, which will be as useless as it has been habitually inactive. We are astonished at the demands which continue to be made upon us while the Americans obstinately refuse the payment of taxes. It seems to us much more natural for them to raise upon themselves, rather than upon the subjects of the King, the funds which the defence of their cause exacts. You know," he continued, "our system with regard to Canada. Everything which shall prevent the conquest of that country will agree essentially with our views. But this way of thinking ought to be an impenetrable secret for the Americans. Moreover, I do not see by what title the Americans can form pretensions to lands on Lake Ontario. Those lands belong to the savages, or are a dependency of Canada. In either case, the United States have no right to them whatever. It has been pretty nearly demonstrated that to the south of the Ohio their limits are the mountains following the shed of the waters, and that everything to the north of the mountain range, especially the lakes, formerly made a part of Canada. These notions are for you alone; you will take care not to appear to be informed about them, because we so much the less wish to intervene in the discussions between the Count d'Aranda and Mr. Jay, as both parties claim countries to which neither of them has a right, and as it will be almost impossible to reconcile them."

Such was the feeling of the French Government when, on the 26th of October, John Adams arrived in Paris from Holland.

CHAPTER LIII.

Arrival of John Adams in Paris—His Relations towards Franklin and Jay—Discussion as to the Boundaries to be assigned to the United States towards the North-east—The Claims of British Subjects—Indemnity required for the American Loyalists—The Question of the Fisheries—Adams's Arguments on Behalf of granting Equal Rights to American Fishermen on the Coasts of the British Possessions—Paper on the Subject by Mr. Oswald—The Americans not supported in their Contention by the French—Letter from Vergennes to Luzerne—Concessions to the American Loyalists—Final Discussion of the Fisheries Question—The American Demands granted—Signing of the Preliminaries of Peace (Nov. 30th)—Views of the Count de Vergennes—His Complaints against the Americans—Outline of the Preliminary Articles of Peace—Meeting of the British Parliament—The King on the Separation of the Colonies from the Empire—Attacks of the Opposition—Shelburne's Defence of his Political Measures—Adjournment of the Two Houses for the Christmas Recess.

Adams was not regarded with favour by either the French or the English. By the latter he was classed among the most stubborn and unmanageable of the rebels; by the former he was held in distrust as one who disliked France, and entertained the worst opinion of her designs towards the United States. Benjamin Vaughan, Lord Shelburne's secret agent at Paris, had begged of the Minister to push forward his negotiations with all despatch, in order to get rid of them before Adams came. Rayneval told Jay that he feared the ambitious and restless designs of that enterprising politician. It was indeed pretty certain that, whatever view of the situation he might take, it would not be a French view. The feeling of antagonism to France on the part of Adams was so great that, on reaching Paris, he kept his presence there secret from Vergennes, and left him to find it out by the agency of the police. Having called on his colleagues, he announced his intention of supporting the views of Jay with regard to carrying on the negotiations without the knowledge of the French Ministers. After some hesitation, Franklin signified his readiness to go with the others in that

resolve. It was in great part owing to the influence of Adams that the American Ministers disregarded throughout the instructions of their own Government to the effect that they were not to make an *ultimatum* of anything but independence. At one time, Adams almost determined to resign, on finding his hands thus tied in deference to French views; but he soon perceived that he might do better by remaining. In one respect, however, he could not get Franklin to agree with him. Lord Shelburne had demanded that British merchants should be guaranteed the right to collect debts due to them in the United States; but Franklin had resisted the claim on the ground that the Royal armies had in many instances robbed the American debtors of the very goods for which the debts were incurred, and had wantonly, and in a manner contrary to the laws of war, destroyed a large amount of property from which the means of payment might have been derived. Adams, during an interview with Strachey at the residence of Jay, gave his assent to the claim which Franklin had all along disputed. Having once taken this position, he would not recede from it; but the consent of Franklin was refused.

The three Commissioners met Strachey and Oswald on the 30th of October, and upon that and subsequent occasions the several points in question were closely debated. One great matter of contention had reference to the north-eastern boundaries of the Federated States, which the English Ministers were desirous of pushing back to the Penobscot, if not to the Kennebec, or even the Piscataqua, in the last of which cases the whole of Maine would have been reserved to Great Britain. On this subject Adams was fortified by authenticated copies, obtained from the Council of Massachusetts, of every document relating to the question. Franklin and Jay had left these boundaries to be settled by commissioners after the conclusion of peace—an arrangement for which there were precedents, but one which generally leads to a great deal of prolonged disputation and heart-burning. It was now arranged in the treaty itself, chiefly by the interposition of Adams, that the line should be drawn at the St. Croix and the highlands, the original limits of Nova Scotia in that direction. The point was not conceded without a long and animated fight, during which a gentleman was sent over from the Board of Trade and Plantations, with divers old volumes which were relied on for showing that the province of Maine was never any part of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and therefore could not be considered a portion of the American Confederacy. Against these ancient records, Adams produced the official documents which he had procured before leaving America, and which he regarded as conclusive evidence to the contrary. The relative positions of Maine and Massachusetts were in contention from an early period, as the reader will recollect, and the decision of English lawyers had certainly been against the claims of the chief New England settlement. Ultimately, however, Maine was given up by the British Commissioners; and it cannot be questioned that the people of that district were opposed to the Royal cause during the War of Independence. On the north-west of the Federation, it was agreed that the line should be drawn through the centre of the water communications of the great lakes to the Lake of the Woods.

As regards the claims of indemnity, Adams and Jay, uniting against Franklin on the 4th of November, carried the concession to England that the treaty should recognise the validity of debts to British subjects contracted before the war, and that the American courts should be opened to the full recovery of them. Strachey was so pleased with this triumph (which had been mainly won by his perseverance) that he believed Adams and Jay would likewise assent to the indemnification of the loyalists. Franklin, however, persuaded his colleagues to join with him in letters to Oswald and Strachey, expressing, though in a conciliatory manner, their unanimous opinion that an amnesty more extensive than what had already been agreed to could not be granted to the refugees. At this time, the Shelburne Government was in a very insecure state, owing to the half-hearted support of some of its members; but Shelburne himself, Townshend, and Pitt, agreed to a new set of articles, one of which conceded that all the British posts on the Penobscot, at Niagara, at Detroit, at New York, and in the Carolinas, were to be given up to the United States. On the other hand, the article on the fisheries was so fashioned that the Americans were not to take fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton, or within three leagues of any other British isle on the coast of America. Moreover, indemnity was to be claimed for the estates of the refugees, and also for the proprietary rights and estates of the Penns and of the heirs of Lord Baltimore. "If," wrote Townshend to his representative at Paris, on the 19th of November, "they [the American Commissioners] insist on the plea of want of power to treat of these subjects, you will intimate to them, in a proper manner, that they are driving us to a necessity of applying directly to those who are allowed to have the power"—in other words, to the States individually. Shelburne hinted at the

subject of the refugees being submitted to Parliament, if the Commissioners proved intractable; and it is not unlikely that Parliament would have been less disposed than Ministers to adopt a moderate policy. The two Houses were to have met on the 26th of November; but they were further prorogued to the 5th of December, in the hope that peace might by that time be provisionally concluded.

The greatest struggle was with reference to the fisheries. When, on the 25th of November, the conferences were resumed, after a brief visit of Strachey to London, a very warm and vehement debate ensued, in which Adams particularly distinguished himself. The discussion was continued on several succeeding days, when the two English agents were assisted by Mr. Fitzherbert, the Minister charged with the negotiations with France, and the three Americans by Henry Laurens, who arrived from London. Adams told Oswald that the New England States had no staple without the fisheries; that the fisheries entered into all their trade; that if they were excluded from them, the British would not be benefited by it, for the French would get the trade; that England would have nothing to fear from a number of American sailors at such a distance, whatever they might have from the French, who were near; and that the fishermen would break through such limits, whatever care might be used to prevent it, which might prove a bone of contention, and bring on another war after a few years. Oswald made a great difficulty about acknowledging the *right* of the Americans to the fisheries, and desired to insert the word "liberty." After awhile, Adams said, "They have a *right* every way. The banks are only so many leagues from the Americans, but they are so many from the Europeans: if the latter have a right by nature, certainly the former have. We have fought together with the English in their wars for the enjoyment of them, and with them we have possessed them; therefore, we have a full right." *

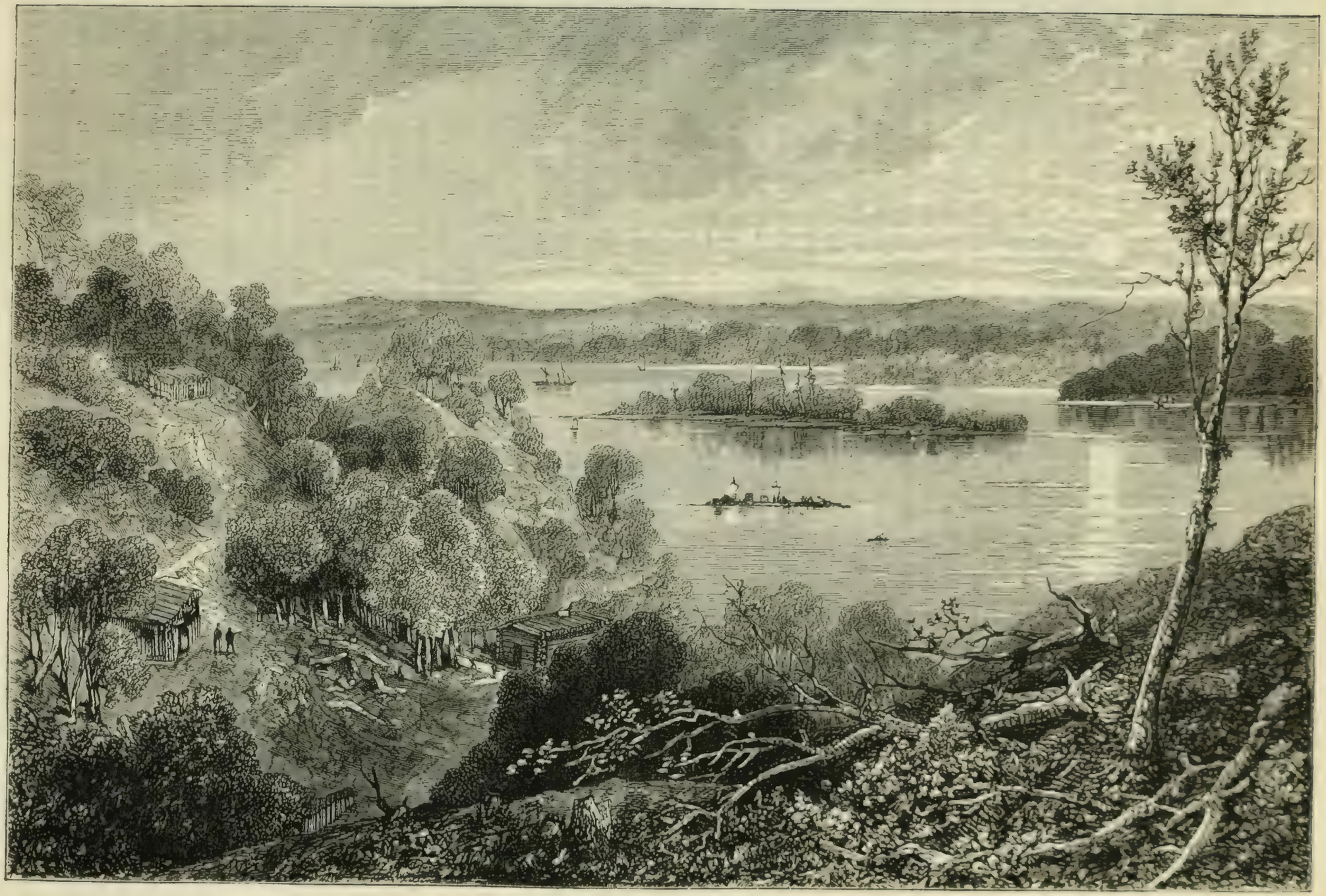
The British Commissioners proposed to sign the preliminaries of peace while leaving this particular question to be adjusted at the definitive treaty. But Adams, in whose nature a conciliatory disposition was not conspicuous, refused to consent to such an arrangement. He declared that, when first commissioned as a negotiator with Great Britain, his country had ordered him to make no peace without a clear acknowledgment of the right to the fisheries; and by that direction he would stand. No preliminaries should have his signature without it. He then appealed to Laurens, who was in Congress at the time when the first commission (that of September 27th, 1779, which came to nothing) was issued. Laurens supported Adams with much warmth; and Jay, though in a more guarded and temperate manner, spoke to the same general effect. In taking this position so decidedly, Adams, although acting from a sentiment of patriotism, laid himself open to a charge which even so partial and admiring a biographer as his grandson cannot escape. "For," says Mr. Charles Francis Adams, "the powers to treat on commerce, in which the instructions referred to were inserted, had in the interval been revoked by Congress, and the right to the fisheries, although adhered to in argument, had been abandoned as an ultimatum." It was not even insisted on in the instructions in question, though put forward as a thing desirable to be obtained.

Mr. Oswald, in a paper on the subject which he drew up some weeks later, observed:—"One of these gentlemen [the American Commissioners] said, that if we insisted on keeping their people at a distance of three leagues from our shores, we could not complain if they also forbad our ships from coming within the like distance of the coasts of the thirteen provinces. With respect to drying their fish, the same gentleman said he thought, if we would not allow of their landing upon the unsettled parts of our shore, at a certain season in the year, they would justly deny us the same privilege in all parts of their country. Another of these Commissioners (who had all along expressed himself with great resentment at their people being thus unfavourably distinguished from the French) declared that it was a matter of indifference to them as to what prohibitions we should put their people under, since they would easily make reprisals in another way to their advantage, by an act of navigation, that should exclude English ships for ever from any participation in the American trade, either inwards or outwards."† This paper seems to have been prepared by Oswald for the use of Strachey, in case any justification as to the concession of a share in the fisheries, which was ultimately made, should be required in Parliament. The best justification, said Oswald, was, that without giving way on this point there would have been no provisional treaty at all. "That," he added emphatically, "is very certain."

In the matter of the fisheries, the Americans were clearly without the support of France. Before

* Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. IV., p. 339.

† Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 7.



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the discussion on the subject between the American and English Commissioners, M. de Rayneval had suggested to the former the impolicy of opposing England too much in this respect. He observed that it was natural for France to wish better to the United States than to England, but that, as the fisheries were a great nursery for seamen, they might suppose England would be disinclined to let others share in them, and that for his part he wished there might be as few obstacles to a peace as possible. On the 23rd of November, Vergennes wrote to Luzerne:—"There exists in our treaties no condition which obliges the King to prolong the war in order to sustain the ambitious pretensions which the United States may form in reference to the fisheries, or to the extent of boundaries. . . . In spite of all the cajoleries which the English Ministers lavish on the Americans, I do not promise myself they will show themselves ready to yield, either in regard to the fisheries, or in regard to the boundaries, as the American Commissioners understood them. This last subject may be arranged by mutual sacrifices and compensations. But as to the first, in order to form a settled judgment on its probable issue, it would be necessary to know what the Americans understand by the fisheries. If it is the drift-fishery on banks remote from the coast, it seems to me a natural right; but if they pretend to the fisheries as they exercised them by the title of English subjects, do they, in the name of justice, think to obtain rights attached to the condition of subjects which they renounce?"*

The decision on the fisheries was arrived at on the 29th of November. The other important question, concerning the refugees, was discussed at the same time. As touching the latter, the American Commissioners agreed that there should be no future confiscations, nor prosecution of loyalists; that all pending prosecutions should be discontinued; and that Congress should recommend to the several States, and to their Legislatures, an amnesty, and the restitution of their confiscated property, to such persons as could be proved to be real British subjects, and such Americans as had not borne arms against the United States. The British Government had contended for more than this—namely, for compensation to the loyalists for the losses they had sustained; and for awhile it seemed as if the negotiations might have broken off on that one point. Franklin at length put the English Commissioners in an embarrassing position by saying that he would allow for the losses which the loyalists had suffered, provided another account were opened, of the mischief they had done, the slaves they had carried off, and the houses they had burned; new Commissioners to be appointed to strike a balance between the two computations. This foreshadowed such an appalling chapter of vague and angry discussions that the representatives of England gave way as regarded the claim for compensation.

The article with respect to the fisheries was now reduced to the form in which it appears in the treaty, granting to the United States equal rights with British fishermen to take fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other British dominions in America. Strachey and Fitzherbert here suggested that it would be necessary to consult the Government at home. Adams had no objection to a reference; but Franklin saw that this would have the effect of bringing the whole matter into Parliament, which would meet in a few days, and that Parliament might raise difficulties which would be fatal to the entire agreement. He therefore observed that, if any further delay should be made, the clause insuring to the subjects of Great Britain the right of recovering their debts in the United States must also be reconsidered. Hereupon, Strachey, fearing the loss of this clause, on which he justly prided himself, withdrew his support from the suggestion that the article on the fisheries should be submitted to the Government, and Fitzherbert presently followed his example. The several points in contention being thus settled, the negotiators, on the 30th of November, signed and sealed fair copies of the preliminary articles of peace. These were made contingent on the general pacification; but the signature took place without the French Government receiving any previous intimation of the fact—a circumstance of which the Count de Vergennes, shortly afterwards, rather bitterly complained. "Judge of my surprise," he wrote to Luzerne on the 19th of December, "when, on the 30th of November, Dr. Franklin informed me that the articles were signed. The reservation retained on our account does not save the infraction of the promise which we have made to each other not to sign except conjointly. . . . This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves as that of the United States; not but what the King, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American Commissioners, might have signed articles with England long before them." On the other hand, the Americans accused the French of acting with secrecy towards them. The truth appears to be that each distrusted the other. Adams, however, in an informal way, told Vergennes from time to time of the progress of the negotiations; and Vergennes himself, in writing to

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 29.

Luzerne as far back as the 9th of April, had said that France was willing that the American Plenipotentiaries in Europe should treat directly with those from the Court of London without the intervention of the French, while the latter should be engaged in a negotiation on their own part,—provided that the two negotiations should proceed together throughout, that the two treaties should be signed at the same time, and that neither should take effect without the other. But, even at this early period, France was suspicious of the intentions of the United States. In a letter to Luzerne, of the 23rd of March, Vergennes hinted his fears that Congress would listen to the desire of the British Government to conclude a separate peace, and dwelt much on the fact that his Sovereign had refused a similar offer from England.* Later in the year, it was believed in France (but quite erroneously) that the Rockingham Whigs and King George were disposed to form an alliance with the United States, and, in conjunction with them, to carry on the war with France. This belief may have been the reason why the French Government, as appears to have been the case, desired to procure for America, not an acknowledgment of independence and a permanent peace, but a twenty years' truce, and a tacit acknowledgment, like that which Spain granted to the United Provinces of Holland in the seventeenth century. Jay is said to have been the person by whose vigorous interposition this plan was defeated.

It would seem from the statements of Franklin that, on his mentioning the conclusion of the preliminaries to Vergennes, on the same day that the signatures were appended, that Minister expressed no dissatisfaction, but, on the contrary, commended the management of the Commissioners, and signified his opinion that the greatest difficulty in the way of a general peace, the acknowledgment of American Independence, had been removed. Fifteen days later, he gave decided expression to very different emotions. Franklin having informed him of his intention to despatch a vessel to the United States with intelligence of what had been transacted, and having offered him the use of that vessel for sending any despatches of his own, Vergennes replied by an indignant remonstrance against the proceeding, as a breach of the agreement between the two countries. He particularly complained of the haste with which the Commissioners had sent home an account of their own acts, before assuring themselves of the conclusion of the French negotiation. The Count, at this date, was again under the impression that a secret understanding existed, or was being negotiated, between England and the United States, with a view to the isolation of France, and possibly to a joint prosecution of the war against her. A few weeks sufficed to show that this supposition was wholly incorrect; but for the moment the anger and suspicion of the Count were great. It was by the American vessel that he sent his letter to Luzerne complaining of the conduct of the United States Commissioners—rather a discourteous advantage to take of Franklin's civility.

The principal points of the several articles now agreed to have been made apparent in the foregoing narrative of the negotiations; but it will be convenient here to append an outline of the whole document. By the first article, his Britannic Majesty acknowledged the thirteen States to be free, sovereign, and independent, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquished all claims to the government and to the proprietary and territorial rights of the same, and of every part thereof. The second article fixed the boundaries of the Republic in accordance with what the Commissioners had claimed as belonging naturally, or by long-established custom, to the several States. (These boundaries were marked, on copies of the map of North America, by a strongly-drawn line.) The third article set forth that the people of the United States should continue to enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on all the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any previous time to fish, and on the coasts and in the bays and creeks of all other British dominions in America; but the American fishermen were not to have the right of drying or curing fish in any part of the King's settled dominions in America (unless by special agreement), though such right was to be enjoyed in any of the unsettled parts as long as they remained unsettled. By the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, it was understood that no impediment should be put in the way of recovering *bonâ fide* debts; that Congress should earnestly recommend to the several Legislatures to provide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against them; that all other persons were to be at liberty to go to any of the provinces, and remain there for twelve months, so as to wind up their affairs; that Congress should also recommend to the several States the restitution of the confiscated property of loyalists, on their repayment of the sums for which it had been sold; that no further pro-

* Sparks's Washington, Vol. VIII., pp. 294–5 (*note*).

secutions should be commenced, and no further confiscations be made; and that all persons in prison on political charges should be set at liberty. The seventh article stipulated that there should be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States; that all prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; that his Britannic Majesty should, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States; and that he should order the restitution of all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war might have fallen into the hands of his officers. By the eighth article, it was agreed that the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, should for ever remain free and open, both to the subjects of Great Britain and to the citizens of the United States. The ninth and last article provided that, supposing it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or the United States should be conquered by the arms of either from the other before the arrival of the preliminary articles in America, the same should be restored without difficulty, and without compensation being required. To these provisions was added a secret article respecting the limits of West Florida, in case, at the close of the war, that province should be, or should be put, in possession of Great Britain. The clause prohibiting the carrying away of "negroes or other property" was interlined, on the demand of Laurens (a South Carolinian), after the preliminaries had been drawn up. The principle of slavery was thus recognised in the very document which secured the liberty of the United States; but it was understood that free negroes were to be regarded among the citizens of the young Republic.

The English Ministry were at one time not without hope that they would be able to lay before Parliament, on its assembling, the French and Spanish preliminary articles, as well as the American. But the prolonged diplomatic struggle made by Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, in which for awhile she was supported by France, thwarted this hope; so that in the Speech from the Throne the King could refer only to the provisional agreement with his sometime colonies. The two Houses met on the 5th of December, when his Majesty announced that he had gone the full length of the powers vested in him by the Legislature, and had offered to declare the colonies of North America free and independent States. "In thus admitting their separation from the Crown of these kingdoms," continued the King, in words which, coming from the source they did, were both natural and affecting, "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the Empire; and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries. To this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part shall be wanting." A painful duty was never more gracefully performed.

No amendment to the Address was moved in either House; but several members of the Opposition attacked the Government with great vehemence. The Provisional Treaty was not yet laid before Parliament, yet its bare announcement provoked many expressions of dissatisfaction. Fox again contended, as he had always done, that the acknowledgment of independence should have preceded the negotiations; which was equivalent to saying that England should have deprived herself, at the outset, of every means of resisting extreme demands on the part of the Americans. But he found very little support in this view; and Lord North, his ancient enemy, with whom he was shortly to form a coalition, gave it as his opinion that the renunciation by England of her sovereignty over the colonies could not have been justified unless by making it the price of peace. Burke, on the Report of the Address being brought up, described the King's Speech as a medley of hypocrisy and nonsense. Fox said that he detested and despised it; and both taunted Shelburne with having formerly contended that to give up the colonies would be the ruin of England. The Premier replied—and nothing could be more fair or reasonable than such an answer—that his opinion was unchanged, but that he yielded to absolute necessity; and half a year before he had expressed his belief that the country would in time recover even from this great calamity. On the 23rd of December the two Houses adjourned for a month; and Government hoped in the meanwhile to conclude preliminaries of peace with France and Spain.

CHAPTER LIV.

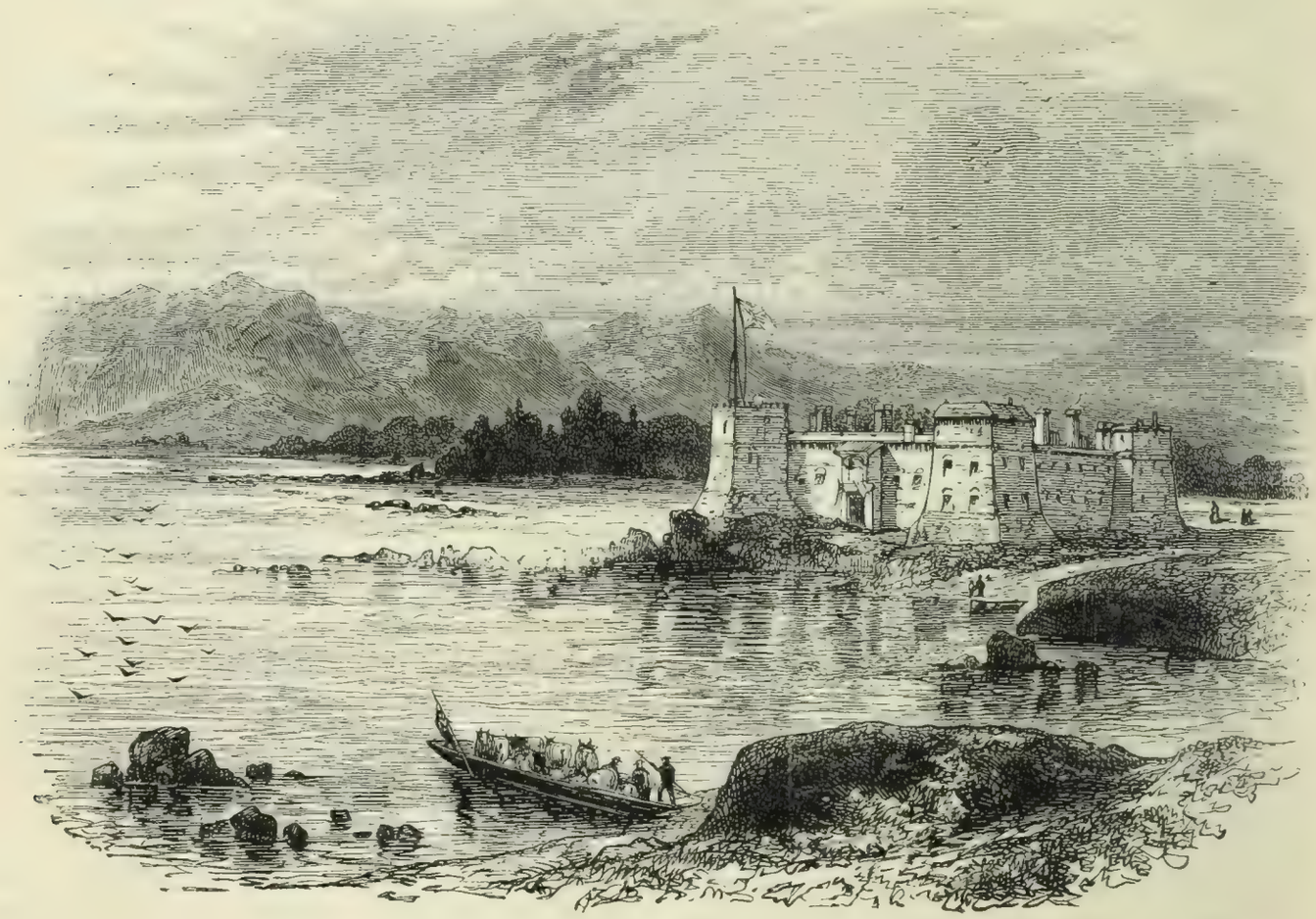
Movements of the French Army in the United States—Acts of Violence committed by American Partisans of England—Severities of Delancey—Atrocities of David Fanning—Conciliatory Policy adopted by Sir Guy Carleton—Financial Measures of Robert Morris—Establishment of a National Bank—Desperate Condition of the Union for Want of Funds—Failure of Several of the States to furnish their Quotas of Taxes—State of the South—Condition of the Paper Currency in 1782—Morris's Proposals—Suggestions for Federal Reform—Washington and Greene on the Necessity of greater Federal Powers—Utter Poverty of the National Government—Peace Negotiations of England with France and Spain—Difficulties raised by the latter Power—Conclusion of Preliminary Treaties—Articles affecting America—Debates in Parliament, and Fall of the Shelburne Ministry—Coalition between Fox and Lord North—Factious Conduct of Fox—Re-arrangement of Commercial Intercourse between England and America—Provision for the Refugees—Increase of the National Debt—The Moral of the War.

Although there could be little doubt, as the year 1782 progressed, that a peace would be speedily concluded, it was held by the Americans and their allies to be but prudent to keep themselves prepared for the worst. The policy now favoured by the British Parliament, and adopted by Government, of maintaining nothing more than a posture of defence, relieved the Americans of any immediate apprehensions; but the French thought that Clinton might consider himself free to send a portion of his troops to the West Indies, to act there against the possessions of France. In course of the summer, Washington wrote to Rochambeau, advising him to march his regiments to the banks of the Hudson, and form a junction with the forces of the United States. The counsel was accepted, and, about the middle of September, the French crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry to Verplank's Point, whence they afterwards removed to the neighbourhood of Crompond, some ten miles off. Washington concentrated his army at his former encampment about Newburgh, where he established his head-quarters for the winter. Near the end of October, the French troops marched towards the North-eastern States, under pretence of wintering there, but in reality with the design of embarking for the West Indies. They arrived at Boston in the first week of December, and on the 29th of that month sailed in the fleet of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for their place of destination.

Acts of violence continued to be perpetrated in various directions; but they were mainly due to the American partisans of British rule. These men were sometimes persons of the worst character, who acted with the ferocity of brigands; and their rage and cruelty were experienced in all parts of the Union. The neighbourhood of New York, as the reader is aware, suffered terribly from the lawless devastations of irregular partisans on both sides; and the loyalist, Captain James Delancey, of West Chester, here earned an evil renown by his unsparing severities. Delancey succeeded André as Adjutant-General of the British army; and it was he who, on the 13th of May, 1781, commanded in an attack on Croton Bridge, which resulted in the death, under circumstances of great barbarity, of Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, a relative of General Nathaniel Greene, and himself an officer who had acquired distinction in the Canadian campaign of 1775, and on subsequent occasions. In April, 1782, Delancey caused three rebels to be publicly executed within the British lines; but for this he seems to have had some excuse in the cruelties practised by the revolutionary Americans on their loyalist fellow-countrymen. It was in the South, however, that these excesses mainly took place during the year 1782. A ruffian named David Fanning, who held a British commission as colonel of the loyal militia in Randolph and Chatham counties, North Carolina, with authority to grant commissions to others as captains and subalterns, committed, on his own showing, many acts of the utmost atrocity.

On the 12th of March, this man set out with his companions, to give the rebels what he called "a small scourge." The first place they visited was the plantation of Andrew Balfour, of Randolph county, formerly of the State Legislature, and now an officer of the militia. Having broken into the house of this person, they fired twice at him, in the presence of his sister and daughter, seriously wounding him both times. They then burned the houses of several rebels, ravaged a plantation, and shot an officer who was escaping under cover of darkness. Proceeding to the house of another officer, Fanning told him that if he would come out he would grant him parole; but he refused. "With that," writes this scoundrel in his Journal, "I ordered the house to be set on fire. As soon as he saw the flames increasing, he called out to me to spare his house for his wife's and children's sake, and he would walk out with his

arms in his hands. I answered him that, if he would walk out, his house should be spared for his wife and children. When he came out, he said, 'Here I am;' with that he received two balls through his body. I proceeded on to one Major Dugin's plantation, and I destroyed all his property, and all the rebel officers' property in the settlement, for the distance of forty miles. On our way, I catched a commissary from Salisbury, and delivered him up to some of my men whom he had treated ill when prisoners, and they immediately hung him.



FORT CHAMBLY, FRONTIERS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

On the 18th of April, I set out for Chatham, where I learned that a wedding was to be that day. We surrounded the house, and drove all out, one by one. I found one concealed upstairs. Having my pistols in my hand, I discharged them both at his breast; he fell, and that night expired."* Such were the acts which turned even the loyalists of the South into enemies of the British Government; yet, after the war, this murderous wretch was recommended by the office of American Claims as a proper person to be put upon the half-pay list.

With the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York, and the prospect of peace negotiations, a conciliatory policy was adopted by the British in the North. Carleton desired that hostilities might be stayed, treated his prisoners with great consideration, and set several of them free. Some Carolinians had been exiled from Charleston at the fall of that city, though the capitulation was understood to protect them against such treatment. These men were now, on the request of Washington, sent back to their own homes at the expense of the British Government, and Carleton said that everything should be done to make them forget the hardships they had suffered. A projected raid into the State of New York by a party of Indians was forbidden by the English commander, and, under his immediate eye, the two nations were virtually at peace. The South, as the reader is aware, was not so entirely free from warlike operations; but even there a species of truce set in before the end of the year. The people, however, could not forget the villanies committed by such men as Fanning; and when the Assembly of South Carolina met, under writs issued by Governor Rutledge, laws were passed, banishing the partisans of England, and confiscating their estates—an act of severity which punished many conscientious

* MS. copy of Fanning's Journal, quoted by Bancroft in his History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 28.



FANNING'S ATROCITY: MURDER OF AN AMERICAN PLANTER.

adherents of the unsuccessful cause for the misdeeds of some.

The monetary affairs of the Union continued to give much trouble, and even the skill of Robert Morris, the Finance Minister of the Federation, could not prevent a considerable degree of embarrassment. This gentleman, who was not an American, but a native of England, had a great idea of the benefit of a public debt—a benefit which the citizens of the United States did not seem inclined to appreciate. His project for a National Bank received the assent of only seven out of the thirteen States, and doubts were expressed as to whether the Federation had the power to incorporate such an institution. Congress, however, had already pledged its word. As a compromise, the corporation was forbidden to exercise its powers in any one of the States in a manner repugnant to the laws or constitution of such State; and the local Assemblies were recommended to give to the incorporating ordinance its full operation. The business of the bank commenced on the 7th of January, 1782, and its transactions proved very profitable to the Federal Government. The notes, though payable at Philadelphia in specie, did not command public confidence at a distance, and the corporation was able to buy up its own promises at from ten to fifteen per cent. discount.* Without the assistance of this bank, it is not easy to see how the affairs of the nation could have gone on at all. The public funds were exhausted; not a dollar remained in the treasury; and Morris, up to the early spring of 1782, had received no money whatever from any State in the Union. The States were half a million of dollars in debt on the year's taxes, which had been raised by anticipation on the system of credit created by this clever financier. On the 14th of May, Morris wrote to John Hancock, formerly President of Congress, and now Governor of Massachusetts, his native State:—"On the 1st of January, 1782, with a heavy arrearage for 1781, unpaid on the face of the requisitions of Congress, I had to provide for a three months' expenditure, when no man would trust the public for a single dollar: your Legislature knew the state of public credit as well as I did. Instead of providing money for the 1st of April, they have made no effort for that purpose which can take effect before the 1st of June. Now then, let us suppose every State in the Union to be as negligent (and many of them are much more so), what can gentlemen promise themselves? I apprehend the most terrible consequences. I beg you to press an immediate payment of money, the necessity of which it is not easy to conceive, nor prudent to declare."† For this condition of national bankruptcy, Morris was most unjustly blamed, and was so continually vexed by clamorous demands that he frequently felt tempted to resign his office.

Congress had recently received another six millions of livres from the King of France, with an intimation, however, that the United States were to expect no more. Previous to the receipt of the news that this money had been granted, Morris had been obliged to issue drafts for 500,000 livres on the mere chance of further assistance from Paris; and now that it came, he thought it prudent to request the Minister of France, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary at War, to keep the knowledge of the grant from Congress and from all other persons, lest the State Legislatures, which had not yet passed their tax-bills, should no longer think it necessary to make any provision for the national exigencies. The want of a common patriotism was lamentable. Greene sent repeated complaints from the South that he was deficient in the commonest things. There were not, he said, two quires of paper in the whole army, and several returns it had been found impossible to make, because there was nothing to write them on. Of the scarcity of food and clothing, the reader has heard before. Representations of this miserable condition had no effect. The local Legislatures took not the slightest heed of them, and Congress could do nothing to amend the evils which it found.

The paper currency of the Union was a constant source of anxiety—a constant incentive to questionable expedients. In March, 1780, Congress resolved to call in by taxes in the course of one year, and to burn, all the paper bills previously emitted, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars, and in lieu thereof to create ten millions of new money, which was to be issued as fast as, and no faster than, the old was brought in. For every twenty dollars of the old, one dollar of the new emission was to be perfected and lodged in the Continental loan offices of the several States. The new bills were to be redeemable in specie within six years, to bear interest at the rate of five per cent., and to be received in payment of the monthly quotas or taxes of each State, at the same rate as specie. They were to be based on funds raised by the individual States, and each State was to receive for its own use six-tenths of these bills, while the other four-tenths were to be subject to the orders

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 28.

† Gordon's History, Vol. IV., pp. 251–2.

of Congress. The effect of this measure was to cause considerable disappointment to the holders of the old currency, who, only about half a year before, had been encouraged by Congress to believe that the paper then in circulation would be redeemable at par in hard cash. As, however, the generality of the holders had received the old paper money at a considerable depreciation, it was considered unfair to the community at large to allow those holders to convert it at what would have been in reality a higher rate. The measure, consequently, produced no convulsion, though many persons considered themselves aggrieved.

This was the state of things with which Morris had to deal. That he might fund the public debt, and provide for the regular payment of the interest on it, he proposed, in 1782, a moderate land-tax, a poll-tax, and an excise on distilled liquors, and expressed a desire that the States would consent to Congress imposing a duty of five per cent. on imports. The western lands were to be reserved as security for new loans in Europe; and by these means it was hoped to establish the public credit. It was certainly most desirable to do something to secure an equilibrium, for a condition of things was fast coming on, in which there would have been hardly any revenue at all. The aggregate expenditure of the United States for the war (says a high American authority) had been at the rate of twenty millions of dollars in specie annually. The estimates for 1782 were for eight millions of dollars; yet, in the first five months of the year, the sums received from the States amounted to less than twenty thousand dollars—less, that is, than the estimated expenses for a single day; and of this sum not a shilling had been received from either the Eastern or the Southern States. It was found necessary to send out two Committees of Congress—one to importune the States of the North, and the other those of the South.* Congress could not levy any direct taxes on the people; it could only require of the States certain quotas, which those States were expected to supply, but which very frequently they failed to supply. When they thus failed, Congress was void of all power to enforce its demands, and there was no resource but to starve the public service (and often those who conducted it), or to make fresh issues of paper-money. Morris now obtained authority, by a vote of Congress, to appoint receivers of taxes; and for this office at New York he selected Alexander Hamilton. The father-in-law of Hamilton, General Schuyler, invited the New York Senate, at Hamilton's instigation, to declare that the Federal Government ought to have power to provide revenue for itself; that that important object could never be attained by the deliberations of the States separately; that it was essential to the common welfare that there should be a conference of all the States on the subject; and that it would be advisable for such purpose for Congress to recommend, and for each State to adopt, the measure of assembling a general convention of the States, specially authorised to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective Legislatures to ratify their determinations. The resolutions were carried unanimously in both branches of the New York Legislature; and Hamilton was shortly afterwards elected one of the delegates of New York to Congress. Morris, in welcoming him to that post, said:—"A firm, wise, manly system of Federal Government is what I once wished, what I now hope, what I dare not expect, but what I will not despair of." It came in time; but not yet.

The root of the mischief undoubtedly lay in this want of sufficient Federal powers on the part of Congress—in the absence of a truly national Government. The Constitution of 1777 conferred but slight prerogatives of rule on the Union; and these, in process of time, and by the dogged resistance of the several States, had become still less. No one saw the evil more clearly than Washington; but at that time Washington had little or no influence in the sphere of politics. In May, 1780, he wrote to a friend who was a delegate in Congress from Virginia:—"Certain I am, unless Congress are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right, and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they have hitherto done, our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing in the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses, and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time that we are always working up hill. While such a system as the present one, or rather want of one, prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage. This, my dear Sir, is plain language to a member of Congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into

* Bancroft.

thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect which are due to them as the great representative body of America; and I am fearful of the consequences."

His correspondent was equally impressed with the viciousness of the existing system. He replied:—"Congress have scarcely a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions; for, as to the army, they are at present little more than the medium through which its wants are conveyed to the States. This body never had, or at least in few instances ever exercised, powers adequate to the purposes of war; and indeed such as they possessed have been frittered away to the States, and it will be found very difficult to recover them. Resolutions are now before us, by one of which the States are desired to give express powers for the common defence. Others go to the assumption of them immediately. The first will sleep with the States; the others will die where they are, so cautious are some of offending the States." To Greene, two years later, it was apparent that the weakness of the American army was due to the want of a complete and genuine political Union. He wished to confer on Congress the power to enforce its requisitions, and gave it as his opinion that without such a power it would be impossible to establish the financial affairs of the nation upon a footing that should answer the public demands. Most of the leading minds of America knew and lamented the absence of efficient power in the States collectively, as represented in Congress. It was the great disease of the time, and nothing but a fortunate conjunction of circumstances prevented its being a great and fatal danger also.

Determined to do the utmost for the promulgation of his views of Federal Union, Morris requested his fellow-countryman, Thomas Paine, to give the service of his literary skill in the same direction. In the meanwhile, he pursued with great energy his projects of financial reform. On the 31st of July, 1782, he sent to Congress his Budget for 1783. It amounted to nine millions of dollars, and he had no alternative but to borrow four millions, and raise the other five millions by quotas. The proposal to endow Congress with the right to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports was pressed on the State Legislatures; but Virginia and some of the other States refused their assent. The poverty of the Federal Government became absolutely desperate. Morris wrote to Greene in the spring of that eventful year:—"You must continue your exertions with or without men or provisions, clothing or pay." Contracts into which he had entered, for provisioning the Northern army, he was obliged to dissolve, for want of means to meet them. To Washington he wrote:—"I pray that Heaven may direct your mind to some mode by which we may be yet saved." Fortunately for the Americans, the war was nearly over. Had it continued another year without the assistance of France, the withdrawal of which had been threatened, it seems doubtful whether the cause of the Revolution would not have collapsed. There were not many more than ten thousand men in the Northern army, and the Southern was in a state of rapid dissolution. Washington himself saw that peace was imperative.

With the closing days of 1782, peace was pretty well assured, as far as the United States were concerned. But it still remained doubtful whether France and Spain would come to terms with Great Britain, and many and anxious were the negotiations. Spain was the great obstacle. To obtain the restitution of Gibraltar, the Court of Madrid offered to cede to England any territory of the Spanish Monarchy which could be given up without absolute dismemberment. Amongst the colonies so excepted were Cuba and Porto Rico, together with the Spanish possessions on the American continent; in fact, all the places which would have been in any respect an equivalent for the fortress of the western Mediterranean. Lord Shelburne was not at all impressed with the value of Gibraltar (any more than Lord Chatham had been before him), and would gladly have surrendered it for West Florida, which the Spaniards had conquered during the war. But the Duke of Grafton, Shelburne's Lord Privy Seal, would not agree to the restitution of Gibraltar, unless Trinidad, which Spain refused to yield, were given up, in addition to what had already been offered. Moreover, the opinion of Parliament was clearly against relinquishing a position which the nation had paid so much in blood and treasure to acquire and maintain. The recent magnificent defence of Gibraltar by Elliot and Howe could not be forgotten; and when some hints of the proposed cession were let fall in the House of Commons, Fox saw in the scheme a capital opportunity for making an effective party attack. Shelburne soon found that he had no choice but to insist on the retention of Gibraltar; and Spain, finding that she could not count on the support of France in pushing matters to extremities, reluctantly agreed to accept the two Floridas in exchange for the rock. Preliminaries of peace

were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, between the Minister of England and the Ministers of France and Spain.

The articles in these Preliminaries which in any way affected America may be briefly stated. By the agreement with France, the right of that Power to fish off the coast of Newfoundland, and on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was re-established on the same footing as in the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and of Paris (1763), with the additional cession from England of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. In the West Indies, England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago; and in return got back Granada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat. As regards Spain, the British monarch ceded both the Floridas, and the Spanish King granted to the English the right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, in a district the boundaries of which were afterwards to be fixed. It was also agreed that Providence and the Bahama Isles should be restored to England; but it subsequently turned out that the Bahamas had been already recovered by the British before the close of active warfare. With the Dutch a truce was concluded, followed in time by a definitive treaty.

The three Preliminary Treaties — those with France, Spain, and the United States—were laid before the House of Commons on the 27th of January, and a series of debates ensued which ultimately caused the fall of the Ministry. Fox and Lord North had for some time been approaching one another, with a view to forming a coalition —an agreement for party ends which must have cost each no small sacrifice of pride, since Lord North had always regarded Fox as little better than a rebel, and Fox, only a year before, had said that Lord North and his colleagues were void of every principle of honour and honesty, and that from the moment when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. But the age was one of passionate asseverations and easy compromises. Neither of these eminent politicians had much chance of regaining power without the assistance of the other; and they agreed to forget their mutual affronts, that they might destroy the Government of Lord Shelburne—a man of a more statesmanlike mind than either. On the 17th of February, Mr. Thomas Pitt moved an address of thanks to his Majesty for ordering the preliminary articles of peace to be laid before the House of Commons. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, and followed by a violent debate. An amendment, withholding such approbation, yet assuring his Majesty of the firm determination of the House to adhere to the several articles to which the public faith had been pledged, was moved, supported by the leading members of the contemplated coalition, and carried by a majority of 16. A similar amendment was introduced into the House of Lords, where, however, it was rejected by a majority of 13. On the 21st of February, Lord John Cavendish moved —"That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain by the Provisional Treaty and the Preliminary Articles were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." Considering that Fox and his party had advocated the most extreme concessions to the United Colonies, it required no small amount of audacity in the members of that political body to condemn the Government for making peace on terms which went no farther than those which had always been supported in opposition to the Government of Lord North. They had even threatened that Minister with capital punishment for continuing the war in America; yet they now condemned Lord Shelburne and his colleagues for putting a stop to hostilities on the only conditions obtainable. Fox argued that France, Spain, Holland, and America, had been reduced to a desperate condition, and that consequently such ample concessions should not have been granted. He was answered by William Pitt, who showed that the Government had no choice in the matter; but the House had made up its mind to vote against the Government, and, on a division, Lord John Cavendish's resolutions were carried by a majority of 17. Lord Shelburne immediately resigned, and a new Ministry was formed, after some delay and considerable difficulty, of which the Duke of Portland was Premier, Lord North Secretary for Home Affairs, and Fox Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Government consisted for the most part of members of the old Rockingham party, and, on this account alone, did not enjoy the confidence of the King.

That the Allied Powers opposed to England were really, as Fox had asserted, reduced to great extremities, cannot be denied; yet it is equally true that England herself was very far from being in a position to carry on the war. It was shown by Pitt that, exclusive of the annual services, the unfunded debt amounted at that time to thirty millions; and Ministers had found that a force of three thousand men was the utmost that could be despatched on any foreign expedition. Even if Fox, while out of office, did not know the exact position of

the country, he must, as a public man, have known enough to see the futility of any further prosecution of the struggle; and regard for his own character as a politician should have restrained him from so completely changing sides. Even as it was, he was compelled, a few months later, to assent to those very terms which he first supported, and afterwards condemned. The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed on the 3rd of September, and the long war with the United States was thus brought to a formal, as well as an actual, termination by the enforced consent of all parties. Previous to this signature, which took place during the autumnal recess of Parliament, the attention of the House of Commons was much occupied by the re-arrangement of commercial intercourse with the United States. Laws which had acted to the restraint of that intercourse were repealed; and a temporary Bill was passed, vesting in the Crown the power of making future regulations. It was also considered proper to make some provision for the American loyalists, as it was very generally feared that those ill-fated enthusiasts would not be allowed by the States to enjoy once more their confiscated property. An Act was therefore passed, appointing commissioners to inquire into their losses and services; and it was agreed in Committee of Supply that all American officers who had borne arms for the King should be allowed half-pay. As it afterwards turned out, this provision was very necessary, for the property of the loyalists was not returned, and large numbers of them quitted their native country, and came to England. The claims made upon Parliament in consequence of this Act were so numerous that the refugees received altogether more than twelve millions of money.

The war thus disastrously terminated had cost the nation an enormous sum, and added to its indebtedness by many millions. At the Peace of 1763, the National Debt of Great Britain amounted to £139,000,000, and the annual charge to £4,600,000. By 1774, as a consequence of prolonged peace, more than ten millions of the debt had been paid off. The American war raised the debt from 129 to 268 millions, and the annual charge to £9,512,232. It has been calculated that, had the struggle continued, it would have been necessary to borrow annually seventeen millions and a half, by which a million per annum would have been added to the taxes, and twenty-five millions to the capital of the public debt. As it was, Great Britain had added to that debt a sum equal to the whole as it existed some twenty years before; and, of English and Americans, probably not fewer than 150,000 had perished in the contest.

Such had been the cost of maintaining a questionable prerogative, of asserting an impossible power, of seeking to coerce a nation, of striving to keep back the inevitable march of principles and of events. The people of England were burdened in order that the people of America might not be free; and the former had missed even the miserable satisfaction, in exchange for their outlay, of succeeding in the end which they had proposed. During the war, the objects for which it was waged had very considerably altered. In the beginning, it was little more than an attempt on the part of Parliament to assert the supposed right of taxing a people not represented within its walls. As the struggle unfolded itself, questions of a larger kind were gradually developed. The balance of right became more even, and sometimes inclined towards the side of the mother country. It was not unnatural that a great and powerful nation should refuse to yield one of the largest and grandest portions of its dominions, without at least an effort to retain it. Exasperated by the first fatal mistake, the Americans came in time to deny, not merely the taxing power of Parliament, but all jurisdiction on the part of the Empire over its dependencies; and it cannot be matter of surprise that this denial should have been resisted. One thing is certain—that the war was not simply the war of the King, or of the aristocracy, or even of the Parliament, but, as Lord North expressed it, of the people of England themselves. To this rule there were of course some exceptions; but George and his favourite Minister never wanted the support of a large majority in carrying on the war, until, after the disaster at Yorktown, a further continuance of the struggle became hopeless. Still, the contest had grown from an evil root, and partook of the first viciousness which gave it life. Concession after concession was made by England; all really objectionable interference with the colonies was abandoned; privileges of the most valuable nature were offered. But it was too late. The Americans had felt the sting of injustice, and drunk the wild intoxication of independence. They had tasted the elation of success; they had been crowned with the consecration of suffering. In the blood of all those thirteen States was the passionate exultation of a new life; and the ancient and solid force of England recoiled before the sudden spring of a young giant.

The story of those mournful times will always be among the most sorrowful records of the English

race; but the sorrow will not be without its compensation if the two divisions of that race shall henceforth move forward, side by side, independent, yet united in friendship and in blood, towards the accomplishment of the greatest ends, political and social, to which either Europe or America can aspire.



WASHINGTON ELM, CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER LV.

Distracted Condition of the United States on the Cessation of War—Proposed Reduction of the Army—Military Insubordination—Circulation of an Anonymous and Inflammatory Address—Indignation of Washington—Meeting of Officers—Address of Washington—Conciliatory Resolutions of the Meeting—Concessions by Congress, and End of the Threatened Danger—Washington's Latest Opinion on the Anonymous Address—Arrival at Philadelphia of News of the Preliminaries of Peace—Proclamation of the Fact in the American Camp on the Hudson—The Results of Eight Years' War—Granting of Furloughs to the Soldiers—Preparations by the British for the Evacuation of New York—The Refugees—Question as to the Removal of Negroes—Views of Sir Guy Carleton on the Subject—Statements by Lafayette as to the Intentions of the French Government, had the War continued—Close of Washington's Military Career—His Views as a Politician—Circular to the Governors of the States—A Legacy of Political Wisdom—Prospects of the Time.

Now that the United States had vanquished their external enemies, it seemed for awhile as if their fortunes might be ruined by internal dissensions. The transition from a state of war to a state of peace is always perilous; it is especially so when large armies have been improvised out of a population not habitually military, and when these are thrown back on the pursuits of civil life, for which their members have been unfitted by many years of martial service. When this general condition is made still worse by a total disruption of society, owing to a long period of armed conflicts, by unsettled political institutions, by a weak and incompetent Government, by large arrears of pay to officers and men, and by impending national bankruptcy, the dangers to the State are obviously of the very gravest nature. Such was the case in America in those anxious and difficult days which followed the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York with communications of a pacific character. It was not yet, indeed, absolutely certain that peace would be made; but it was generally believed

that such would be the result of the altered policy of England. Accordingly, a reduction of the United States army, to take place on the 1st of January, 1783, was talked of in the late autumn of the previous year. The proposal was not popular among those whom it immediately affected. Washington, writing to the Secretary at War on the 2nd of October, 1782, said that, although no one seemed opposed in principle to the reduction of the army as circumstances might require, he could not help fearing the result of the measure in contemplation under existing conditions. "When," he wrote, "I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, ... when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel the gloomy prospects, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow, of a very serious and distressing nature." He went on to remark that the patience and long-suffering of the army were almost exhausted, and that there had never been so great a spirit of discontent as at that instant. "While in the field," said Washington, "I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter-quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences."

These forebodings were not without justification. The mutiny among the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, in January, 1781, was but a symptom of gathering disaffection to the Federal Government; the proposal, at a later date, that Washington should establish a species of personal Government, with the attributes, if not with the title, of Royalty, was further evidence of the existence of the same feeling. That feeling had leisure to grow and strengthen during the period of idleness which extended throughout the winter of 1782–3. It was much debated whether the resolution of Congress, granting half-pay to officers who should serve to the end of the war, would be carried into practice. Great doubt could not but be felt on the subject, because, as the national treasury was empty, it was not at all clear where the funds for such payment were to be found. Moreover, the Constitution itself placed an obstacle in the way of these claimants; for the articles of Confederation required the concurrence of nine States to any Act appropriating public money, and it was well known that there were not so many as nine States in favour of granting half-pay permanently. The general opinion in the army, therefore, was that the resolution of Congress would be illusory, and an agitation was commenced for bringing the claims of the officers before the attention of the country and its representatives. A memorial to Congress was numerously signed, in which it was proposed that a specific sum should be granted to the officers for money actually due, and as a commutation for half-pay. This document was presented to Congress in December, 1782, and led to many debates; but no definite results ensued. The feeling of anger in the army grew more extreme, and, on the 10th of March, 1783, an anonymous paper was circulated through the camp at Newburgh, on the Hudson, calling a meeting of the general and field-officers, to consider a letter received from a committee of their number who had been sent to Philadelphia to confer with Congress, and what measures should be adopted to obtain a redress of grievances.

The meeting was to take place on the following day, and during the 10th an anonymous address to the officers of the army was privately circulated. It was of a very inflammatory character, and evidently designed to create a revolution by military force. In phrases of laboured antithesis and rhetorical balance, after the fashion of Johnson's most self-conscious style, the writer described himself as a fellow-soldier whose interests and affections bound him strongly to his companions-in-arms—whose past sufferings had been as great as theirs, and whose future fortunes might be as desperate. He had loved private life, and left it with regret, determined to retire from the field with the necessity that called him to it. Until very recently, he had believed in the justice of his country, and had hoped that with the return of peace the coldness and severity of Government would relax. But that hope had now passed, and to continue to bear injuries and injustice, without one manly effort to redress them, would show the world that they deserved the chains they had broken. By their sufferings and their courage they had conducted the United States through a doubtful and bloody war to independence and peace; and, instead of receiving gratitude, admiration, and reward, they met with denial of their rights, with insult and disdain. They had more than once appealed to Congress, but without effect. In the meek language of entreating memorials, they had begged for justice, and had received an answer which gave no satisfaction. "If this, then,"

pursued the writer, "be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left, but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule and, what is worse, the pity of the world! Go, starve and be forgotten! But, if your spirits should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover and spirit sufficient to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume—whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles; awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now." The writer, therefore, advised his brethren to carry their appeal from the justice to the fears of Government; to assume a bolder, though still a decent, tone; to suspect the man who would advise to greater moderation; and to draw up a last remonstrance to Congress. The members of that body were to be told that despair might drive the army from the field; that, in the event of peace, nothing should separate them from their arms but death; and that, should the war continue, they would seek the direction of their illustrious leader, retire to some unsettled country, and mock the Government when seized by fear of the consequences.

The author of the address was Major Armstrong (afterwards General Armstrong), then a young man, and aide-de-camp to General Gates. He is said to have written this and other anonymous documents at the solicitation of his military friends; but it is certain that he gave expression to his individual views as well. Such an address revealed the existence of a most dangerous spirit in the army; for civil government and civil liberty are at an end if soldiers are to be allowed the right of threatening to withdraw in a body from the service of the country, even while the enemy is in the field, because their complaints are not at once admitted and redressed. What made this conduct still more blamable was the fact that Congress, though doubtless not eager to recognise the claims of the army, had as yet taken no decisive step, and given no decisive answer, on the several questions submitted to it by the officers; and that, by the last report of their representatives at Philadelphia, which was to be considered at the proposed meeting on the 11th of March, there was still a prospect of the desired commutation for half-pay being granted, if some of the dissenting States could be won over, and other States, then unrepresented in Congress, could be got to send members. The publication of this inflammatory document was very distressing to Washington, who, much as he sympathised with the wrongs of the army, had always a lofty sense of the supremacy of the civil power. On the 11th of March, he issued a General Order, in which he characterised the unauthorised proposal to hold a meeting that day as a disorderly proceeding, but at the same time summoned a meeting of officers for the 15th, to hear the report of the Philadelphian committee of the army. At that meeting, the officers were, after mature deliberation, to devise "what further measures ought to be adopted, as most rational, and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view;" and the result was to be reported to the Commander-in-Chief. The writer of the anonymous address now issued another, in which he professed to find in Washington's General Order a proof that the head of the army was entirely in favour of his views and designs. He had to wait no longer than the holding of the meeting on the 15th to discover how completely he was mistaken.

At that meeting, General Gates, as the senior officer present, presided. Previous to the gathering, Washington sent for the officers one by one in private, and represented to them how much the whole army would suffer in character by intemperate resolutions. It was not originally his intention to appear personally; but he saw occasion to change that resolve. Rising as soon as the meeting had been formed, he apologised for his presence, and proceeded to observe that the diligence which had been used in circulating anonymous writings rendered it necessary that he should give expression to his views on the subject. He had committed his thoughts to writing, and, soliciting the indulgence of his brother officers, proceeded to read what he had set down. After condemning the unknown writer of the addresses, he proceeded to disavow any indifference to the interests of the army. "But how," he asked, "are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the

anonymous addresser: if war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But whom are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property, which we leave behind us? Or, in the state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? If peace takes place, never sheathe your swords, says he, until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative, of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! What can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent. And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature!" Washington maintained that Congress had an exalted sense of the services of the army, and would do it complete justice; that the members of that honourable body had laboriously endeavoured to discover funds for the payment of the military, and that they would not cease till they had succeeded; but that their deliberations were unavoidably slow, like those of all large bodies where it is necessary to reconcile a variety of interests. To distrust them would not bring the desired object nearer; on the contrary, it would cast it to a greater distance. Washington assured his auditors that, within the limits set by the Constitution, they might command his services in the attainment of entire justice; but at the same time he exhorted them to rely on the plighted faith of their country, and to place full confidence in the late resolution of Congress that, previous to their dissolution as an army, all accounts should be fairly liquidated, and ample justice should be done.

After reading this address, and also a conciliatory letter which he had received from a member of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief retired, and resolutions were then put, and unanimously carried, to the general effect that the army reciprocated the affectionate expressions of their head, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable; that they continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and the country, but expected that half-pay, or a commutation of it, would be included in any arrangement that might be come to; that the Commander-in-Chief should be requested to write to the President of Congress, earnestly entreating a speedy decision on the late memorial forwarded by the committee of the army; and that the officers of that army viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in the anonymous address. In accordance with these resolutions, Washington wrote to the President of Congress on the 18th of March, earnestly and eloquently, yet temperately, urging the claims of his companions. The result was, that, on the subject being again taken up on the 22nd, nine States concurred in a resolution commuting the half-pay into a sum equal to five years' whole pay. A very serious danger to the Republic, which at one time appeared to threaten the most tragic consequences, was thus removed. The conduct of Major Armstrong was clearly unjustifiable, since it was a menace of civil war—the approach towards an attack by the country's defenders on the country itself. But it is very likely that the sluggish temper of Congress was thus stimulated into action; and at any rate it may be conceded that the author of the anonymous addresses (which were circulated in manuscript, and copied by many of the officers) had no evil design, and was misled by his too strong perception of a real grievance, and by the haste and rashness of immaturity. This, several years after, was the opinion of Washington himself. In his address to the assembled officers, he conjured them "to express their utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of their country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire in blood." But in a letter to Armstrong, written on the 23rd of February, 1797, he said:—"I have since had sufficient reason for believing that the object of the author was just, honourable, and friendly to the country, though the means suggested by him were certainly liable to much misunderstanding and abuse."

Two days after the decision of Congress with respect to the commutation of half-pay, the first intimation of the preliminaries of peace was received at Philadelphia. The Marquis de Lafayette had written from Cadiz on the 5th of February, announcing the welcome news, and had enclosed a copy of orders given by Count d'Estaing for the purpose of putting a stop to hostilities at sea. Congress accordingly directed the marine agent of the United States to recall all armed ships cruising

under commissions from the American Government. On the 11th of April, a vessel arrived at Salem, from Nantes, bringing with it a printed copy of a declaration of the American Ministers at Paris, made on the 20th of February, and setting forth that the ratifications of the preliminaries of peace had been exchanged. By a remarkable coincidence, the same captain who carried to England the news of the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington, conveyed to the shores of America the first intelligence of returning peace. By another coincidence, which, however, was probably contrived, the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain was, by order of Washington, proclaimed in the American camp on the 19th of April, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the melancholy collision between the Massachusetts yeomen and the King's troops. "Nothing now remains," said the Commander-in-Chief, in his address to the army, "but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause, and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which has crowned all their former virtuous actions." Those eight years had indeed been years of the most serious importance, not only to America, but to Europe. They had created a new nation and founded a new Power. They had introduced into the world of politics a principle of government which, if not absolutely original, had never before been so clearly asserted on so large a field of action—the great and beneficent principle that there is no political right but in the consent of the governed, and that when monarchs, or even Parliaments, forget this truth, they place themselves beyond the pale of law, and are the outcasts of the communities they wrong. On the day of Lexington, it was doubtful whether this truth would be triumphant, or be trodden out in mire and blood. It was even open to debate whether the best method of asserting it had been chosen—whether some element of quarrelsomeness and perversity had not been mixed up with the simpler and nobler constituents of the question. But at any rate the principle was there flung out like a banner in the face of King George's army; and now, after eight years of desperate fighting and varying fortunes, that army was compelled to acknowledge it—compelled by the supreme argument of success. America might well be proud; Europe might well regard the portent, and watch the coming time.

Some uneasiness was felt by Washington lest the troops, unable to distinguish between the preliminaries of peace and the actual conclusion of the state of war, should at once insist on their discharge. He therefore wrote to the President of Congress, entreating a prompt determination as to the period of service. The answer took the form of a resolution, explaining that the services of the men engaged for the war would not expire until the ratification of the definitive articles of peace, but also authorising the Commander-in-Chief to grant furloughs according as he thought proper, and to allow the men to take their arms with them. Availing himself of the permission, Washington issued a large number of furloughs, and the men thus sent home were never again called to the field. This gradual mode of dispersing the army, while still retaining a hold on its members in case some singular and unforeseen circumstances should yet prevent the completion of peace, had the advantage of avoiding the danger of a sudden and simultaneous casting of large bodies of troops upon the country. It was a gentle and easy passage out of the long accustomed state of war.

While these events were going on, Sir Guy Carleton was preparing for the evacuation of the city of New York, and for removing the adherents of the Royal cause who remained there. He had already written for all the shipping that could be spared from Europe and the West Indies; and on the 27th of April a fleet sailed for various parts of Nova Scotia, carrying about seven thousand persons, with their effects. Some of these were troops, but the greater number were refugees, who looked with great depression of spirits on the prospect of being exiled to a wintry and half-desert country, where there was little to attract, and not much to be earned. On the 6th of May, a personal conference between Washington and Sir Guy Carleton was held at Orangetown, with reference to the transfer of posts in the United States held by the British troops, and the delivery of all property stipulated by the treaty to be given up to the Americans. The great subject of discussion was as to whether the English General had acted rightly in sending off certain negroes belonging to citizens of the United States. Washington contended that the seventh article of the preliminaries forbade the removal of blacks, or of any other property of Americans. Carleton, on the contrary, argued that it could not have been the intention of the British Government to reduce themselves to the necessity of violating their faith to negroes who had come within the British lines on the invitation of his predecessors. To restore these unhappy beings to their former masters would be to deliver up some, possibly, to execution, and others to severe punishments. This, he conceived, would be a dishonourable violation of the public faith; but he gave it

as his opinion that, if it should really appear that the treaty had been broken by the English, the Government of Great Britain ought to make compensation to the owners of the slaves. The conference ended without any agreement being come to; and on the 26th of May, Congress resolved that the American Ministers at Paris for negotiating the peace should be directed to remonstrate on the subject with the Court of St. James's, and to take proper measures for obtaining such reparation as the nature of the case would admit. A nation, in the very moment of attaining its freedom, thus making it a grievance that others were not returned into slavery, presented a sorry spectacle to the world; but such was one of the many evil results of that system of human bondage which America had not yet had the virtue or the opportunity to throw off.



Your Humble Servant,
Horatio Gates

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL GATES.

Our domestic animals, as well as our agriculture, are inferior to yours in point of size; but this does not proceed from any defect in the stamina of them, but to deficient care in providing for their support; experience having abundantly evinced that, where our pastures are as well improved as the soil & climate will admit, — where a competent store of wholesome provender is laid up — and proper care used in serving it, that our horses, black cattle, sheep &c are not inferior to the best of their respective kinds which have been imported from England. — Nor is the wool of our sheep inferior to that of the common sort with you: — as a proof — after the Peace of Paris in 1783, and my return to the occupations of a farmer, I paid particular attention to my breed of sheep (of which I usually kept about seven or eight hundred). — By this attention, at the shearing of 1789 the fleeces yielded me the average quantity of 5¼ lb of wool; — a fleece of which promiscuously taken, I sent to Mr. Arthur Young, who put it, for examination, into the hands of Manufacturers. — These pronounced it to be equal in quality to the Kentish wool. —

FAC-SIMILE OF A PORTION OF A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ADDRESSED TO SIR J. SINCLAIR, BART.

All were so utterly weary of the war that the prospect of peace, under nearly any conditions, was delightful. Yet many were vexed that Canada and Nova Scotia were not to be added to the United States; and this feeling must have been enhanced by a passage in the letter from Lafayette announcing the preliminaries of peace. He there stated that forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men were then at Cadiz; that these were to be joined by Count d'Estaing to the combined forces in the West Indies; that during the summer they were to co-operate with the American army; and that Lafayette himself was to enter the river St. Lawrence at the head of a French corps, with a view to the conquest of Canada for the United States.* These intimations are so much at variance with what we know of the real intentions and wishes of France, that it is impossible not to believe the Marquis had been deluded by some among the Ministerial circles. Yet there may have been a politic desire on the part of the French Government to create such an impression in America; and indeed M. de la Luzerne once assured Congress that his Royal master desired to see Canada and Nova Scotia annexed to the Federal Republic.† Finesse is a part of diplomacy; and French statesmen of the eighteenth century were not very scrupulous as to the extent to which they carried that art.

The military career of Washington was now finished, except as to a few matters of form; but a political career hardly less illustrious lay before him, though at that moment he neither knew nor desired it. It has been seen in the course of this narrative that his political ideas were neither few nor superficial. He had attentively watched the progress of events at the seat of government and in various parts of his native country, and his strong sense of justice and probity had generally pointed out to him the wisest and most fitting course to be pursued. He was not acquainted with the whole range of political administration, like Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and many more; for the nature of his work had concentrated his mind on other matters. But he had a firm grasp of broad and leading principles; he had integrity, honour, moderation, and the wisdom of a large experience. As the clamour of war grew still before the approach of peace, his thoughts turned towards the future of America, and on the 8th of June he addressed, from his head-quarters at Newburgh, a circular letter to the Governors of all the States on the disbanding of the army. After expressing his intention to resign into the hands of Congress the commission he held from that body, and his desire to pass the remainder of his life in a state of retirement and undisturbed repose, he proceeded to offer his sentiments respecting some important subjects which appeared to him intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States. He regarded his fellow-citizens as actors on a theatre designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity, and as enjoying a fairer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation had ever possessed. Placed in an immense tract of country, comprising many varieties of soil and climate, and abounding in all the necessaries and conveniences of life, they had had the further advantage of laying the foundations of their empire, not in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but in an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period—an epoch rich with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of preceding times. But the future would depend on the conduct of the existing generation. "This," said Washington, "is the favourable moment to give such a tone to our Federal Government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse. . . . . There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent Power. First: an indissoluble union of the States under one Federal head. Second: a sacred regard to public justice. Third: the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and, Fourth: the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. These are

* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, Vol. IV., p. 359.

† Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 7, quoting from "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution," Vol. X., p. 366.

the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis; and whoever would dare to sap the foundation or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country."

These views were supported by Washington in an argument full of power and high feeling; but it is sufficient in this place simply to record his conclusions. The circular was a noble legacy left by a great man to his country on quitting her service, and will remain a lasting monument of his political wisdom and integrity. The necessity of a more perfect Federal Union was urgently enforced; and that was unquestionably the most pressing need of America at the termination of the war. The future of the Union was involved in clouds and shadow; but across the dimness the clear mind of Washington struck like a beam of light.

CHAPTER LVI.

Mutiny among the Pennsylvanian Soldiers—Action of Washington—Disbanding of the Army—Washington's Farewell Address to the Troops—Sir Guy Carleton's Preparations for Quitting the United States—Fears of the Loyalists—Evacuation of New York by the King's Troops—Entry of the Americans—Popular Festivities—Parting Scene between Washington and his Officers—His Monetary Accounts from the Commencement of the War—Large Savings after the Appointment of Mr. Morris as Finance Minister—Washington's Resignation of his Command to Congress—Speeches of the General and of the President—Nobility of Washington's Character—His Entire Devotion to the Interests of the Country—Domestic Life at Mount Vernon—The Penalty of Greatness—Treaty with the King of Sweden—Reception of the Dutch Minister—Position of the Quakers—Arrival in America of the Definitive Treaty of Peace—Treatment of the Loyalists—Emigration of those Partisans into Nova Scotia—The Society of the Cincinnati—Doubts and Fears as to the Development of American Institutions.

One of the dangers incidental to a state of peace supervening on a long war, and accompanied by a sense of wrong on the part of the army, was seen at the very time when Washington was writing his circular to the State Governors. The spirit of military insubordination which had broken out so seriously in 1781, and which could be checked only by granting large concessions to the mutineers, was again apparent among some of the Pennsylvanian regiments. About eighty of these troops, newly recruited, and stationed at Lancaster, sixty-seven miles from Philadelphia, rose in rebellion, and started in a body for the capital of the State, to demand a redress of grievances. On reaching the city, they were joined by two hundred of their comrades from the barracks, who had already acted with some turbulence; and on the 21st of June the whole force proceeded, with beat of drum and fixed bayonets, to the State House, where the Executive Council of Pennsylvania and the Federal Congress were in session. Sentinels were placed at every door, to prevent members escaping, and the mutineers then sent in a written message to the Council, threatening violence if their demands were not granted in the course of twenty minutes. They do not seem, however, to have had resolution enough to act up to these menaces; and Congress, resolving to support the State Council in refusing to comply, sent information to Washington of what had happened, and determined to adjourn at once to Princeton, in New Jersey. After being detained for three hours, the members were permitted to retire; but the city continued to be overawed by the rioters, for the Executive Council had not force enough to protect either itself or Congress. On receiving the express from Philadelphia, Washington detached General Howe with fifteen hundred men to suppress the mutiny, which, being but feebly supported, was soon at an end. Several of the offenders were afterwards tried by court-martial, and found guilty. Of these, two were condemned to death, but ultimately pardoned, as they did not appear to have been principals in the mutiny, and as no lives had been lost, or property injured. Four received corporal punishment. Congress re-assembled at Princeton on the 30th, and shortly afterwards instituted an inquiry into the causes of the recent outbreak. It was mainly a question of pay, and Government was not in the most favourable position for redressing such grievances.

The disbanding of the army, which had already

to some extent been accomplished by the dismissal of so many men on furlough, was made the subject of a proclamation, dated the 18th of October, by which all officers and soldiers absent from the camp were relieved from further service, and all others who had engaged to serve during the war were to be discharged from and after the 3rd of November. A small force, composed of those who had enlisted for a definite time, was to be retained until the peace-establishment should be organised. In his circular to the Governors of the States, Washington had pointed to a militia as the most fitting permanent security for the country, and the first effectual resort in case of hostilities. It was therefore, he remarked, essential that the same system of organisation should pervade the whole, instead of varying with the several States; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the entire Federation should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced into every part of the country. This was afterwards brought to pass; but for the present the subject was postponed. In a General Order of November 2nd, Washington (whose head-quarters were now near Princeton) referred to the proclamation of the 18th of October, and went on to say that he then addressed the armies of the United States for the last time, and must bid them an affectionate and a long farewell. Having indulged himself in a retrospect of the past, remarked on the prospects of the country, offered some advice as to what he conceived to be the fittest line of conduct to be pursued, and expressed his obligations to his colleagues for the assistance they had rendered him, he observed:—"Being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander-in-Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed for ever."

Sir Guy Carleton had received his final orders for the evacuation of New York as early as August. On the 17th of that month, he informed the President of Congress that he should lose no time in fulfilling his Majesty's commands, but that he was unable to assign any precise period for carrying them into effect. The number of persons, and of goods of all kinds, to be removed, was so great that many weeks passed away without the English commander being in a position to quit the city which he occupied. The fears of the loyalists added greatly to his embarrassments, for they looked with no unreasonable terror to the vengeance which would overtake them when the British forces should have left. The newspapers abounded in menaces from committees formed in various towns and districts; and it was known from former experience that such threats were not mere idle declamation. Sir Guy felt that he could not leave any of these men behind, if they were themselves desirous of quitting the country; and he expressed himself disappointed that Congress had suspended to that late hour the recommendations as to a merciful treatment of the loyalists which had been stipulated by the treaty. The subject had indeed been brought before the Federal Legislature, but all conclusions on the matter were indefinitely postponed. At length, however, the 25th of November was named for the evacuation of New York. The occasion was one on which any little accident might have led to a most unfortunate collision between the troops that were marching out and the troops that were marching in—between those who were exasperated by defeat, and those who were inflamed with victory. A body of American soldiers, under the command of General Knox, proceeded in the morning from Haerlem to the Bowery Lane, where they remained till about one o'clock, when the British regiments left their posts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward, and took possession of the city. The Royal detachments at the various outlying posts had been drawn in some days before, and Washington had taken his station at Haerlem, accompanied by Governor Clinton, who had summoned the members of the State Council to meet at East Chester on the 21st of November, for the purpose of re-establishing civil government in the districts previously occupied by the enemy. Sir Guy Carleton had expressed a wish that Washington himself should be at hand to take immediate command of the city, as rumours were abroad that it was intended to plunder the place as soon as the King's troops had marched out. Washington doubted the existence of any such plot, but nevertheless considered it prudent to adopt precautions.

When the British troops had embarked on board their vessels, Washington and Clinton were escorted into the city with much pomp. They made their entry on horseback, followed by the

Lieutenant-Governor and members of the Council, four abreast, by the Speaker of the Assembly, by General Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast, by a body of cavalry, and by many spectators, both on horseback and on foot. An American lady, at that time young, gave an account of this imposing ceremonial, many years afterwards, to the celebrated author, Washington Irving. She related that the departing troops—those of England—were equipped in all the splendour of scarlet uniforms and burnished arms; that the troops who marched in—the American—were ill-clad, weather-beaten, and forlorn as to mere appearance; but that the consciousness that they were the troops of her own country, and the recollection of all they had done and suffered, made her heart and her eyes full, and she admired and gloried in them the more because they were weather-beaten and forlorn.* Throughout the day, perfect tranquillity was maintained, and on that and the following days numerous banquets and festivities gave expression to the general joy.

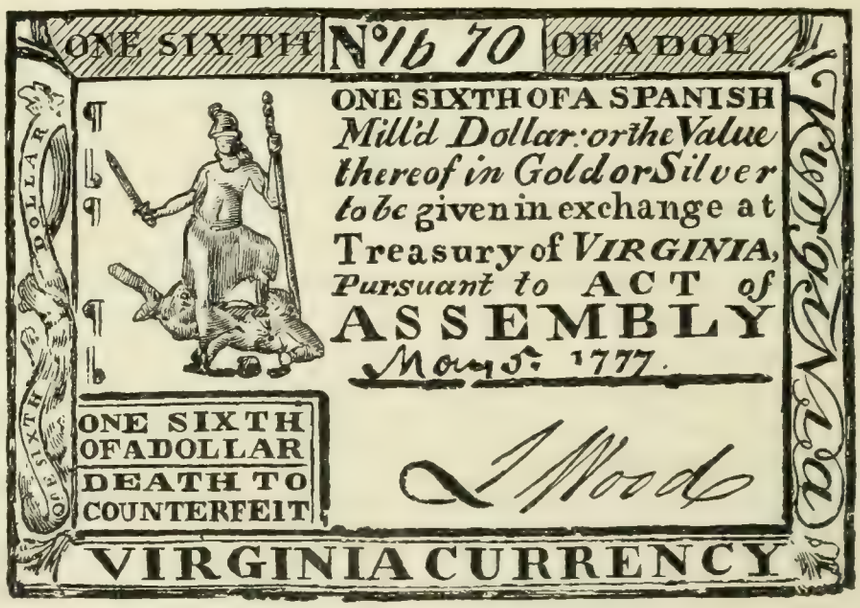
Washington was now about to depart for Annapolis, in Maryland, where Congress was then assembling, and where it was his intention to ask leave to resign his command. On the 4th of December, a barge was in waiting at Whitehall ferry to convey him across the Hudson to Paulus Hook. It was not to be supposed that his old companions in arms would suffer him to depart without some final act of leave-taking. They accordingly assembled at a tavern in the neighbourhood of the ferry. Washington entered the room, and, finding himself surrounded by faces that had often been with him in the storm of battle and in imminent peril of death, was deeply agitated, in spite of his habitual self-restraint. Filling a glass of wine, he said, in impressive accents, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." He then added, with even greater emotion, "I cannot go to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." When this last farewell had been performed in profound silence—for all were so much affected that none could speak—the officers, many of whom were in tears, followed their commander as he left the room, and, passing through a corps of light infantry, escorted him to Whitehall-ferry. There he entered the barge, raised his hat, and waved a silent God-speed, which was returned by those on shore until the boat disappeared from view.

Making a stay of some days at Philadelphia, Washington there adjusted, with the assistance of the Comptroller of the Treasury, his accounts from the commencement of the war down to the 13th of the existing month. All were in his own hand-writing, and made with so much exactness that every entry was accompanied by a statement of the occasion and object of the charge. The amount of these accounts was £16,311 17s. 1d., including a sum of £1,982 10s. for secret intelligence and service. When Washington accepted his position as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies, he stated that he would receive no payments from the public, except for expenses actually incurred. This high resolve he nobly carried out. He even went farther, and, at the close of the war, found himself, at the final adjustment of accounts, a considerable loser. In the hurry of business, he had frequently neglected to credit himself with sums derived from his private purse when he had no public funds to draw upon, whilst every debit against himself was duly set down. It would have been fortunate for the United States if all their public servants had been equally disinterested, or even equally honest. In the earlier days of the struggle, there had undoubtedly been much peculation. A Committee of Congress had been appointed, in the first half of 1783, to inquire fully into the finances of the Federation; and this body reported on the 17th of June that, in comparing the expenditure of former years with that of more recent dates, they found, after making every allowance for the difference of times and circumstances, that the order and economy which had been introduced since the establishment of the Office of Finance had resulted in a great saving of public money. Two of the Massachusetts delegates acknowledged that it cost Congress at the rate of eighteen million dollars per annum to carry on the war until Mr. Morris was chosen financier, and that afterwards it cost them not more than about five millions.

In his progress through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, to Annapolis, Washington was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm as the guardian, and one of the founders, of his country's liberties. On reaching the city whither he was bound, on the evening of the 19th of December, he prepared for the great closing scene of his military life. On the following day he informed Congress of his presence, and desired to know in what manner it would be most proper for him to offer his resignation. The members of the Legislature resolved that the

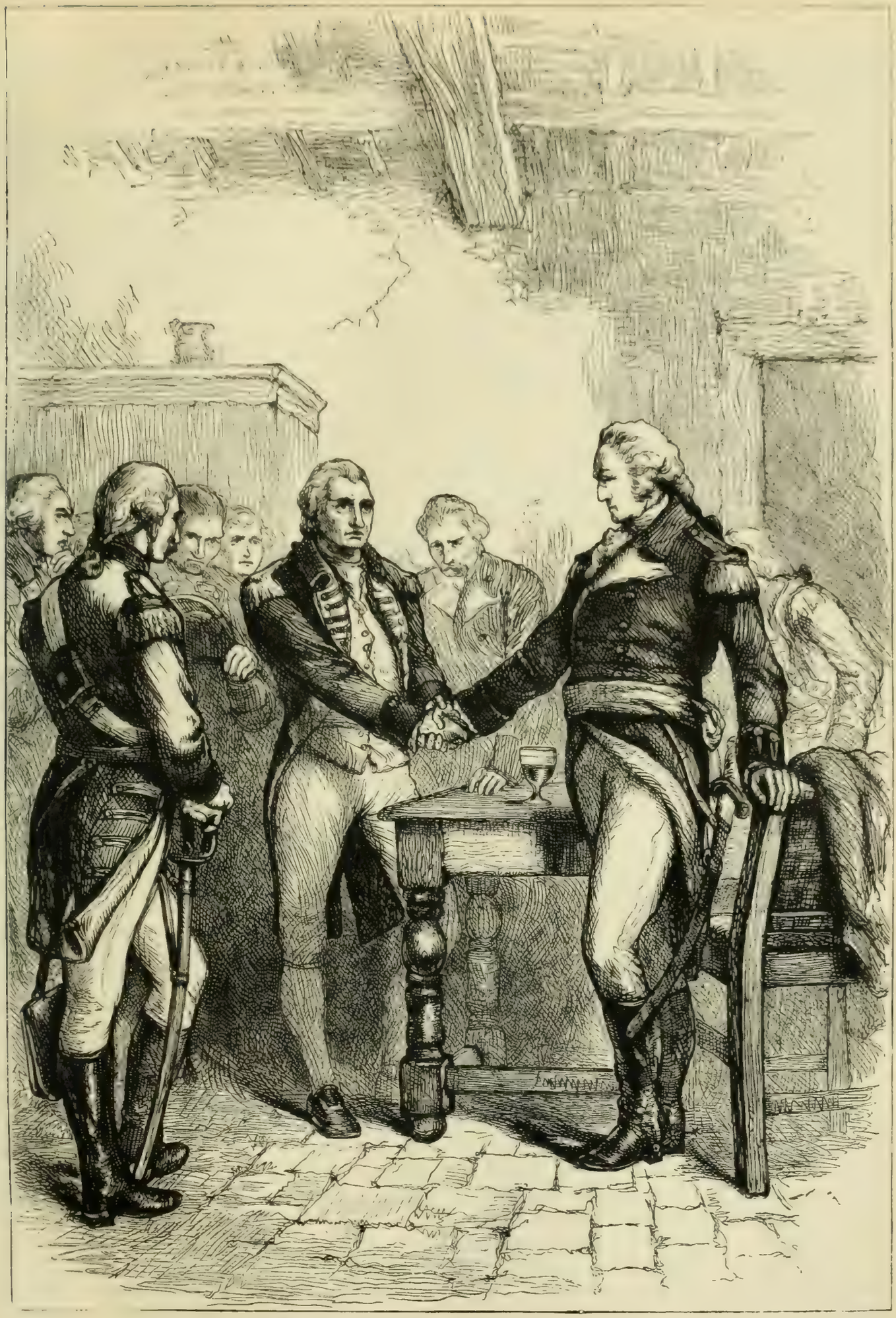
* Washington Irving's Life of Washington, chap. 161.

ceremony should take place at a public audience, and the Hall of Congress was selected as the scene. Writing to Baron Steuben on the 23rd, Washington remarked that that was the last letter he should pen while he still continued in the service of his country. The hour of his resignation was fixed for twelve o'clock that day; "after which," he added, "I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac." At the appointed hour, the gallery and a large part of the floor of the Hall of Congress were filled with ladies, public functionaries, and general officers. The members of Congress were seated and covered; the rest were standing and uncovered. Conducted by the Secretary of Congress, Washington entered, and took his seat in a chair set aside for him. The Secretary ordered silence, and, after a short pause, the President (General Mifflin) announced that the United States were prepared to receive the General's communication. Rising from his seat, and addressing the President, Washington said:—"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven." He then recommended to the particular attention of Congress those officers who had continued in the service to the existing moment, and concluded:—"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."



VIRGINIA PAPER MONEY.

Together with his commission, the General delivered a copy of his address to the President, and resumed his seat, but immediately afterwards rose again for the President's reply. "You have conducted the great military contest," said that functionary, "with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the Civil Power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence. . . We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment." The scene has been described by a spectator as extremely impressive; and certainly there is nothing grander in history than the readiness with which Washington, after attaining a military position which might have given him the powers of a Dictator, had he chosen to exercise them, resigned his commission to the civil authorities, and was content with the station of a private citizen. He had not been without his temptations. As we have seen, he had been offered the prerogatives, and even the name, of a King; and there can be no doubt that, in the feeble state of the Administration as it then existed, he might have established a despotism, could he but have lowered his greatness to the level of a traitor. But he preferred the enduring interests of his country to the glitter of an unreal and fleeting success. He knew that in such a land as his there was no soil for the growth of monarchy. He knew that the life of his nation



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OLD COMRADES.

was the democratic life of free societies, forming their own commonwealths as they thought best; perpetually struggling, it may be, but always in the end triumphant; changing their servants from time to time, and renewing all the offices of Government with the vital flux and reflux of the popular will. It is questionable whether he even contemplated the attainment of that Presidential dignity which he afterwards so nobly upheld. There is no reason to doubt that he was perfectly sincere when he declared his desire to pass the remainder of his days in the shadow of retirement, and the tranquillity of a meditative repose. Always obedient to the call of duty, he yet had the modesty to believe that there were men better fitted than himself to direct the political fortunes of the State. It cannot, indeed, be said of him, as it has been said of some, by a pointed application of a phrase in Shakespeare, that nothing in his public life became him like the leaving it; for his whole course was admirable. But this closing scene of his military career set the seal of completeness on all that had preceded it, and proved that he was not a soldier, as savages are, from the detestable love of fighting for its own sake, but from the deep instinct of a citizen that thus alone could his countrymen be protected, and his nation be founded. Now that the end was accomplished, he delivered up his sword into the hands of those who gave it.

On the following morning (the 24th of December), Washington left Annapolis, and proceeded to his seat at Mount Vernon, Virginia, where he arrived on the same day. "The scene is at last closed," he wrote to Governor Clinton: "I feel myself eased of a load of public care." In his Virginian home, the mind of Washington was necessarily, after so long a devotion to the affairs of the nation, much engrossed by private business; yet he gave great attention also to matters of more general interest. He promoted in his own State schemes of internal navigation, acts for encouraging education, and plans for the civilisation of the Indians. It is the province of biography, and not of history, to follow this great man into his retirement, which lasted more than five years. But it is impossible not to glance, in parting, at the routine of his daily existence. We find him exercising a liberal hospitality, corresponding with his friends, encouraging agriculture, surveying the Far West, suggesting many forms of material improvement, amusing his comparative leisure with ornamental gardening and with hunting, watching from a distance the progress of public affairs, and enjoying, after the fashion of a country gentleman, the pleasures of domestic life. We see him regarded by all men with a degree of awe which was often oppressive to himself. We behold in that Virginian dwelling a man arrived at more than fifty years of age; in some measure overshadowed by the work he had gone through, and the responsibilities under which he had laboured; occupied in unceasing correspondence, which poured in upon him from all quarters, to an extent even greater than that of his more busy years; kindly always; grave frequently; but at times, when pleased by some unexpected jest, bursting into storms of laughter, which partook of the energy of his whole being, and seemed, as it were, to relieve by sudden gusts and wild, irregular impulses the austerity which had been created by years of toil and anxious thought. It is a touching characteristic of this portion of the life of Washington, that the reverence inspired by his presence tended to the extinguishment of that genial enjoyment which he would have been delighted to promote. On one occasion, his appearance at a private ball, where a number of young people were amusing themselves with unrestrained glee, was the signal for the mirth to cease. He remained some time, endeavouring to break the spell, but, finding it in vain, retired sadly to the company of the elders. Such are the mournful prerogatives of greatness and of noble service. Washington, though generally grave, was a man of a social disposition; but the severity of his reputation stood between him and the lighter graces of the world. He was even an enthusiastic dancer; yet it was not often that he could indulge this passion. He was made for serious work, appointed to the accomplishment of solemn ends; and even in his home at Mount Vernon the grandeur of his destiny could not be shaken off.

The United States were now fairly established among the Powers of the earth. On the 25th of September, Congress issued a proclamation, notifying the conclusion, on the 3rd of April, of a treaty of amity and commerce between the King of Sweden and the new Government. The agreement was for a space of fifteen years, and the negotiations had been carried on by Franklin on the part of the United States, and by a Minister named for the purpose by the Swedish monarch. On the 31st of October, the Honourable Peter John Van Berckel, Minister Plenipotentiary from the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by Congress to an audience. This gentleman, on being introduced to Congress, made a speech in his own language, and delivered a letter from their High Mightinesses. The President spoke in answer, and in the course of his remarks observed

that the United States had received the most distinguished proofs of regard and friendship from his nation. What was perhaps of more importance to America than the friendship of either Sweden or Holland, was the fact that the Quakers—a very important element in the population of the country, and one which had previously inclined more to the Royal than to the Republican side—were now well disposed to give their support to the new order. A deputation from the yearly meeting of these people appeared before Congress on the 8th of October, delivered an address, and withdrew. In this way they acknowledged the independent sovereignty of the United States, and professed their own allegiance. The address related to the slave trade. The leaders of the Quaker body had enjoined all the members of their society to liberate the slaves whom they held in bondage, and the injunction had been very generally complied with; but it was feared that some might be induced by the hope of gain to renew the importation of negroes from Africa. Congress was therefore earnestly solicited to interpose for the discouragement and prevention of that abominable traffic.

The first authentic news of the conclusion of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States reached America at the end of October, and the treaty itself arrived some weeks later. It was laid before Congress on the 13th of December, together with a joint letter from the Ministers of the United States, written at Passy on the 10th of September. The treaty and the letter were referred to a committee, which delivered its report on the 14th of January, 1784. The representatives of the nine States then present resolved unanimously to ratify the treaty, which was accordingly done. The preamble to this document states that—"It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent prince, George III., by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c., and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence which they wish mutually to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony," they had empowered their respective representatives to conclude and sign the definitive treaty. The nine first articles were the same as those in the Provisional Agreement, with a few verbal alterations of an unimportant character. To these, however, a tenth article was added, providing that the solemn ratifications of the definitive treaty should be exchanged between the contracting parties within the space of six months, or sooner if possible. On the same day that the treaty was ratified by the United States, Congress resolved upon transmitting to the individual States the recommendations agreed upon by the Commissioners in the fifth provisional article; that, namely, by which Congress undertook to recommend to the local Legislatures a generous and liberal treatment of the loyalists. The concession, however, came too late. The miserable adherents of the defeated side had already left the territories of the Republic in large numbers; and it is stated by a contemporary writer that between twenty and thirty thousand persons of this persuasion—several of them men of considerable wealth—had, before the commencement of 1784, departed for the new settlement of Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, and other quarters of that uninviting land. As they took their property with them, the loss to the United States was considerable, and such as the country could ill afford.

Nearly the whole of the American army had by this time been disbanded; but the old military feeling was still kept alive by an Association which had been formed during the year 1783, under the title of "The Society of the Cincinnati." By the rules of this body, the officers of the American army formed themselves into a league of friends; to endure as long as they should endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, or, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who might be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members. The objects proposed were to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties for which they had contended; to promote and cherish national honour and union among the States; to maintain brotherly kindness towards each other; and to extend relief to such officers and their families as might stand in need of it. The necessary funds were to be raised by each officer contributing one month's pay. Individuals of the respective States, distinguished for patriotism and talents, might be admitted as honorary members for life; but their numbers were never to exceed a ratio of one to four. Washington was unanimously chosen the President of this body until the first general meeting, which was to be held in May, 1784. The title of the Association was derived from the celebrated Roman patriot, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, who, as Washington himself was now doing, retired from the turmoils of war to the cultivation of his farm. Excellent as were the objects of this Society, there

were some features in its constitution which excited alarm in those who were constantly dreading the introduction of monarchical and aristocratical forms into the democracy of the United States. A pamphlet was published, signed "Cassius," and dated from Charleston, October 10th, 1783, which gave strong expression to these apprehensions. The title-page bore the motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion"—a quotation such as some martial Puritan of the days of the English Commonwealth might have delighted to place in front of his tract. It is supposed to have been written by one of the Chief Justices of South Carolina; and its object was to prove that the Society of the Cincinnati created two distinct orders among the Americans: first, a race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military body, together with the chief families and leading men of the States, whose design would always be to retain power in their own hands; and, secondly, the people, or plebeians, whose certain fate it would be to suffer oppression under the institution. The author looked upon the prospects of his country, as affected by this Association, with a very gloomy eye. He believed that a privileged class would be created, that Government would be monopolised by this class, and that the lower orders of society would be kept in ignorance of the real intention until they felt the smart, when it would be beyond their power to effect a remedy. These views were doubtless exaggerated; but they were not without some foundation, for it is always a dangerous thing to create a military caste in the bosom of a free commonwealth. The feeling of alarm as to the Society soon became general, and demands were made in many quarters for a modification of the plan. In the event, the league proved harmless, and it has lasted to our own times without altering the character of American institutions; but it is not surprising that some should have seen in it a source of peril, and have felt it a duty to put their fellow-citizens on their guard. Franklin was among those who condemned the proposal.

The Americans were making a new experiment in politics, and were necessarily perplexed with many doubts, and distracted by many fears. They had the fabric of their government to build up; they had to apply new principles in new forms; they were threatened in one direction by anarchy, and in another by tyranny. The powers of the Administration were of the feeblest; the people had not yet determined for themselves what were the limits of individual freedom, and what the rights of the body politic. They were conscious of great forces operating towards great ends; but the precise channels in which those forces were to run, and the methods by which they were to balance one another, had not yet been ascertained. A period was approaching in which the Constitution of 1777 would be seen in all its imperfection. The necessity of reform became every day more apparent; it was obvious that the States must be more subordinated to the Union; but in the meanwhile it was not easy to discover by what methods the change should be brought about, or in what way the rightful powers of a Federal Government should be made to harmonise with particular liberties. In this time of darkness and uncertainty, even an honourable and benevolent Association, like that of the Cincinnati, was capable of causing alarm; and it was not until affairs had fallen into a more settled order that these apprehensions were dispelled, and the United States proceeded with assured steps towards the consummation of their lofty destinies.

CHAPTER LVII.

Position of the United States at the Commencement of 1784—Washington and Alexander Hamilton on the Necessity of a more Thorough Union—Division of North and South on the Question of Slavery—Gouverneur Morris on the Prospects of the Union—Samuel Adams on "the Two Empires"—Threats of Secession—Negroes in the American Armies—Virginia and the Institution of Slavery—Gradual Emancipation of the Slaves in Pennsylvania—Action of the Quakers—Slavery in Massachusetts—Efforts to get rid of it—A Free Constitution resolved on—The South resolved to retain its Bondsmen—Constitutions of the Thirteen States—Their Provisions with Reference to Religious Liberty—The Principle for the Most Part imperfectly carried out—Other Features of the State Constitutions—Their General Character—Disorganised Condition of the Country—Congress devoid of Power to enforce its Will—Refusal of the Individual States to supply Funds for meeting the Federal Debt—Ineffectual Attempt to conclude a Commercial Treaty with England—Policy of that Power—Impending Anarchy.

At the commencement of 1784, the United States stood before the world as an independent Power, recognised as such by the nations of Europe, and even by Great Britain, from whose side they had

been torn. The struggle by which that result had been brought about was long and painful; but it had proved the strength and enduring energy of the determination out of which it issued, and it had created, or at least intensified, the feeling of distinct nationality, now consecrated by the blood of many battle-fields, and bound closely together by the memory of many common sacrifices. On the other hand, it had revealed some weak and dangerous points. It had brought out in very strong relief the contrast between the North and the South. It had made more manifest than before the mutual jealousies of the States; and it had proved the crying need of a really powerful Government. That need was painfully recognised every year by the great minds of America, although the rank-and-file of ordinary politicians still clung to their exaggerated sense of the rights of individual States. For several years after 1776, conventions of States had been held, to consider various subjects affecting the general welfare; and one of these, which assembled at Philadelphia (the Congressional capital at most times), and which sat for a long while, was conspicuous as representing every State north of Virginia, excepting New York. Conventions in America are political assemblages, distinct from the Legislature, at which constitutional changes are considered; and in the convention of August, 1780 (in which, however, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, were the only States represented), a resolution was carried, which gave very clear expression to the chief want of the country. It was resolved "That the union of these States be fixed in a more solid and permanent manner; that the powers of Congress be more clearly ascertained and defined; that the important national concerns of the United States be under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head; that it be recommended to the States to empower their delegates in Congress to confederate with such of the States as would accede to the proposed Confederation; and that they invest their delegates in Congress with powers competent for the government and direction of all those common and national affairs which do not come within the jurisdiction of the particular States." The reader will recollect that the articles of Confederation agreed to by Congress in 1777 were not yet fully adopted, because not sanctioned by every one of the States.

These resolutions found an enthusiastic supporter in Washington, who wrote to the President of the Council of Massachusetts that, if adopted, they would probably be the means of rescuing the affairs of America from the complicated and dreadful embarrassments under which they laboured. They also received the approval of Alexander Hamilton, who had for some time been secretary to the Commander in Chief. This young and active politician—a West Indian of Scotch and French origin, but by adoption a citizen of New York—determined to do more than approve. He suggested to Duane, a member of Congress from New York, that that body should call a convention of all the States, to meet on the 1st of November, and settle the terms of a general Confederation. He pointed out that so slight was the principle of cohesion, even in the army itself, that many of the regiments would have obeyed their States in opposition to Congress, had it not been for the personal influence of Washington. A vigorous Confederation, he argued, was necessary to the success of the war, and to the happiness of the country afterwards. "Internal police," he wrote to Duane, "should be regulated by the Legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, finance, foreign affairs, armies, fleets, fortifications, coining money, establishing banks, imposing a land-tax, poll-tax, duties on trade, and the unoccupied lands." It was not until some months later—viz., the 1st of March, 1781—that Maryland, the last of the thirteen States so to act, subscribed the articles of Confederation, and that the United States, jointly and severally, confirmed and ratified the perpetual union thus established. But the constitution finally authorised on that day was the defective constitution under which, as partly adopted at an earlier date, the country had in some degree been governed and misgoverned for a long while. It was clearly doomed to failure, and Washington lost no opportunity of insisting on the necessity of enlarging the Federal powers, and of giving Congress the right, after hearing the views of the individual States fairly discussed, of dictating to them the course they should pursue, and not merely of recommending. Yet Washington was not at all disposed to deny the legitimate influence of the States in domestic matters.

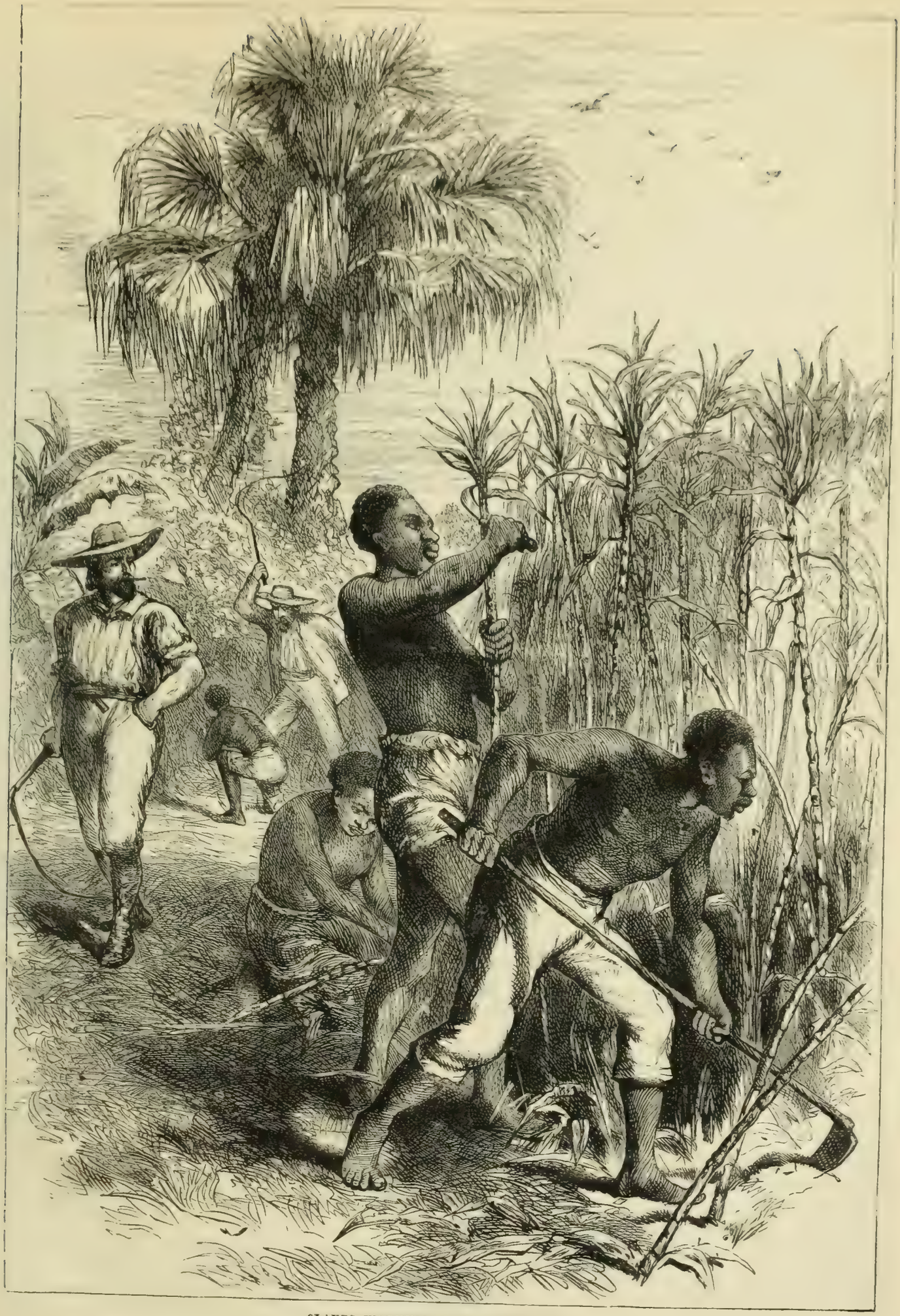
Nothing contributed so much to sectional tendencies as the broad division between the North and South on the question of slavery. This division was frequently apparent even in the first Congress, and it became still plainer in the second. The North was more or less opposed to human bondage, on grounds of principle and of policy; the South had the strong inducement of its supposed interests to remain faithful to a practice which had been introduced by the early English settlers. Gouverneur Morris, of New York, told

M. Gérard, in 1778, that Spain would have no cause to fear the Confederation, since reciprocal jealousy and separate interests would always prevent its members uniting against her; that the confederated States were already very much weakened by the Southern provinces; that any further extension in that direction would increase the evil; that the true expansion of the country was towards the North; that the navigation of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio should belong exclusively to Spain; and that the inhabitants of the immense countries between the Ohio and the lakes would be in a condition to domineer over the United States and over Spain, or to make themselves independent.* In some respects, these were the peculiar views of a peculiar thinker; but the dislike of the South was very general in the Northern States. It was founded partly on the question of slavery, partly also on the immense difference in the character of the Northern and Southern populations, resulting from this very fact of slavery, and from distinctions of climate, soil, and natural productions. To such an extent was it carried that, in 1779, Samuel Adams said it would become necessary for the two divisions of the Confederation—"the two empires," he called them—to separate. Samuel Adams was a man of somewhat violent and irritable disposition; but he only expressed in plain, blunt language what many were thinking. The tendency to separation was not confined to the North. When, in the year last mentioned, it was moved in Congress by Northern members that the country, even if deserted by France and Spain, would continue the war for the sake of the fisheries, three of the Southern States, with New York, supported the



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* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 17.



SLAVES WORKING ON A PLANTATION.

draft of a protest declaring that, if the resolution should be adopted, they would withdraw from the Confederation.* The South had no interest in the fisheries, and did not care a straw whether the North suffered for the want of them or not.

Black men fought in the armies of the Republic, and were enfranchised as a reward for their services. But South Carolina objected to putting arms into the hands of her negroes, even when Congress recommended such a measure, and offered to provide compensation for the loss of property entailed by its adoption. In Virginia, a feeling against slavery was found, in a qualified form, even amongst those who might have been supposed likely to desire its perpetuation and extension. The Legislature of that colony, while still a province of the British Crown, demanded, in 1772, the abolition of the slave-trade, as necessary to their happiness and to their very existence. The trade was prohibited by the Old Dominion in 1778, and it was at the same time ordered that every slave introduced from abroad should be emancipated, though the native-born blacks were left in their bondage. In 1782, a measure, giving to the masters of slaves the power of unconditional emancipation, was adopted by the Virginian Legislature. It had been proposed by Jefferson thirteen years before, and, when at length carried, it bore good fruit. Large numbers of negroes received their freedom, but they acquired no political rights with it. Jefferson thought it impossible that the two races should live side by side in the possession of the same political privileges. He contemplated, or at least desired, their removal to some other country; but the scheme was not practicable. Washington, himself a slaveholder, came in time to see the injustice of keeping men in subjection, and recommended that Virginia should emancipate her bondsmen by general statute, or, failing this, that every individual should act for himself in the matter. Nevertheless, slavery was not abolished in Virginia.

The constitution of Delaware as an independent State, which was adopted on the 20th of September, 1776, absolutely prohibited the introduction of any slave from Africa, or any slave for sale from any part of the world, as an article which "ought never to be violated on any pretence whatever." Slavery existed in New York, but there was a growing sentiment against it. In the year 1778, William Livingston, then Governor of New Jersey, urged the Assembly to prepare for the manumission of the negroes; but the House shrank from the danger, or the vexation, of discussing such a subject. Pennsylvania, at the period we are considering, had about six thousand slaves, and in 1777 it was proposed to rid the State of that great evil. The suggestion was not then adopted, but in 1780 a law for gradual emancipation was carried by a vote of 34 to 21. This noble reform was due in a great measure to the exertions of the Quakers, who had for a considerable time been deeply impressed with the detestable character of negro bondage. The Friends were now no longer the ruling class in the province which Penn had founded; they had been largely disfranchised by the Presbyterians; but their influence in this matter was persistently exercised, and it won the day against all opposing forces.

Slavery existed nowhere to a greater extent than in South Carolina, the constitution of which, established in 1778, contained no Declaration of Rights. In the lower parts of the country, the negroes outnumbered the whites in the proportion of six to one, and during the War of Independence their sympathies were given to the Royal cause, as it was supposed that the power of England would be exercised in favour of their liberation. But no great effect of this kind ensued, and the slaves still remained in miserable subjection to their masters. Although the opinion of Massachusetts was so strongly expressed against the slave-trade, and even to a considerable extent against slavery itself, negro bondage existed in that province, as in others. The condition of the slaves at the North, however, was far better than it was at the South, and there was a more visible hope that in time the institution would be entirely abolished. Some of the chief religious ministers spoke against this iniquity; and in January, 1777, certain negro slaves joined in petitioning the General Court "that they might be restored to that freedom which is the natural right of all men, and that their children might not be held as slaves after they had arrived at the age of twenty-one." In that same year, the Massachusetts Legislature permitted the second reading of a Bill which declared slavery "without justification in a Government of which the people are asserting their natural rights to freedom." The main object of this Bill was to fix a day on which all persons above twenty-one years of age, then held in slavery, should be set free, and entitled to the privileges of other citizens. The measure, however, seems never to have been enacted: the Massachusetts official class was not yet ripe for such a reform. The Constitution of 1778 took from Indians, negroes, and mulattos the right to vote; but, upon being submitted to the popular suffrages, this Constitution

* Bancroft.

was rejected by a majority of five to one, because of the disfranchisement of free negroes, and in consequence of the Legislature having taken on itself constituent powers without authority from the people. A convention for forming another Constitution was held in September, 1779, and this body resolved unanimously that the Government of Massachusetts should be a Free Republic. The first article of a Declaration of Rights was adopted on the 29th of October. It asserted that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." In deciding how many of their old laws should remain in force, the convention excepted those parts which were "repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in the Constitution." The discussion of this clause was postponed until the others had been settled, and was then debated in a full convention, by which it was affirmed. The delegates afterwards called on their constituents in the several towns and plantations to determine whether they would accept or reject the Constitution which had thus been framed. The result was that all the clauses were fully ratified, and on the 25th of October, 1780, the new Constitution, thus purged of slavery, came into effect.* This was an important step towards the abolition of human bondage over the whole of the Union, though it has been reserved for our own times to see that abolition made compulsory on every spot of earth that is covered by the flag of the Confederation. In 1780, the Methodists of the United States, at their general meeting, voted that the keeping of slaves was contrary to the laws of God, of man, and of Nature; but the South still clung to slavery, and for many years the balance of parties in the United States enabled the Southern provinces to maintain their darling sin in face of the better practice of the North, of the loftiest sentiment of Europe and America, and of the widening interests of civilisation.

The constitutions of the several States differed considerably in many respects, and especially in the matter of religious toleration. Massachusetts and New Hampshire reckoned the rights of conscience among the inalienable natural rights of mankind, and declared that no subject should be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his personal liberty or estate, on account of his religious profession or practice, provided he did not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their own worship. It is remarkable that in these State constitutions of the last century the word "subject" is employed, and not "citizen." Both Massachusetts and New Hampshire empowered the Legislature to authorise the several towns, parishes, bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision should not be made voluntarily. But the towns, &c., were at all times to have the exclusive right of choosing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. It was especially provided that every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, should be equally under the protection of the law, and that no subordination of one sect or denomination to another should ever be established. Papists, however, were precluded from exercising power within the State, seeing that they would not "disclaim those principles of spiritual jurisdiction which are subversive of a free Government established by the people." The Legislature and magistrates of Massachusetts were charged to cherish literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar-schools in the towns. The executive, legislative, and judicial powers were separated, and it was alleged, as the reason for this admirable reform, that power without any restraint is tyranny. The President, Council, Senate and House of Representatives of New Hampshire were to be of the Protestant religion, and the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, councillors, senators, and representatives of Massachusetts were to declare their belief in the Christian faith. Rhode Island had from a very early period established the principle of the entire immunity of religion from State control; and this principle was continued in the Constitution that was framed after the Declaration of Independence. In Connecticut, religious liberty was placed upon much the same footing as in Massachusetts.

The New York Constitution ordained that the free exercise of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, should be allowed within the State to all mankind, provided that this liberty of conscience should not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State. In New Jersey, likewise, religious freedom was permitted, but only within the bounds of the Protestant body. The Pennsylvanian Declaration of Rights went farther

* Bancroft.

than this, for it asserted that "all men have a natural and an unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding, and that no man ought, or of right can be compelled, to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent; nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments." But even here there was a limitation of the principle of entire religious freedom, because some species of Theistical belief was set down as necessary to the enjoyment of civil rights. Nor did the Pennsylvanians go as far in fact as they professed to go. The tenth section of the Frame of Government required that, in order to admission into the House of Representatives, each member should subscribe, besides a declaration of his faith in one God, his acknowledgement of the Old and New Testaments as of Divine inspiration. The Delaware Constitution limited the right to religious freedom to persons professing Christianity; but all persons so professing were for ever to enjoy equal rights and privileges in the State. Here again there was practically a great reservation; for it was required that every person chosen a member of either of the Legislative Houses, or appointed to any office or place of trust, should formally declare his faith, not simply in the Divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, but in the Trinitarian doctrine; so that all Unitarians, though professed Christians, were excluded from a share in the government of the State.

The Maryland Declaration contained some contradictions. A certain degree of religious toleration existed in that province from the days when Lord Baltimore went there with his first band of emigrants; but the same want of clear and definite principle which was observable in those early times re-appeared in the Constitution of the revolutionary epoch. The thirty-third article sets forth "that, as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty." It is obvious that the conclusion here drawn does not agree with the premiss. For, if it be the duty, and therefore by consequence the right, of every man to worship God in the manner he thinks best, it follows that the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Theist, ought to enjoy complete liberty in this respect; whereas the article confines the privilege to Christians. It is true the clause goes on to say that no person ought by any law to be molested on account of his religious profession or practice; but these words must of course be construed by the previous definition. No person, it was affirmed, ought to be compelled to frequent or maintain any particular place of worship, or any particular ministry; but it was added that the Legislature might at its discretion lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, leaving it to each individual to apply his payments to the support of any particular place of worship or minister he pleased to select, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or of the poor in general of any particular county. It was also declared that the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property then belonging to the Church of England, ought to remain to the Church of England for ever. In the fifty-fifth section of the Frame of Government, it was expressly appointed that every person, before entering on any office of trust or profit, should subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion. Similar inconsistencies are to be found in the Constitution of North Carolina, which, starting with the proposition that all men are entitled to worship God as they please, goes on to exclude from office all persons who deny the being of a God, or the truths of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority of the Bible. The same provisions were made by South Carolina, which declared that the Christian Protestant religion should be deemed the established religion of the State, though all sects of Protestants were to enjoy equal religious and civil privileges. By the people of Georgia it was determined that all persons whatsoever should have the free exercise of their religion, provided it was not repugnant to the peace and safety of the State. Nevertheless, the members of the Legislature (who were to elect out of their own body the Governor and Executive Council) were to be of the Protestant persuasion. In Virginia, religious toleration was secured by the Bill of Rights adopted by the Convention of 1776, and by a particular Act of the Assembly passed ten years later.

As regards political rights, the Constitutions of all the thirteen States were to some extent democratic, because in every one the Government was vested in elected Assemblies, and the executive officers were responsible to the constituencies. But there were differences in the degree of popular power permitted by the several States. In some, every freeman of the full age of twenty-one, who had resided in the State for the space of one whole year before the day of election, and paid public taxes during that time, was entitled to vote. In the greater

number, however, it was necessary that the elector should be worth from £30 to £45 sterling. Certain States provided for the establishing and perpetuating of an equal representation, in proportion to the number of freemen inhabiting the counties, cities, towns, and districts; others were indifferent to this exactness and symmetry in the representative institutions of the commonwealth. In several instances it has been found necessary to amend these constitutions in later times, and indeed it is certain that in some respects they were faulty. But, after all drawbacks have been made, they must be acknowledged to have secured to the American people a large amount of practical liberty, with all essential guarantees for order, justice, and good government. The leading principles on which they were based were the old English principles of representative rule, of tempered freedom, of balanced powers and carefully adjusted privileges; but those principles were applied to a new order of things, with the modifications and enlargements required by the circumstances of the case. Political wisdom has never been more admirably displayed than by the founders of the American States.

It cannot be said that this spirit of wisdom was visible in the Federal Constitution. The defects of that arrangement were so glaring that no man of sense endeavoured to excuse them; yet amendment was not easy. Every day enhanced the evil, and it seemed for awhile as if the liberties of the country would be lost in anarchy—a result which might in truth have happened, had not each of the States been a perfect commonwealth in itself, capable of sustaining a separate existence, in case of the worst. Still, the mischief was very great, and it came in addition to all those troubles which a long war necessarily entails. The prosperity of the country had been ruined by the struggle for independence. Commerce was almost at an end. There were scarcely any rich men in the land. Large districts had been laid waste; towns had been burnt or bombarded; industry had been stifled in its most productive branches. In this condition of general poverty, Congress had to make provision for discharging the national debt, and for paying what was due to British creditors; and its powers were insufficient for either purpose. It could not compel the individual States to furnish the sums required of them; and one of the consequences of this inability was that the English Government, finding the demands of its subjects unsatisfied, declined for a long time to evacuate the military posts which were held by British troops within the north-western frontier of the Confederation. Several of the States still refused their acquiescence in the taxes imposed during the war, and Congress could do nothing more than issue a pitcous, and as it proved wholly unavailing, appeal to the local Governments to provide the necessary funds. Another loan became necessary, and in the meanwhile little could be attempted towards developing commerce, because of the unsettled and ill-defined state of the national powers. Commercial treaties were, indeed, made with a few European countries, and that with Frederick of Prussia included free trade, freedom of neutrals, respect for individual property of enemies at sea, the abolition of privateering, and a limitation of the power to confiscate contraband of war. But France, in some matters, was not inclined to reciprocity; and when application was made to England, she contended that Congress had no mandate to conclude such treaties. Jefferson (who was at that time in Europe, as one of the American Ministers for negotiating treaties of commerce) argued that the authority of Congress was sufficient; but the British Government was not convinced. England kept up her prohibitory duties on American exports; monopolised the fisheries; excluded the ships of her rival from the British West Indies; and endeavoured to engross the whole carrying trade of the United States. The latter thought of making reprisals; but here again the want of sufficient powers interposed to prevent all effective action. Congress was not entitled to regulate the commerce of the Confederation; but in 1784 authority was demanded of the States individually to exclude, throughout the entire Union, the vessels of all countries not having treaties of commerce with America. Most of the States acceded to this requisition; but, as others refused, the proposed action could not be carried into practice. Thus the year came to an end, and the prospects of the young Republic were such as to inspire her best citizens with feelings of anxiety which sometimes bordered on despair.

CHAPTER LVIII.

John Adams appointed Envoy to the Court of St. James's—His Reception by George III.—Irritable Feeling in England towards America—Defalcations in the United States—Severe Criticism by John Adams—Proposed Commercial Treaty with England—Jefferson in Paris—His ineffectual Attempt to Conclude a Treaty with Portugal—His Plan for the Suppression of the Barbary Pirates—Anarchy in the United States—Insurrectionary Movement in New England—Meeting of Commissioners for the Promotion of Navigation—Plans for the Improvement of the General Government—Meeting of a Convention in Philadelphia (May, 1787)—Opinions of Washington—Proceedings of the Convention—A Federal Constitution Agreed to—Leading Provisions of the Constitution of the United States, as Settled in 1787—Discussions on the Constitution in the State Legislatures—Divisions of Opinion—The Federalists and Anti-Federalists—Foundation of the Two Modern Parties of Republicans and Democrats.

ALTHOUGH peace between Great Britain and the United States was definitively concluded on the 3rd of September, 1783, it was not until near the middle of 1785 that any representative of the new Power was officially received in England. The causes of this delay are not difficult to understand. There was a natural disinclination on both sides to make approaches. England could not at once cease from regarding the Americans as her rebellious children, and felt mortified, as any other nation would have done, at the failure of her efforts to correct and subdue them. America was doubtful of the way in which she would be met, and, from the reception given to her proposals for a commercial treaty (which in the first instance were made from Paris), had less reason for hope than fear. It was obvious, however, that this state of things could not go on for ever; and on the 24th of February, 1785, Congress elected John Adams to the post of Envoy to the Court of St. James's. Adams was at that time in Paris, and the Duke of Dorset, then the British Ambassador in France, remarked to him that in London he would be stared at a great deal. This does not seem to have been the case; but the position of Adams was one of great difficulty, requiring no small amount of sense, feeling, and tact. He had to represent his country at the court of its former Sovereign, towards whom he had for several years stood in the position of a rebel; and it was necessary that he should do this in a way which should neither compromise the new Power nor offend the old. It was in the month of May that he arrived in England on his delicate mission; it was on the 1st of June that he was presented to George III. at St. James's Palace.

The only other person present on this occasion was Lord Carmarthen, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and the addresses then delivered have been reported only by Adams. It was not the original intention or desire of the Envoy to deliver any address at all; but he was informed by the Master of the Ceremonies that such a compliment was usual with newly-appointed Foreign Ministers, and he therefore complied. After assuring his Majesty that it was the unanimous disposition of the United States to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between his Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and expressing the best wishes of his country for his Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of the Royal Family, Adams entered on the real subject-matter of his speech. "I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens," said the American, addressing the monarch to whom he had once borne allegiance, "in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's Royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's Royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good-nature and the old good-humour, between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different Governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add that, although I have some time before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."—"Sir," replied the King, "the circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered are so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly dispositions of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their Minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to

the separation; but, the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent Power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give to this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect."* George had evidently heard



THE QUADRANGLE, HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

something of the distrust of France which was so prominent a feature in the political character of Adams; and he observed—what was certainly not in the best taste, considering that England and France were then at peace—that the American Envoy was understood to have no prejudices in favour of the French. Adams replied by admitting the fact, with the significant addition, "I must avow to your Majesty that I have no attachment but to my own country." George responded, with a heartiness that could not be mistaken (for the principle was one with which he naturally sympathised), "An honest man will never have any other." And with these words the interview terminated. The brief conversation had been conducted on both sides with much good feeling, and Adams has recorded that both he and the King were powerfully affected.

It would have been well if, with this interchange of friendly words, the bitterness so long existing between the two countries had come to an end. But such was not the case; nor, considering what human nature is, was it to be expected. Deep-seated animosities do not die out at once, and the relative positions of England and the United States were not such as to encourage cordial intercourse. The King, after his first interview with Adams, showed great coldness towards his former subjects; courtiers and Ministers were equally unsympathetic; and the majority of the English people evinced on all occasions their distaste of everything American. It could hardly have been otherwise, since men are not angels; it would probably have been the same, granting the same circumstances, in

* John Adams to Secretary Jay, June 2nd, 1785.—It must be borne in mind that this is only Adams's recollection of the King's reply, and that he admits the possibility of his having misunderstood some parts of what was said, owing to his agitation. Still, it seems likely that the report is substantially correct.

the case of every other nationality under the sun; but it was none the less unfortunate. The English people looked with a kind of malicious satisfaction on the disorganised, incoherent, and almost anarchical condition of the American Republic after the peace, and were not without a hope that the enfranchised States, or at least some of them, would in time beg to be taken back to the old protection of the Crown, as the only escape from the miseries of democratic misgovernment. This feeling of ill-will was not without some justification in the conduct of the Americans themselves. They were in many respects disregarding their engagements, and every day these breaches of faith found more and more defenders. Neither the British creditor nor the native creditor was fairly treated. John Adams himself, in spite of his patriotism, or perhaps rather by reason of it, saw these blots on the fair fame of his countrymen very clearly, and spoke of them in terms of great indignation. While still residing in London as Minister of the United States, he addressed to Dr. Tufts, an uncle of his wife, and then a member of the Massachusetts Senate, a letter, in which he remarked:—"As to politics, all that can be said is summarily comprehended in a few words. Our country is grown, or at least has been, dishonest. She has broke her faith with nations, and with her own citizens; and parties are all about for continuing this dishonourable course. She must become strictly honest and punctual to all the world before she can recover the confidence of anybody at home or abroad. The duty of all good men is to join in making this doctrine popular, and in discountenancing every attempt against it. This censure is too harsh, I suppose, for common ears; but the essence of these sentiments must be adopted throughout America before we can prosper. Have our people forgotten every principle of public and private credit? Do we trust a man in private life who is not punctual to his word—who easily makes promises, and is negligent to perform them; especially if he makes promises knowing that he cannot perform them, or deliberately designing not to perform them?" *

In February, 1786, Adams fancied he saw in the governing circles of England some symptoms of a better disposition towards his countrymen. He therefore wrote to Jefferson—now the American Minister at Paris, Franklin having returned to the United States in the previous July—a request that he would come to London. On Jefferson arriving there, the two Ministers agreed on a form of treaty with Great Britain, proposing an interchange of certain privileges, commercial and otherwise. But the offer was not accepted, and both Adams and Jefferson were speedily discouraged. "On my presentation, as usual, to the King and Queen, at their levees," writes the latter in his Autobiography, "it was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself. I saw at once that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter left nothing to be expected on the subject of my attendance; and, on the first conference with the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the distance and disinclination which he betrayed in his conversation, the vagueness and evasions of his answers to us, confirmed me in the belief of their aversion to have anything to do with us." No decisive reply was given; but at length, after staying in London seven weeks, without obtaining any satisfactory response to his desires, Jefferson thought it necessary to return to his regular duties at Paris. He accordingly left England towards the close of April, and the contemplated treaty fell to the ground.

During his stay in London, he entered, together with Adams, into negotiations with the Chevalier Pinto, the Portuguese Ambassador at the British Court, and concluded a commercial treaty, which the Government of Lisbon afterwards disallowed. It was stipulated by this treaty that American bread-stuffs should be received into Portugal in the form of flour as well as of grain. The Portuguese Ambassador personally approved of the clause, but observed that several nobles, of great influence at court, were the owners of windmills in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, which to a great extent depended for their profits on the manufacture of American wheat, and that the proposed stipulation would endanger the whole treaty. Nevertheless, he signed the document, and its fate was what he had anticipated.†

One great object of Jefferson while in Paris was the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean from the depredations of the Barbary cruisers. He was very unwilling, as he records, to acquiesce in the European humiliation of paying a tribute to those pirates; and he endeavoured to form an association of the countries subject to their attacks. He accordingly prepared, and laid before the Ministers of the chief Powers at Paris, articles of a special confederation, to be afterwards submitted by them for the approval of their respective Governments. By these articles it was proposed that the several Powers at war with the

* Life of Adams by his Grandson, chap. 8.

† Jefferson's Autobiography.

piratical States of Barbary, or any two or more of them who should be willing, should enter into a convention to carry on their operations against those States in concert, beginning with the Algerines. The convention was to remain open to any other Powers who should at any future time wish to accede to it; the parties reserving to themselves the right to prescribe the conditions of such accession, according to the circumstances existing at the time it should be proposed. The object of the convention was to compel the piratical States to perpetual peace without price, and to guarantee that peace to each other. The operations for obtaining peace were to be constant cruises on the Barbary coast; the necessary force to be furnished by the parties in certain definite quotas. It was further proposed that the management of this force should be placed in the hands of a Committee of Ambassadors of the contracting Powers residing at some one Court of Europe; that in this Council the vote of each member should be computed in proportion to the quota of his Sovereign; and that the majority, so computed, should prevail in all questions discussed. In case of war arising between any two of the parties to the convention, it was not to interrupt the concerted proceedings, in respect to which the belligerents should be considered at peace. If, however, the convention should interfere with treaties actually existing between any of the parties and the States of Barbary, the said treaties were to over-ride the convention, and such parties should be allowed to withdraw from operations against the States. The pillage committed by the Algerines on the commerce of the Mediterranean was so serious as to render necessary some such action as that proposed by Jefferson. Many of the Powers were obliged to pay tribute to these maritime robbers, in order to save their trade from extinction; the right to extortion was actually recognised in treaties with Christian nations; and for three centuries the corsairs of Northern Africa had been plundering merchant-vessels, and carrying Europeans into slavery, with only an occasional check from a Blake or a Duquesne. Just before Jefferson made his proposal, Spain had concluded a treaty with Algiers at an expense of three millions of dollars; and eleven years before she had failed in an attempt to chastise the sea-rovers of that State. Portugal, Naples, Venice, Malta, Denmark, and Sweden, were favourably disposed to the contemplated association; but their representatives at Paris expressed apprehensions that France would interfere, either openly or secretly, in support of the Barbary Powers. Jefferson did not share this opinion; he feared that such a course would more probably be adopted by England. In point of fact, the plan broke down through the inability of the American Government to give it effectual support. Congress was willing to join the scheme; but its recommendations to the several States to furnish the necessary means were persistently neglected, and the proposal came to an end.

While these events were going on in Europe, the internal disorganisation of the United States was every day becoming more extreme. As frequently happens when a Republican form of government has been established by a successful revolution, the demand for political change had given place to wild plans of social regeneration. A feeling akin to communism had grown up among the lower orders of America. Distinctions of class, till then almost unknown in the New World, were beginning to appear, and to create emotions of jealousy and ill-will. The rich were denounced as aristocrats, and it was feared that oligarchical institutions would be established on the ruins of monarchy. The poverty of the country, caused by a long and devastating war, gave intensity and venom to this sentiment. A certain number of men had, by the strength of their intellect, and perhaps also in some degree by their superior social position, raised themselves to an eminence above the rest, which was regarded by many as fatal to democratic freedom. It was thought that the great leaders of the War of Independence would seize for themselves an undue share of power, or perhaps even create hereditary distinctions. The commonalty were deeply agitated, and, in the absence of a strong Government, serious disorders broke out. Towards the close of 1786, the peace of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, was threatened by a body of men, who, assembling to the number of two thousand, elected one Daniel Shays as their leader. They required the suspension of taxes, and a large emission of paper money for general circulation; but more extreme tendencies lurked behind these demands. The movement aimed at the establishment of an agrarian law, and at an equal division of property, and was similar in its general character to many risings of the Middle Ages or to the Paris Commune of our own days. The danger was so menacing that Congress at once took the matter in hand, and despatched a body of troops, under General Lincoln, against the insurgents. Four thousand men were not considered too many to crush this insurrection in the bud. The rioters had compelled the Supreme Court, sitting at Springfield, to disperse, and the first action of General Lincoln was to re-establish the judges in their seats. The State Arsenal was

on the point of being attacked, when a single discharge of artillery struck terror into the malcontents, and scattered them. The leaders were afterwards tried, and fourteen received sentence of death; but all were ultimately pardoned. The suppression of the rebellion was followed by a reaction in favour of the constituted authorities; but it was at the same time felt that the political condition of the country imperatively required amendment, and that this could no longer be deferred or trifled with.

The more intimate union of the States—the creation, in short, of a strong central Government—was what most men now saw to be urgent. Yet the end was approached in a way characteristic of the hap-hazard nature of American politics in those days. Some citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a design for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and of Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by the two States concerned, to meet at Alexandria, Virginia, in March, 1785, and settle the plan of operations. Washington being known to be interested in schemes of internal improvement, these gentlemen made a visit to Mount Vernon, and the discussion of their projects led to the consideration of various matters connected with the administration of the Republic. It was determined that the State Governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners with enlarged powers, with a view more especially to the maintenance of a naval force on the Chesapeake, and to the creation of a system of duties on exports and imports, in which both Virginia and Maryland should agree; and it was resolved that Congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. Here was the germ of a more intimate relation between the several States; and, the project having been approved by the Legislature of Virginia, the required commissioners were appointed. The design was recommended by Virginia to other States, which were invited to establish such a system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. To this proposal, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York gave in their adhesion, and commissioners from those States assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786. They soon found that the powers with which they were entrusted were so slight as to prevent their effecting any useful purpose; and they came to the conclusion that nothing short of a thorough reform of the existing Government should be attempted. In their report they dwelt on the necessity of reforming the old Federal compact, and recommended that all the State Legislatures should appoint deputies with more ample powers and instructions, to meet at Philadelphia. With the single exception of Rhode Island, all the States agreed to this recommendation, and in May, 1787, the Convention met.

Before its assembly, the subject had engaged the thoughts of Washington very deeply in his retirement. Writing to Jay on the 1st of August, 1786, he said:—"We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our Confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt, and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State Governments extends over the several States. . . I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious!" The details of the New England insurrection gave the deepest distress to Washington. "What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our Government," he asked in a letter to James Madison, written on the 5th of November, "than these disorders? If there is not power in it to check them, what security has a man for life, liberty, or property? To you, I am sure, I need not add aught on this subject. The consequences of a bad or inefficient Government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the Federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a liberal and energetic constitution, well checked and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining."

Probably because he was known to entertain these sentiments, Washington was placed at the head of the Virginia delegation to the Philadelphia convention. He accepted the position with reluctance, because, as he said, it would have a tendency to sweep him back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease were greatly desired, and found to be essentially necessary. At length, however, he was persuaded to accept the post—a result

brought about by an insinuation that the opponents of the convention were Monarchists, who desired to perpetuate the prevailing anarchy, as an excuse for introducing the kingly form of rule. When a sufficient number of delegates had assembled to form a quorum, Washington, by a unanimous vote, was elected to the chair as President. The deliberations of the body were conducted with closed doors, and spread over a period of four months. Some of the highest intellects of America were concerned in these debates. Washington himself, James Madison, Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin West, Edmund Randolph, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and many others, were engaged for several hours a day in discussing the most vital principles of government, and the bases of a reasonable political state. They did not propose to themselves the formation of a Utopia, but the establishment of a good working constitution, such as should be capable of answering the every-day requirements of a young and complex community. The result was the creation of a Federal system which was ultimately adopted as that of the United States, and which, with a few subsequent modifications, exists to this day. In writing to Lafayette some time afterwards, Washington said it appeared to him little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many States, differing from each other in manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well-founded objections. He confessed that it had some real, though not radical, defects; yet he believed that the Federation was not invested with more powers than were necessary, and that those powers were so distributed among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, that the whole could never be in danger of degenerating into a Monarchy, an Oligarchy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, as long as there should be any virtue in the body of the people.

The Constitution thus created was made known to the public on the 17th of September. Its principal features, as finally modified by the States, may be summarily sketched. It placed at the head of the nation a general and supreme Government, composed of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative department was to consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, to be styled, in conjunction, the Congress. The members of the Lower House were to be chosen directly by the people, and were to hold their offices during two years. They were to be apportioned among the several States, according to the number of inhabitants, as ascertained by a decennial census, excluding Indians not taxed, and deducting two fifths of the slaves. The Senators were to be regarded as the representatives of the States in their sovereign capacity, and were to be chosen by the State Legislatures, each choosing two. On assembling for the first session, they were to be divided as equally as possible into three classes. Those composing the first class were to hold their offices but two years; those comprising the second class, four years; those comprising the third, six years. All subsequently chosen were to hold their offices six years, excepting such as should be elected to supply the places of those who had died or resigned. Besides their legislative power, they were to have, in concurrence with the Executive, a voice in all appointments to office, and in the ratification of treaties. The executive power was to be invested in a President, appointed by electors chosen in the respective States, in such manner as the different Legislatures might prescribe, and equal in number to the Senators and Representatives from the State in Congress. He was to be elected for four years, but might be impeached by the House, tried by the Senate, and, if convicted of misconduct, removed from office. To the President were given powers not dissimilar from those of the King in monarchical countries. He was to nominate to the Senate all officers of the general Government, and, with the advice and consent of two-thirds of that body, was to ratify treaties. A Vice-President was to be chosen at the same time and in the same manner, to perform the duties of President when that office should become vacant by death, resignation, or removal, and, under ordinary circumstances, to preside over the Senate. For the creation of any law, it was made necessary that the House and Senate should concur, and the law so made was then to be sent to the President, who was either to approve it, or, in case of disapproval, to return it with his objections. In the latter case, if again passed, it was necessary that it should be agreed to by two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature. Congress was to possess the power of declaring war, of raising and supporting armies, of providing and maintaining a navy, of levying and collecting taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, of regulating commerce, coining money, and performing all other acts of a general or national character. The judicial power of the United States was by this new Constitution to be vested in a Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress might establish. It was to extend to all cases arising under the Constitution, the laws of Congress, and treaties; to all cases of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction; and to all controversies between citizens of different States, and between

foreigners and citizens. The judges were to hold their offices during good behaviour.

The discussions in convention, though resulting in a general agreement, had revealed considerable discordance in the opinions of different members. The main division was between those who were in favour of a large degree of Federal power, and those who would have restricted that power within narrower limits. The supporters of the latter opinion called themselves Democrats, a designation which they retain to this day; the others were called Federalists, and in more modern times have been known as Republicans. The constitution was the result of a compromise between the two parties; but the Federalist view prevailed, in the main, over that of the opposing section. During the progress of the discussion, the Federalists published a series of letters which produced a great effect, and of which the principal writers were Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. It was proposed by the last-named politician that the Presidents and Senators should hold their offices permanently during good behaviour; the Anti-Federalists supported the principle of rotation, or an annual change in the person wielding the Executive.



JOHN JAY. (*From a Print published in* 1783.)

Having been agreed to by the convention, the Constitution was forwarded to Congress, and by that body transmitted to the State Legislatures, each of which submitted it to a State convention, composed of delegates chosen by the people. The consent of nine States out of the thirteen was necessary to carry the constitution into effect.

After much debate, and in many places considerable opposition, it was ratified by all the States but two Rhode Island and North Carolina. The consent of New York is said to have been reluctant; nevertheless, it was given. Virginia, in agreeing, proposed alterations: she required a Declaration of Rights, and a stipulation that the President should not be re-elected more than once. The whole of the year 1788 was occupied in the discussion of these points; but at length the Constitution was generally accepted. The ratifications of the several States having been received by Congress, an Act was passed on the 13th of September, appointing the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for the people of the United States to choose electors for the Presidential office. These electors were to meet and make choice on the first Wednesday in February; and on the first Wednesday in March the Government was to assemble in the city of New York. Jefferson, in writing to a friend from Paris, stated that the Constitution had been received with very general enthusiasm, that the bulk of the people were eager to adopt it, and that in the Eastern States the printers would print nothing against it, unless the writer subscribed his name. This testimony was all the more remarkable as coming from Jefferson, who was inclined to the view of State Rights rather than to that of Federal supremacy, though he too had from the first seen the necessity of a more perfect union, and, with some exceptions,



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approved of the reforms now adopted. The Democrats generally were loud in their discontent. They argued that the new Constitution merged the States in one Government; that the rights of the people were not protected by any specific declaration; that a standing army was not renounced, nor the liberty of the press secured; that Congress reserved to itself the power of suspending trial by jury in civil cases; and that there was nothing to prevent the President being re-elected from four years to four years, so as to make him a king for life, like the Sovereigns of Poland. Speaking broadly, we find the North in favour of the new Constitution, the South distrustful, and the Middle States divided. Yet there was no absolute opposition, except in the two instances already mentioned, and on the whole the reform was ratified by the general sense of the American people. Nevertheless, the divisions to which it gave rise have remained potent influences in American politics to this day. Federalism, as prevailing in the North, became identified with the abolition of slavery; Anti-Federalism, the characteristic of the South, was mixed up with the whole series of measures designed for the support of that institution. We shall see the effect of these distinctions as we progress. It is sufficient here to indicate their beginnings.

CHAPTER LIX.

Organisation of a Territorial Government for Lands on the Ohio—Colonisation of that Region—Washington's Views as to the Presidency—His Election to the Office—John Adams Vice-President—Triumphal Progress of Washington from Mount Vernon to New York—His enthusiastic Reception in that City—Inauguration of the President—His taking of the Oath—Speech to the Senate and House of Representatives—Opening of the Business of the Session—The Question of the Revenue—Favour shown to British Interests—Institution of Ministerial Offices—Constitutional Question as to the Powers of the President—Antagonism between Jefferson and Hamilton—Establishment of a Federal Judiciary—Amendments to the Federal Constitution—Letter from the Governor of Rhode Island—Adjournment of Congress—Tour of Washington in the North-eastern States.

Congress continued in session at New York while the convention at Philadelphia was preparing the Federal Constitution, and during that time it organised a Territorial Government for the large region north-west of the Ohio which formed part of the dominions of the United States. On the 11th of July, 1787, a committee of Congress reported an ordinance for the administration of that territory; and the report embodied a Bill which contained a special proviso, in opposition to the old law of primogeniture, that the estates of persons dying intestate should be equally divided among all the children or next of kin. The Bill likewise declared that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes of which the parties had been duly convicted. The ordinance was adopted on the 13th of July, but it had in the meanwhile been augmented by a clause relative to the reclamation of "fugitives from labour"—more plainly speaking, slaves—similar to one which was shortly afterwards incorporated in the Federal Constitution. In this Ohio territory, the Indian titles to seventeen million acres of land had been recently extinguished by treaties with several of the native tribes. A large number of settlers at once poured into the region, out of which have been carved in more recent days the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. One of the chief organisers of this north-western immigration was Rufus Putnam, a Massachusetts man, who had served in the army during the final struggle with the French in Canada, and in the subsequent War of Independence. In 1788, he himself went to the Ohio country with some forty settlers, who pitched their tents at the mouth of the Muskingum River, and formed a settlement, to which they gave the name of Marietta. In that same year, at least twenty thousand men, women, and children settled in these virgin lands—so energetic were the Americans, even at that comparatively early period, in the great work of colonisation, and of extension towards the Pacific.

Long before the choice of electors to the Presidential office, popular opinion in the United States had fixed on Washington as the fittest man for that solemn charge. His previous services to the country, and the circumstance of his not being identified with any of the extreme factions, united all parts of the Union in his favour, and his own

State of Virginia was not more eager to place him at the head of affairs than were the people of New England. The prospect was one with which Washington himself does not seem to have been gratified. To his familiar friends, such as Lafayette, Henry Lee, and Alexander Hamilton, he lamented the probability of his being summoned from retirement to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, and, while professing a readiness to give his best services to the country, should they really be required, reiterated his earnest wishes to end his days in the calm of private life. It seems strange to find him alluding to the infirmities of nature consequent on his age, for in 1788 he was only fifty-six; but men grew old sooner then than now, and his life had for several years been worn by toil and anxiety. His natural tastes lay in the direction of unostentatious domestic enjoyment; and, although in a broad and general way he saw what his country wanted for the establishment of her prosperity, he had very little in him of the professional politician. He was therefore not attracted either by the turmoil or the dignity of office, and was doubtless sincere in his desire to avoid them both.

The meeting of the new Government was to be on the 4th of March, 1789; but so backward were some of the States in sending representatives that it was the 6th of April before a quorum of both Houses could be formed. On the votes for President and Vice-President being opened and counted, it was found that Washington had received the largest number of suffrages, and John Adams (who had recently returned to America) the next largest. The former, therefore, stood in the position of President; the latter in that of Vice-President. It was in this way, originally, that the two chief officers of the Union were selected; but they are now voted for separately. The news that he had been chosen to the Presidency was communicated to Washington, at his country residence, on the 14th of April. He departed for the seat of Government on the 16th, and in his diary, under that date, he records:—"About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." His journey to New York was one continued triumph. Almost immediately after leaving his own estate, he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who escorted him to that town, where a public dinner was given by his neighbours and friends. The roads were lined with people who came out to see him as he passed. As he approached the towns on his route, deputations were sent out to receive him. The ringing of bells and discharge of cannon were almost incessant. On his arrival at Baltimore, his carriage was attended by a numerous cavalcade of citizens, and he received a salute of artillery. Reaching the frontiers of Pennsylvania, he was met by his former companion in-arms, General Mifflin, now Governor of the State, accompanied by Judge Peters and a civil and military escort. His entry into Philadelphia was that of a conqueror. He had desired to avoid all military parade; but, on drawing near the Pennsylvanian capital, it was found that cavalry had assembled from the surrounding country. A superb white horse was led out for Washington, and a grand procession set forth, passing under triumphal arches of laurel, and entering the city of Philadelphia in the midst of acclamations from all sides. A day of general festivity was succeeded by a display of fireworks.

Continuing his journey, he arrived one sunny afternoon on the banks of the Delaware, close to the city of Trenton, where, on the 26th of December, 1776, he had conducted a desperate and to some extent successful expedition against a German contingent, in the midst of snow and ice. Now, the opposite shore of the river was thronged with an enthusiastic crowd. An arch, composed of laurels and hot-house flowers, spanned the bridge, and on the crown of the arch, in letters of leaves and blossoms, were the words, "December 26th, 1776," while on the space beneath was the sentence, "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." Here the matrons of the city were drawn up, and, as the hero of the day passed under the arch, a number of young girls, dressed in white and crowned with garlands, strewed flowers before him, and chanted a song of welcome. The splendour of his reception became even greater as he drew towards New York. At Elizabeth Point, a committee of Congress, with various civic functionaries, waited to receive him. He embarked on a handsome barge, manned by thirteen pilots, masters of vessels. Other decorated barges followed, having on board the heads of departments and various public officers; and numerous private boats, dressed with flags, swelled the procession, which now swept up the Bay of New York, to the sound of instrumental music, varied by congratulatory odes sung by parties of ladies and gentlemen. The ships at anchor in the harbour fired salutes as Washington's barge approached; and a Spanish man-of-war, which had caused some surprise by giving no sign of con-

gratulation, suddenly burst into a thunder of guns as the President came alongside, while the yards were manned, and flags and signals were run up in profusion. Amidst the clangour of bells and the reverberation of artillery, the great man was rowed to the landing-place of Murray's Wharf, where he was received by Governor Clinton, surrounded by many old soldiers of the Revolution. An officer now advanced towards him, and, announcing himself as commander of his guard, requested orders. Washington desired him to proceed according to his existing directions, but added that for the future the affection of his fellow-citizens was all the guard he wanted. The reply was judicious, for it checked a tendency, then being carried too far in some respects, to give to the newly-created office the character of a Monarchy. Before the inauguration of Washington, it was proposed to attach the title of "Highness" to the name of the President; but the suggestion was not pressed.

Attended by a long civil and military train, but declining to ride in a carriage which had been prepared for him, Washington walked through streets dressed with silken banners, garlands of flowers, and masses of evergreens, bearing his name in frequent repetition, to the house appointed for his dwelling. Crowds filled the ways; ladies stood at the windows, waving handkerchiefs, showering down flowers, and shedding tears of joyful emotion; the pulse of a true national enthusiasm stirred the air. At night, the city was brilliantly illuminated, and Washington, dining at the house of Governor Clinton, met a numerous body of public functionaries and foreign Ministers. But, in the midst of all these rejoicings, a dark thought was constantly present to his mind. He was perpetually asking himself whether, at some future time, the popular acclamations would not be changed into equally energetic reproaches, should he be thought to have failed in the great charge then being committed to him. An almost morbid self-distrust was one of the most distinctive features of Washington's character, as it often is with persons of highly conscientious natures. He had likewise some distrust of the people themselves, and in a letter to Jay, written in a previous year, had alluded with a touch of bitterness to the utter disregard which had been paid to his advice at the time he quitted the army.

Washington reached New York on the 23rd of April; but the inauguration did not take place until a week later, as various preliminaries had to be arranged, especially with reference to the precise form in which the President was to be addressed. On the morning of the 30th of April, religious services were held in all the churches. At noon, the City troops paraded before Washington's door, and soon afterwards the Committees of Congress and heads of Departments arrived in their carriages. A procession was formed, and, preceded by troops, moved forward to the Old City Hall, standing on the site of the present Custom-house. Washington rode in a state coach, and the chief officials in their own carriages. The foreign Ministers, and a long train of citizens, followed; and the windows along the whole line of route were crowded with spectators. On nearing the Hall, Washington and his suite alighted from their carriages, and passed through two lines of troops into the Senate Chamber, where the Vice-President, the Senate, and the members of the House of Representatives, were assembled. John Adams, as the Vice-President, conducted Washington to a chair of state at the upper end of the room. After a solemn pause, the Vice-President rose, and informed the President that all things were prepared for him to take the oath of office. It was arranged that the oath should be administered by Robert R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New York, in a balcony of the Senate Chamber, and in full view of the people assembled below. This balcony has been described as forming a kind of open recess in front of the house, with lofty columns supporting the roof. In the centre was a table covered with crimson velvet, and on a crimson velvet cushion lay the Bible.

At the appointed hour, Washington issued forth into the balcony, accompanied by various public functionaries, and by members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. As nothing connected with so great a man and so important an occasion can be uninteresting, it has been recorded that the President elect was clad in a full suit of dark brown cloth, of American manufacture, with a steel-hilted dress sword, white silk stockings, and silver shoe-buckles; and that his hair was dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day, and worn in a bag and solitaire. Loud shouts greeted his appearance. He was evidently somewhat shaken by this testimony of public affection, and, advancing to the front of the balcony, laid his hand upon his heart, bowed several times, and then retired to an arm-chair near the table. The populace, respecting his emotion, which was manifestly very great, hushed themselves into complete silence, and Washington presently arose, and again came forward. He was now supported on the right by John Adams, and on the left by Robert R. Livingston, while in the rear were several of his old friends

and military companions. The Bible was held up on its crimson cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary to the Senate, while the Chancellor read the terms of the oath, slowly and distinctly. These were:—"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." While the words were being recited, Washington kept his hand on the open Bible, and on the conclusion of the oath he solemnly responded, "I swear—so help me God!" Mr. Otis here offered to raise the Bible to his lips; but he bowed down reverently, and kissed it. The Chancellor now stepped forward, and exclaimed, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" A flag was run up above the cupola of the Hall; thirteen guns on the battery were discharged; the bells of the city burst into joyous peals; and the voices of the people again poured forth the grandest of all forms of homage.

After bowing to the spectators, the President retired to the Senate Chamber, where he pronounced, in presence of both Houses, his inaugural speech, uttered in a voice slightly tremulous, and so low as to be heard with difficulty by those who were not near. Addressing the members as "Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives," he confessed to them his consciousness of "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his fervent supplications "to the Almighty Being, whose Providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for those essential purposes, and that He would enable every agent employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge." He also observed that "no truth was more thoroughly established than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation that disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained." Following the precedent which he had himself established when made Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he renounced all personal emoluments, and prayed that the pecuniary estimates for the office of President should, during his occupancy of that station, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good might be thought to require. He concluded by once more praying that the Divine Blessing might be conspicuous "in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of the Government must depend." The whole assemblage then proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were read by Dr. Provost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, who had been appointed by the Senate one of the Chaplains of Congress.*

Washington has always been styled—and justly so—the first President of the United States; for, although the Presidents of Congress held a position somewhat analogous to his, their powers were far weaker, their origin was different, and their dignity was less. They were, in fact, what they called themselves—Presidents of Congress, not Presidents of the nation itself. The functions exercised by the Chief Magistrate of the United States possess a considerable element of regality; and the fact of their having been found necessary, justified to some extent the views of Colonel Nicola, though not the form which those views assumed. It was seen that Republican institutions themselves could not conveniently subsist without being concentrated at the apex into some visible form of sovereignty and dominion. A commonwealth is a very abstract idea; and for many of the practical purposes of government, as well as for ceremonial, it has generally been found advisable to confer special privileges upon some official. One great mistake of the Constitution of 1777 was the mingling of legislative and executive powers in one body. The appointment of a President with enlarged prerogatives was a step out of this fruitless confusion; and, as he was elected by the people, held office for only a short term, and was bound by the Constitution, it is hard to see in what way his appointment interfered with democratic freedom.

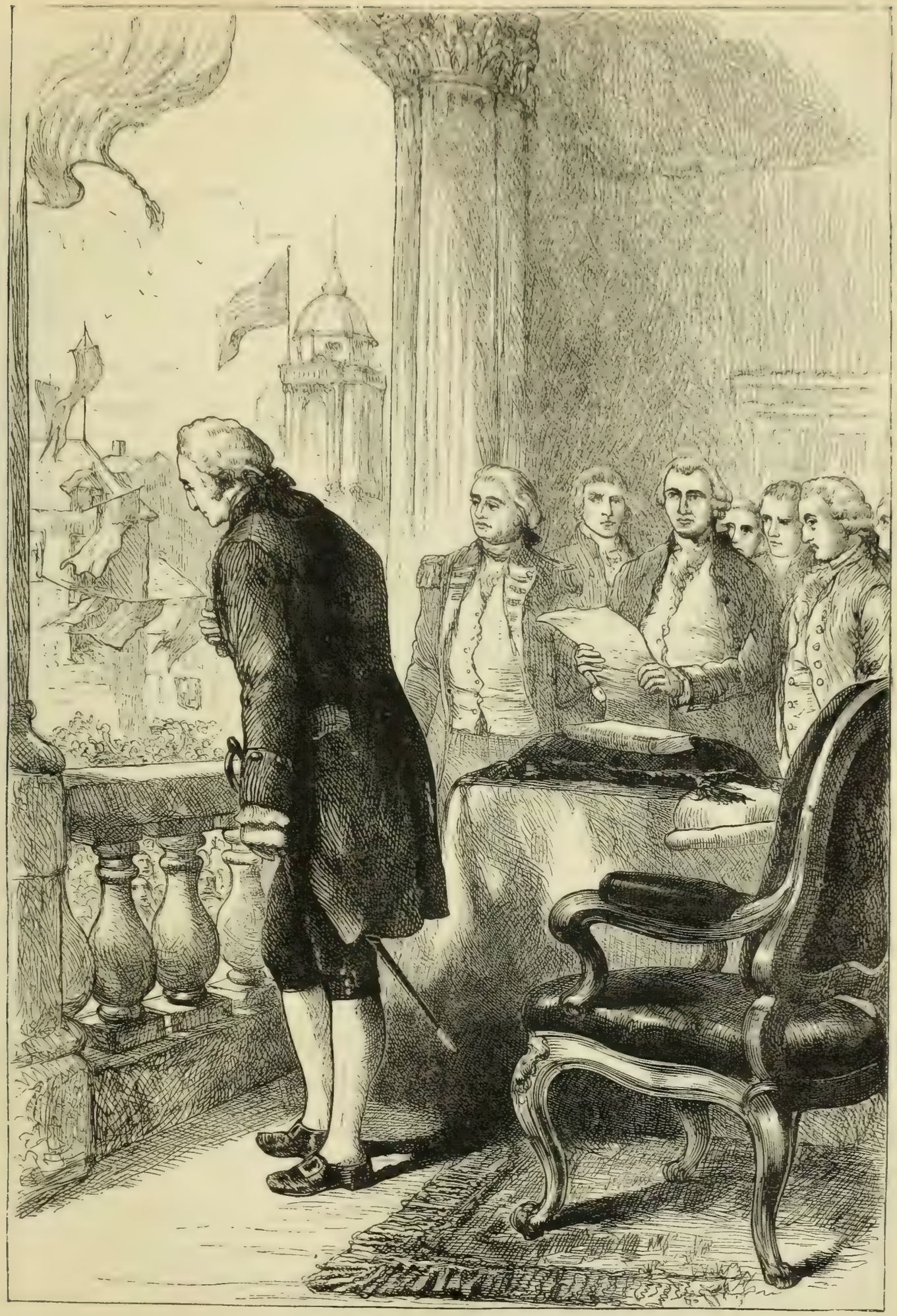
On the business of the session being opened, the important subject of the revenue came up for discussion. The general question was entwined with so many considerations of foreign policy that a very animated debate ensued, and the sharp division of parties became almost painfully apparent. A tax upon imported goods and tonnage was proposed by Madison, but was objected to by many, on the ground that the tonnage duty would favour domestic at the expense of foreign shipping, and that America was not at that time in a position to offend the great Powers of the world. In supporting his

* Ramsay's History of the American Revolution; Washington Irving's Life of Washington; Lossing's History of the United States (New York, 1857).

contemplated measure, Madison pointed to the necessity of fostering the infant navy of the country, as their chief defensive force in the event of another war. This argument was held by the majority to be conclusive; but that part of Madison's plan which favoured French rather than British commerce excited the most violent opposition. Such a demonstration of feeling could hardly have been anticipated, considering the position of hostility which England and America had recently occupied towards one another, and the sacrifices which France had made towards securing the independence of the United States. But the mother country had still supporters in what had but recently been a part of her colonial empire; and even amongst many who were in favour of independence, a feeling of affection for the chief progenitors of the race was not yet extinct. The Federalists proposed to retaliate upon Great Britain her exclusive commercial policy; but, although the House of Representatives agreed upon making a distinction between those countries which had concluded commercial treaties and those which had not, the Senate came to a different conclusion, and the distinction was rejected.

The revenue being thus settled, and provision having been made for discharging the just debts of the nation, Congress proceeded to the institution of Ministerial offices similar to those which exist in European Governments. It was determined to create three Departments—of the Treasury, of War, and of State. Much discussion arose in connection with the last of these Secretaryships, which included both foreign and domestic relations. It was provided by the Bill for establishing it that the President should have the power of dismissing the Minister from office; but this was considered by many too high a privilege, and an amendment was moved, that the President should not be entitled to dismiss the Minister without the consent of Congress. The Government party, however, contended that the rule now proposed should have been a fundamental part of the Constitution, and in the end it was determined that the President should possess the prerogative in question. The debate lasted four days—from the 15th to the 18th of July; and the final result was only obtained by means of the Vice-President's casting vote. Nine Senators voted for, and nine against; and it then remained with Adams to give his decision on one side or the other, which he did in the affirmative sense. The Senate consisted of only twenty-two members, and usually not more than twenty were in attendance; the majority on disputed points was often not more than two; and four times during that first session the members were nine to nine, thus requiring the frequent interposition of the Vice-President for procuring a majority. The practice established in July, 1789, has continued to the present time, and, although there have been dissentients, it has been generally held that the Presidential power would be incomplete without such a privilege. The grandson of John Adams has very reasonably remarked:—"By an anomaly in the Constitution, which, upon any recognised theory, it is difficult to defend, the Senate, which in the last resort is made the judicial tribunal to try the President for malversation in office, is likewise clothed with a power of denying him the agents in whom he may choose most to confide for the faithful execution of the duties of his station, and forcing him to select such as they may prefer. If, in addition to this, the power of displacing such as he found unworthy of trust had been subjected to the same control, it cannot admit of a doubt that the Government must, in course of time, have become an oligarchy, in which the President would sink into a mere instrument of any faction that might happen to be in the ascendant in the Senate." The opposition to the Presidential prerogatives, which was felt by so large a party, proceeded from a democratic feeling of a very inverted order. The Senate was a species of aristocracy; it desired to enhance its own peculiar powers; and the semi-monarchical character of the Presidential office, flowing as it did from a democratic source, was a necessary and wholesome check upon what would have soon degenerated into a most unpopular form of rule. The three great departments of the American Government are analogous to the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain; and the Anti-Federalists occupied a similar position to that of the old Whig party in England. With many really popular leanings, their principles nevertheless contained the first germs of aristocratical exclusiveness; and it is to be suspected that with them, as with the Whigs, the creation of a small governing caste was one of the main objects which they had in view.

Washington, as occupying an intermediate position between the two extremes, sought to reconcile opposing interests by the liberality of his appointments. Thomas Jefferson, then about to return from Paris, was named Secretary of State. Alexander Hamilton was appointed to the Treasury; and General Henry Knox, who had been War Minister for some time, was continued in that office. These three men represented very different opinions: Hamilton and Jefferson, in particular, were much opposed to one another, and each was of a nature



THE INSTALLATION OF WASHINGTON.

which did not easily bear contradiction. It consequently happened that the very means by which Washington hoped to promote harmony, produced the opposite effect. The secret councils of the first Administration were often, in the ensuing year, made the scene of violent disputes, which the influence of Washington himself could hardly restrain. The very onerous task of repairing the damaged finances of the State was what chiefly engaged the attention of Hamilton; and in the prosecution of his plans he came into frequent collision with Jefferson, who, as the Minister of Home and Foreign affairs alike, was concerned in the general administration of the whole Government. The plans of Hamilton (which, however, were not publicly unfolded until the next session) included the funding of the Federal debt, the assumption of the State debts, the establishment of a National Bank (already commenced by Robert Morris), a system of revenue from taxation, internal and external, and a sinking fund. There was much in these suggestions which gave offence to a large body of men, of whom Jefferson was regarded as the leader. That eminent politician became every year more attached to the principle of State rights, and was thought, by Adams and some others, to carry his love of freedom to an extent which would have endangered public order. Hamilton was devoted to the President and to the consolidation of his power.

During the first session of Congress, the Senate was engaged on the question of a Federal Judiciary, and ultimately a plan, embodied in a Bill drafted by Ellsworth, of Connecticut, was, after several amendments, concurred in by both Houses. By its provisions, a national Judiciary was established, consisting of a Supreme Court, having a Chief Justice and five associate justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the Federal Government. To circuit and district courts was assigned jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State was made a district; the territories of Kentucky and Maine were similarly provided for; and the other territories were grouped together into three circuits. In all civil cases, when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars, an appeal, as to points of law, was allowed from these lower courts to the Supreme Court. A marshal was to be appointed by the President for each district, and this functionary was invested with the general powers of a Sheriff. He was to attend all courts, and was authorised to serve all processes. The interests of the Federal Government were to be represented by a district Attorney, who was to act for the United States in all cases where such action might be required. The Bill having been passed, John Jay, of New York, a man of considerable legal acquirements, and one of the representatives of the United States at the Paris negotiations for peace, was appointed to the post of Chief Justice, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was made Attorney-General. Randolph had succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia in 1786, and was very active in the convention of 1787. John Rutledge, of South Carolina; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; Robert H. Harrison, of Maryland; and John Blair, of Virginia, were appointed associate judges.

Congress now turned its attention to various amendments of the Federal Constitution made by the minorities of the conventions which had ratified the recent change in the Government of the country. This subject was brought forward by Madison, in fulfilment of pledges which he had found it necessary to make in order to secure the adhesion of Virginia. The amendments were altogether very numerous. The minority of the Pennsylvanian convention had proposed fourteen; of Massachusetts, nine; of Maryland, twenty-eight; of South Carolina, four; of New Hampshire, twelve; of Virginia, twenty, and of New York, thirty-two. There were also separate Bills of Rights proposed by Virginia and New York. Of these amendments sixteen were finally agreed to by Congress; ten of which were subsequently ratified by the States, and became a part of the Federal compact. In connection with this matter, a letter from the Governor of Rhode Island was sent to Congress, in which that official stated the reasons why his State had not acceded to the Union. These were, in the main, that the people of Rhode Island had from their first settlement been strongly attached to a democratic form of Government; that they had viewed in the new Constitution an approach, though perhaps but small, towards the mode of Government with which they had lately dissolved their connection—in other words, with the Royal and Aristocratical Government of England; that they desired to see the proposed system organised and in operation, so that they might judge what further checks and securities would be agreed to by way of amendments, before they adopted it as a Constitution for themselves and posterity; that they had feared lest the rights of individual States should be overborne by Federal combinations; that they were sensible of the extremes to which democratical Government is sometimes liable, but that they esteemed them temporary and partial evils, com-

pared with the loss of liberty, and of the rights of a free people. The sanctioning of the amendments to the Constitution was believed by the Governor of Rhode Island to have afforded some relief and satisfaction to the minds of the people of that State. On the 29th of May, 1790, Rhode Island formally joined the Confederation, and ratified the Constitution. North Carolina, the other objecting State, had signified its adhesion on the 21st of the previous November.

Congress adjourned in September, 1789, and during the recess Washington made a tour through the North-eastern States, in every part of which he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm; though, on his visit to Boston, there was an unseemly difference of opinion between the Governor of Massachusetts and the municipal authorities of the town, as to which should receive and bid him welcome first—a difference leading to an awkward delay in the entrance of the President, who was kept for some time waiting on Charleston Neck. The unpleasant character of the incident was increased by the fact of its being an unusually cold and murky day; but the difficulty was overcome after awhile, and the reception of Washington at Boston was as hearty as in all other quarters.

CHAPTER LX.

Opening of the Second Session of Congress—Alexander Hamilton's Financial Report—Debt of the United States at the Close of the War—Hamilton's proposed Methods for meeting it—Opposition of the Southern Members—Statement of the Arguments on both sides—Plan for dealing with the Debts of the Individual States—Violent Dissensions in Congress—Proposal to Fix the Seat of the Federal Government in the South—Funding of the Public Debt—Schemes of Taxation—Excise Bill carried, after great Opposition—Proposal for a New National Bank—Jealous Distrust of the Anti-Federalists—The Bank Founded—Establishment of a Mint—Coinage of the United States—The Decimal System adopted on the Advice of Jefferson—Admission of Vermont into the Union—Organisation of Territories—First American Census (1790-91)—Death of Franklin—The French Revolution, and its Effect on Parties in the American Government and Congress—Adams and Jefferson—Paine's "Rights of Man"—The Navigation of the Mississippi—Internal Disagreements in the Administration—Opposition to Washington's Semi-Monarchical Powers—Re-election of Washington to a Second Term of Office—Indian War on the Frontiers—Kentucky admitted into the Union—The Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania—Dangerous Principles of the Anti-Federalists.

Not until 1790 was the Administration of Washington in full working order, as it took several months to form such a Government as would have any chance of meeting the varied demands of party. Indeed, Jefferson, the Secretary of State, did not arrive in America till the 23rd of November, 1789, nor at New York, the seat of Federal rule, till the 21st of March, 1790. On the 8th of January in the latter year, however, the second session of Congress commenced; and its first important business was to act on the report of Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. The necessity of restoring the credit of the United States was clearly apparent to the mind of Hamilton. He therefore recommended that not only the debts of the late Continental Congress (foreign and domestic), but those of the individual States, so far as they had been contracted in furtherance of the common cause, should be funded, or assumed by the general Government, and that provision should be made for paying the interest by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. The total amount of indebtedness was very large. In 1790, it was estimated by the Registrar of the Treasury that the entire cost of the struggle for independence was at least 130,000,000 dollars, exclusive of vast sums lost by individuals and by the several States, to the amount probably of 40,000,000 more. The Treasury payments alone ran up to nearly 93,000,000 dollars, chiefly in Continental bills; and other matters were in proportion. From Hamilton's statement it appeared that the foreign debt, including interest due to France and to private lenders in Holland, with a small sum to Spain, amounted to 11,710,378 dollars, and that the domestic debt, registered and unregistered, including interest, and some claims chiefly in connection with the paper-money, reached a total of 42,414,085 dollars. Nearly one-third of the latter sum consisted of arrears of interest. It had been suggested by many that, in liquidating the claims of the holders of paper-money, a scale of depreciation should be adopted, as had been done once before; seeing that the existing holders of Government certificates, Continental bills, and other promises to pay, were for the most part speculators, who had

purchased those instruments at greatly reduced rates, in the hope of a rise. Hamilton, however, argued that such a course would be dishonest and impolitic; and he strongly urged that all the debts of the Government should be discharged according to the terms of the contract. By the proposed funding of the public debt, he believed that the public creditors would receive six per cent. interest until the Government should be able to pay the principal, it being assumed that in five years the United States might conclude loans at five or even four per cent., with which these particular claims might be finally and fully satisfied. Amongst the other suggestions which he threw out, was one to the effect that the proceeds of the Post Office should be used as a sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the debt; but the Post Office department was not at that time fully organised.

Many animated debates ensued upon Hamilton's report. The financier's plans were for the most part resisted by those who were disinclined to a strong Federal Executive, and favourable to the doctrine of State rights. To all such politicians, Hamilton, who had desired that the President and Senate should hold their offices for life, unless they forfeited them by misconduct, appeared as little better than a monarchist. They belonged almost entirely to the Southern States, and, under the cloak of an extreme regard for Republican forms, concealed a great deal of aristocratic class feeling, as must always be the case in communities where there is a large population of slaves, kept in subjection by a body of privileged landowners. These men now expressed their fears that the assumption of the debts would render the Government still stronger by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who would always, from interested motives, be ready to support the Federal Government against either the States or the people. Mr. Madison proposed that, whenever the public securities had been transferred, the highest price which they had borne in the market should be paid to the purchaser, and the residue to the original holder. The plan was fair and honest; but it would probably have been found difficult, if not impossible, to bring it into practice. At any rate, the proposition was rejected. The opponents of Hamilton's measures admitted that it was expedient to pay foreigners the whole of their demand; but the American holders of paper-money they desired to pay at the depreciated rate. This was the view of Jefferson—expressed, not indeed in Congress, for he was still far from New York, but in letters written by him at the moment. Others opposed the Ministerial projects on the simple ground that a system of public debt was bad altogether. But, though this might have been a very good argument against contracting the debt at all, it could not prove the honesty of repudiating what really existed. Hamilton wished to render a portion of the public debt irredeemable, except with the holder's consent—certainly a proposal of very questionable policy, since it would have had the effect of saddling the public with an amount of indebtedness which they would have been powerless to remove. After prolonged debates, the propositions of Hamilton, as regards the general debt, were adopted. A discussion then followed with reference to the debts incurred separately by each State. Hamilton desired to throw these into the common fund; the Opposition maintained that each State should account for and settle its own debt. The debate brought out very plainly the line of demarcation between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, between the North and the South. On the one hand it was argued that such a measure was indispensable to a strong Government; on the other, it was made an objection that the Government would in this way become stronger than was advisable. Hamilton's resolution was at first carried by a few votes; but shortly afterwards the deputies from North Carolina, which had only just acceded to the Union, took their seats in Congress for the first time, and, on the question being re-committed, the original resolution was rejected by exactly the same number of votes as that by which it had previously been affirmed. After the adverse vote, business was for some time suspended. Congress met, and adjourned from day to day, without transacting any business, owing to the extreme heat and temper exhibited by both parties.

The local debts were most onerous amongst the Northern States, and the Southern States objected to being called upon to share their payment. They should have recollected, however, that the North had not merely contracted the greatest amount of debt, but had borne the chief brunt of the war, and that the South was free mainly because the North had been heroic. It seems, therefore, but reasonable that the South should bear its part in defraying all the expenses of independence. Nevertheless, the split became so serious that Hamilton represented to the leading members on the other side the danger of the Union itself being dissolved, should they persist in their objections. He offered to compensate the Southern States if they would abandon their opposition. It had been intended to plant the seat of Government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown on the Potomac; and it was now thought that by offering this favour to Philadelphia for ten years, and afterwards to

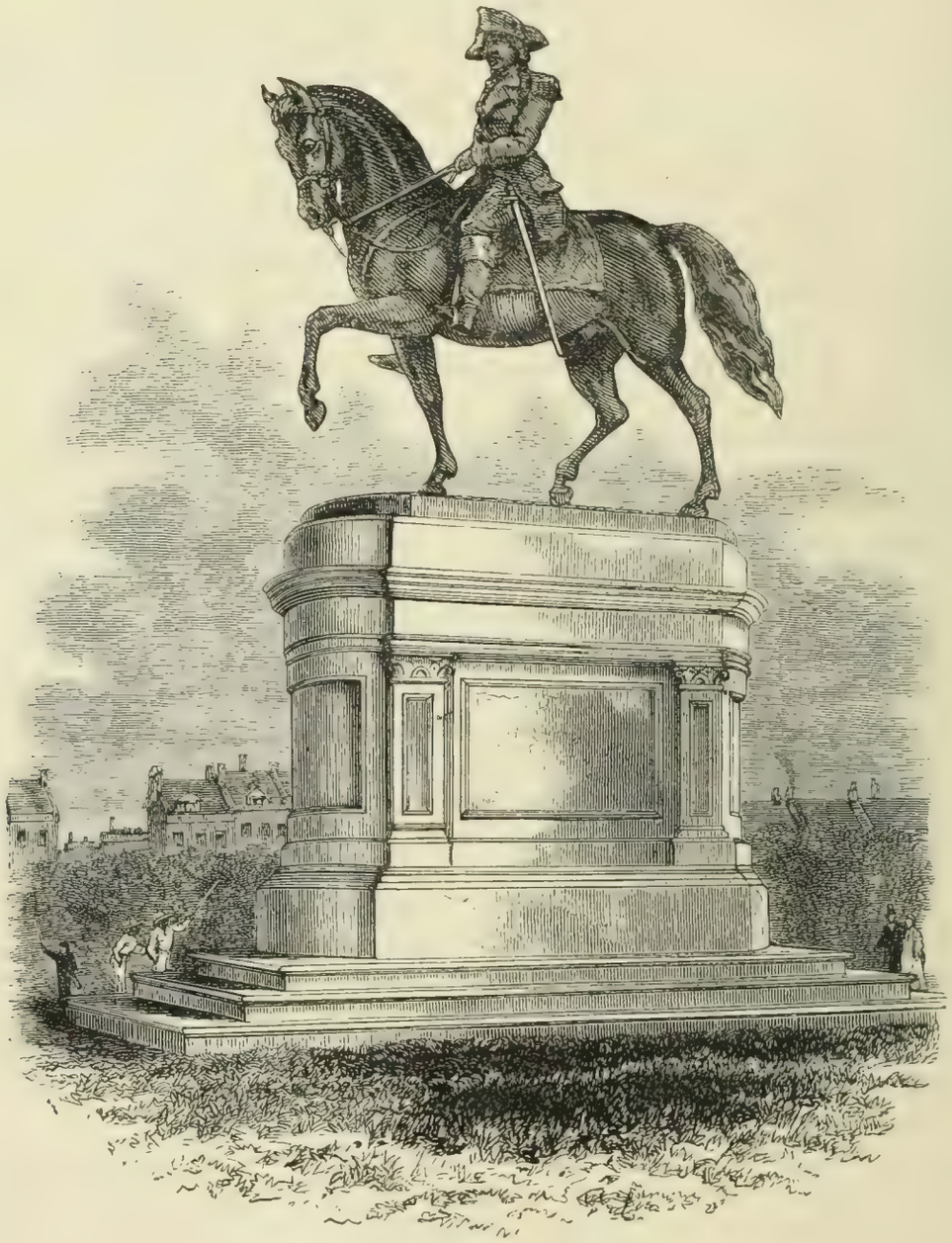
Georgetown permanently, a compromise might be effected, which would remove the difficulties that had arisen. This was agreed to; the proposals of Hamilton were adopted; and a law was passed fixing the Federal Administration in the South, after its temporary sojourn in Philadelphia.

The debt funded in accordance with Hamilton's schemes amounted to rather more than 75,000,000 dollars, upon a part of which three per cent., and upon the remainder six per cent., interest was to be paid. Nothing could be more remarkable than the effect of this measure upon the public. The price of the Government paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to par, and general confidence was at once restored. But Hamilton had now to meet the interest of his newly-funded debt by a system of taxation which would not too greatly offend the susceptibilities of the Americans in this respect. The subject was deferred until the following session of Congress, when it was proposed to increase the imposts upon wine, tea, and other commodities, and to place a duty upon spirits distilled within the country. This was in fact a scheme of excise, and it roused the utmost indignation amongst the Southern and Western States, whose interests it was supposed to affect, and whose members exhibited every degree of persistent and vehement antagonism. North Carolina again and again threatened to secede. But it was evident that the money must be obtained somehow; no better plan was forthcoming; and in the end the Excise Bill was passed. The next scheme of the enterprising financier had reference to the establishment of a National Bank. We have seen that this had already been done to some extent by Robert Morris under the old Constitution; but Hamilton desired to render such an institution permanent. Here again he met with violent opposition on the part of the Anti-Federalists. They denied that Congress had any authority for the purpose; no such power, they argued, had been delegated by the constituencies, and it was a usurpation to assume it. The debates on this subject were long and bitter. They took place not merely in Congress, but in the Government itself, for Hamilton found one of his most energetic opponents in the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Between these two chief disputants, Washington was at length called upon to decide, and he gave his decision in favour of the Treasury Minister and of the proposed institution. Jefferson's fears that a vast amount of Ministerial corruption would be the result of this measure seem to have been exaggerated, though they may not have been altogether devoid of foundation. The prosperity of the country undoubtedly increased under the stimulus of a National Bank. Industry revived, and commerce once more attained a healthy condition in centres where it had languished for several years.

The charter of the new National Bank was granted in January, 1791. It was limited to twenty years. The situation of the Bank was to be in Philadelphia, and its management was to be entrusted to twenty-five directors, who were selected from members of both Houses of the Legislature. This was one of the points which Jefferson most strenuously condemned, on the ground that the directors, together with those members of Congress who held stock in the Bank, always voted with the Government, and created a majority on the side of power. The connection between the Bank and the Legislature was doubtless objectionable; but the scheme was in itself a good one, and the Anti-Federalists seem to have made a mistake in carrying their opposition beyond a mere rectification of abuses into a general denunciation of the whole plan. Although chartered at the commencement of 1791, the Bank did not begin operations in its corporate form until February, 1794, when it started with a capital of 10,000,000 dollars. Before the establishment of this institution, the whole banking capital of the United States was only 2,000,000 dollars, which were invested in Robert Morris's Bank of North America, in the Bank of New York, and in the Bank of Massachusetts.

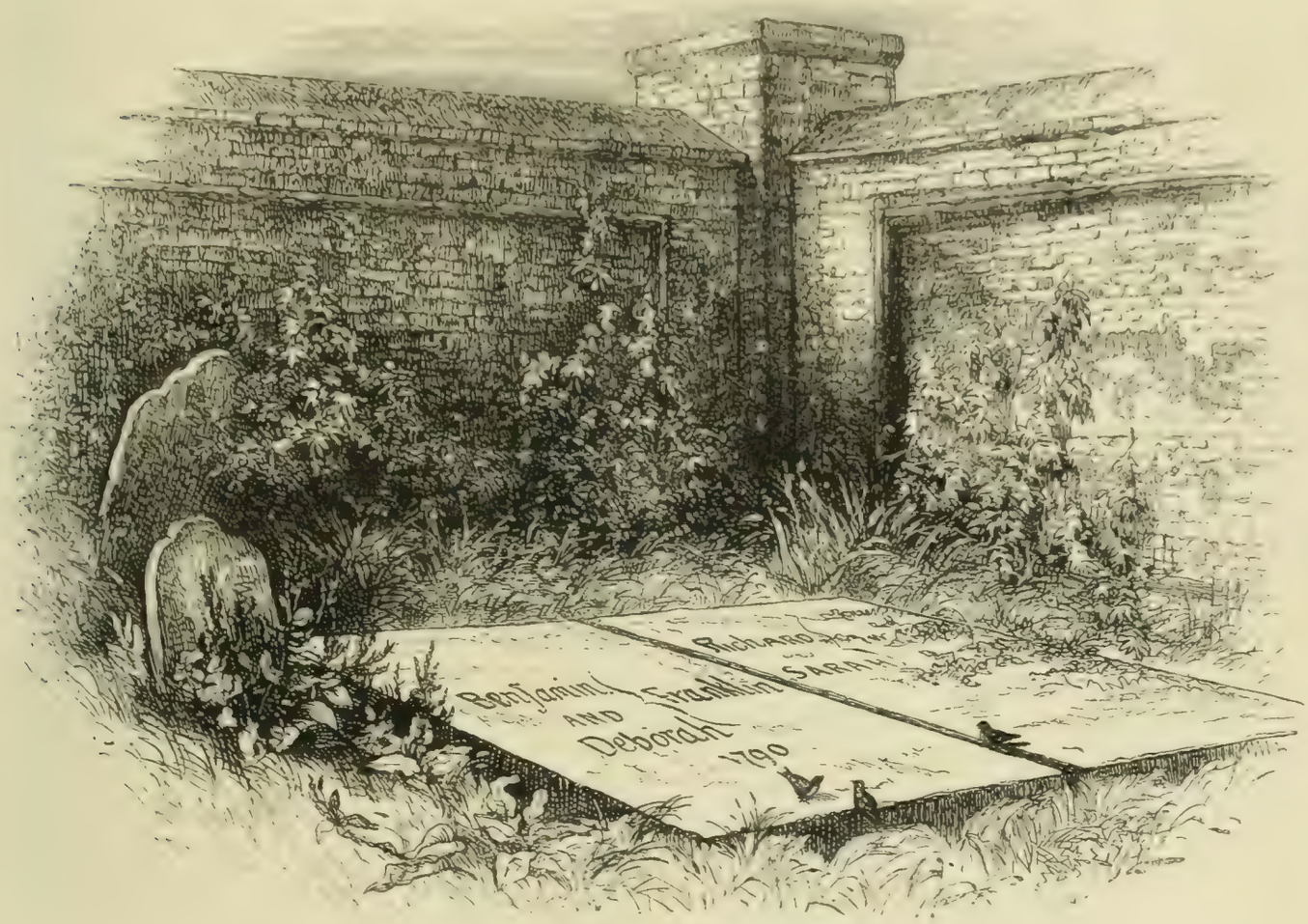
A National Mint was another subject which required, and received, the attention of Congress. There was at that time a great want of system in the coinage of the United States. In 1782, Gouverneur Morris had, at the request of Robert Morris, written a report on the subject, which was presented to the Continental Congress. The author of this report desired to harmonise the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit for a divisor, he proposed that ten units should be equal to one penny, ten pence to one bill, ten bills to one dollar (or about seventy-five cents of the present American currency), and ten dollars to one crown. In 1784, Jefferson, as chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, produced a report, which, while it adopted the decimal system equally with Morris, proposed to carry out that system after a different fashion. Jefferson's conception was, that the dollar should be adopted as the unit of account and payment, and that its divisions and sub-divisions should be in the decimal ratio. He wrote some notes on the subject, which he submitted to the

consideration of Robert Morris, who dissented from Jefferson in some important particulars. It was proposed by the latter to strike four coins—namely, a golden piece, of the value of ten dollars; a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar, in silver; and a hundredth of a dollar, in copper. Jefferson's report was adopted in 1785, and in the following year legal provision was made for a coinage on the basis indicated by him. The Federal Constitution vested the right of coinage solely in the Federal Government, whereas it had previously lain with the several States—an arrangement resulting in the greatest confusion. In 1790, Jefferson urged the establishment of a Mint upon the attention of Congress. Great delay took place, and it was not until the 2nd of April, 1792, that this necessary branch of administration was actually set on foot. Nor did the Mint get fully into operation until 1795. In the three previous years there had been much debate as to the devices on the new coins, and other matters of detail. The Senate desired that the head of the President for the time being should be stamped upon the coinage. This, however, was considered by the House of Representatives as being too monarchical, and it was suggested that an effigy of Liberty would be more appropriate. An allegorical female head was accordingly adopted, and is used to the present day. The first building for the Mint was situated in Philadelphia. Thence all the coin of the United States was issued until



STATUE OF WASHINGTON AT BOSTON.

1835, when branches were established in the States of Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. From 1793 to 1795, the value of the whole issue was little more than a million and a half of dollars. Previous to 1830, almost the entire supply of gold for the American coinage was furnished by foreign countries. North Carolina was the first State of the Union which sent gold to the Mint from its own mines; but since then most of the States have contributed, though some only in a small degree, while California, owing to its rich auriferous soil, has of course contributed very largely.* A Bill for the organisation of a Post Office was passed in 1792. There had been a Postmaster-General during the old Confederation; but under the changed conditions of the country a new system was greatly needed.



FRANKLIN'S GRAVE AT PHILADELPHIA.

While these matters were being arranged, a fourteenth State was added to the Union. This was Vermont, at one time called the New Hampshire Grants—a territory which had long been claimed by Massachusetts, by New Hampshire, and by New York. It had originally been settled by the French, who ceded it to the British in 1763, after an occupation of about thirty-two years. In 1764, George III. decided in favour of the claims of New York, which thenceforward considered that it had an indisputable right to this tract of country. The people of Vermont, however, never admitted the jurisdiction thus created, and in January, 1777, they declared their province independent. Nevertheless, New York would not relinquish its claims; but the difference was adjusted, in 1790, by Vermont paying to that State 30,000 dollars in quittance of all demands. Vermont was admitted into the Federal Union on the 18th of February of the following year. A Constitution was adopted in 1793, and has since been modified on several occasions. It was from the first distinguished by its prohibition of slavery, except in persons under age. At the same time, settlements were rapidly spreading beyond the Alleghanies. The North-western Territory was established in July, 1787; and on the 26th of March, 1790, Tennessee was constituted as the Territory South-west of the Ohio. The public lands of the United States were made the subject of an Act of Congress in 1790. In accordance

* Lossing's History of the United States.

with the scheme proposed by Hamilton, the interests of small purchasers were protected by the system of limited sales. Before the passing of that Act, no one could purchase less than a tract of 4,000 acres. The effect of this arrangement was to keep these lands entirely in the possession of the wealthy, though it was clearly to the interest of a country such as the United States to place its vast domains at the disposal of the humble and industrious. It is true that the population at that time was not large; but there was every prospect of its soon becoming so, and already there had been a congestion in particular quarters. The natural tendency of the American people is towards the formation of new settlements, and it was wise to encourage that tendency by throwing open the boundless West to all who had brains and muscles for bringing it into culture. By the first Census of the United States, which was taken in 1790–91, the number of both sexes and all colours within the limits of the Republic was 3,929,827, of whom 695,000 were slaves. It is now estimated at between forty and fifty millions.

One of the greatest Americans of that age recahed the termination of his career in 1790. When Jefferson was at Philadelphia, on his way to New York, during the March of that year, he called on Franklin, then lying on a bed of sickness from which he never rose. It was on the 17th of April that this remarkable man expired; but in March, though it was evident that his days were numbered, his mind retained its vigour, and, knowing that Jefferson had just returned from France, he questioned him as to the latest state of affairs in that country, where the Revolution was then in full course. Franklin was one of the Fathers of the Revolution in his own land, and the development of similar principles in Europe was necessarily very interesting to him. Fortunately, perhaps, for his serenity of mind, he did not live to see the worst developments of that terrible French insurrection against bad government, abominable privilege, and a wide-spread corruption of morals, manners, and faith, such as can hardly be paralleled since the days of the Roman Empire. The younger men of America saw the whole drama played out, and with emotions which varied considerably according to the natural bent of their dispositions. The extremes into which French democracy was even then passing, led to an estrangement between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Adams, American and patriot though he was, had something in his political constitution which inclined him towards English models. Jefferson, on the contrary, had lived so long in France that he had become imbued with French ideas. The grandson of Adams, whose biography of his ancestor we have had frequent occasion to mention, is of opinion that this difference between the two men was owing in a great measure to distinctions in religious belief. He states that, before Burke had entered on his hopeless crusade against the course of events in France, Adams had predicted that the French experiment would fail; and that in a letter to Dr. Price, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of his celebrated work in defence of that experiment, he had used the words:—"I know that Encyclopædists and economists, Diderot and D'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau, have contributed to this great event, more than Sidney, Locke, or Hoadley—perhaps more than the American Revolution; and I own to you I know not what to make of a Republic of thirty million Atheists. . . . . Too many Frenchmen, after the example of too many Americans, pant for equality of persons and property. The impracticability of this, God Almighty has decreed, and the advocates of liberty who attempt it will surely suffer for it." Here was certainly a remarkable prophecy, the result of that calm and practical wisdom which was the great characteristic of Adams. But the difference between him and Jefferson was not so great as Mr. Charles Francis Adams seems to suppose. Both were a long way from orthodoxy; both had some degree of religious faith, though this, doubtless, was more tinctured with feeling in the case of Adams, and in Jefferson was more a matter of the intellect.* Nor can it be said that the latter, strongly as he sympathised with the French Revolution, was incapable of discerning its errors and excesses. In his Autobiography he has stated that he would not have voted with that portion of the French Legislature which determined on the death of Louis XVI.; that he would have shut up the Queen in a convent, putting harm out of her power, and have invested the King with limited prerogatives, which he verily believes he would honestly have exercised. "In this way," continues Jefferson, writing at a period when he could look back over the whole course of the French Revolution, and the subsequent career of Bonaparte, "no void would have been created, courting the usurpation of a military adventurer, nor occasion given for those enormities which demoralised the nations of the world, and destroyed, and are yet to destroy, millions and millions of its inhabitants."

* Mr. C. F. Adams says that his grandfather finally settled in a species of Unitarianism. This was the religion which Jefferson professed in his declining days, when questioned on the subject. But it must be admitted that his mind was less distinctly religious than that of Adams.

Jefferson, therefore, was not the blind follower of the thirty million French Atheists (to adopt Adams's most extravagant calculation), nor of the French democrats in all that they did. Yet it is certain that he sympathised with the earlier stages of the French Revolution much more than Adams or Washington; that he hoped more from its initiative; that he saw in it less to fear or to blame. Adams, indeed, seems to have gone too far in his distrust, because, although he was justified in the immediate event, he did not sufficiently acknowledge, or perceive, the excellence of those principles which worked through the blind, dark, shrieking mass of the French Revolution, like fire and light through Chaos. Jefferson even spoke of his rival having apostatised to hereditary monarchy and nobility.* This was assuredly in excess of the truth; but Adams had developed a very strong conservative instinct since his return to America. In 1791, he furnished to the columns of a Philadelphia newspaper a series of essays containing an analysis of Davila's History of the civil convulsions of France in the sixteenth century. The object of these productions was to exhibit the dangers which may result from the operation of powerful factions in countries that are weakly governed; and it was of course intended that the moral should apply to the United States. Jefferson was much annoyed by the argument, and, conceiving that nothing less was meant than the establishment of a monarchy, resolved to give his countenance and support to a reprint of the first part of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," which had recently been published in England. The American edition of this work was issued at Philadelphia, with a dedication, certainly unauthorised, to the President, and with an intimation, not altogether without warrant, that the book had the sanction of Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State. Paine's treatise had created a great commotion in England, where, in the following year, the second part was made the subject of a Government prosecution; and Major Beckwith, an unofficial British agent then in America, complained that the reappearance of the work in the United States, with such high official patronage, was calculated to give great offence to his Government. Jefferson found it necessary to write to the President on the matter, and to state that a letter of his, with reference to Paine's discourse, had been printed without his sanction in the American edition. It is probable that Jefferson did not intend to give any open and public support to the "Rights of Man;" but he never disavowed that he sympathised with the opinions therein expressed. Adams, on the contrary, looked upon the work with the greatest dislike. Talking with a friend one day upon the subject, he laid his hand on his breast, and said, in a very solemn manner, "I detest that book and its tendency from the bottom of my heart."

In his capacity as Home and Foreign Minister, Jefferson had to deal with many questions of great delicacy. One of these was the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean. The point had not been urged in the peace negotiations of 1782-3, because it was thought imprudent to endanger the chances of a general agreement by exciting the jealousy of Spain. But the United States had never lost sight of so important a privilege, and were quietly resolved to make their demand whenever a good opportunity should arise. In 1788, Jefferson had recommended the people of Kentucky not to insist upon this right of navigation (which specially concerned their interests) until the West of Europe should be engaged in war. With the year 1790, some complications arose between Spain and England, which seemed to threaten hostilities; and the American Envoys at Madrid and Paris were therefore instructed to seek an opportunity of bringing forward the claim in question, together with others of a more extreme character. The United States greatly coveted the possession of some port on the Mississippi where sea-going vessels and those traversing the river might exchange their commodities. No situation was so well adapted to this purpose as the town and neighbourhood of New Orleans, situated at the outfall of the great stream into the Gulf of Mexico. New Orleans was then in the possession of Spain, and the American Ministers in the Old World now began to speak, not merely of navigating the river, but of obtaining New Orleans and the Floridas. The differences between England and Spain, however, were shortly afterwards composed, and the acquisition of the desired territories did not take place until later dates.

A tour of the Southern States, similar to that in the Northern during a previous year, was made by Washington in the spring of 1791. It was then that he selected, in what is now called the district of Columbia, that situation on the Potomac which was destined for the Federal capital, to be in due time called after his name. The enthusiasm with which he was received showed that even the detested Excise law had not taken away from his popularity. A new Congress met at Philadelphia at the latter end of October, and the President referred in his speech to the great success of the

* Letter from Jefferson to Washington, May 8th, 1791.

National Bank, the shares for which had been all subscribed for in less than two hours after the books were opened. The session was fated to be a stormy one, and much discussion was excited by a law for determining the state of the representation. By the terms of the Constitution, it had been settled that the House of Representatives should contain one member for every 30,000 of the population. It now appeared that each State had a considerably larger number of inhabitants than this, and it was therefore proposed to take the whole population of the Union, divide the amount by 30,000, and thus increase the House to its full quota. The proposal was very distasteful to the Opposition; for, although they desired the members of the Lower House to be augmented, they were displeased with the method of effecting this result, which could only be carried out by merging the States in the Federation. The Bill passed, in spite of their antagonism; but Washington thought fit to interpose with his veto, on the ground that such an act infringed on the fundamental law of the Constitution. In this respect he acted with the party of Jefferson, rather than with that of Adams and Hamilton.

The general complication was increased by the unpopularity of some of Hamilton's measures. He had introduced into Congress a provision for perpetuating certain taxes allotted to the payment of interest upon the debt. It was thought such a policy was too characteristic of the old country, and it was rumoured that, in private conversation, the Finance Minister had expressed opinions not consonant with American institutions. The feeling of the Anti-Federal party became every day stronger against him. He and Jefferson were permanently at issue, and Washington was obliged frequently to interpose, to preserve anything like harmony. Both Great Britain and France had now representatives in America. Of these, Jefferson inclined towards the Minister of France, and Hamilton towards the Minister of England. Each Minister was desirous of obtaining favour from the country to which he paid court, and special commercial advantages were offered by the opposing Secretaries. The jurisdiction of the two departments was so ill-defined that each trenched upon the other, and mutual accusations of encroachment were continually exchanged. Hamilton and Jefferson had journals which were their particular organs, and which of course contradicted one another at every point. The *Gazette of the United States* expressed the opinions of the Treasury; the *National Gazette* was the mouthpiece of Jefferson, and was indeed edited by a clerk in his office. The former of these papers spoke of the anarchy existing in France with almost as much indignation as the most Tory journals in England. The latter supported the development of affairs in Paris in a tone which would have satisfied all but the most extreme Jacobins. Washington kept aloof from both parties, and rightly interpreted his duties as placing him above the violence of faction. It was known, however, that he agreed more with Hamilton than with Jefferson, and he was in time made an object of attack by those who held the opposite view. He was accustomed to hold levées, on certain days and at certain hours, for the reception of those who wished to pay him their respects. It is hard to see how such an observance could in any way interfere with liberty, while it is not difficult to perceive that it added a grace to political life, and offered a common ground of devotion to the Constitution, where men of opposing principles might for awhile forget their animosities. Yet these levées were denounced as an affectation of monarchy. Washington was considered too particular as to matters of etiquette, and Adams, as Vice-President, was believed to be even more inclined to reproduce in America the forms and manners of English sovereignty.

The period was now approaching when it was necessary, by the terms of the Constitution, to choose the President and Vice-President anew. To the former of these offices it was proposed to re-elect Washington. That great man would gladly have retired once more to the privacy of his Virginian home; but Jefferson threatened to resign if Washington carried out this intention. Although the President's leanings were rather against Jefferson than in his favour, the Secretary of State feared that the former Chief Magistrate might be succeeded by one less disposed to hold the scales fairly between opposing interests; and he therefore desired the renewal of his power. Washington on his part dreaded lest a political condition should ensue, in which the Anti-Federalists, considering themselves defeated, should raise commotions similar to those which were then distracting France. He consequently determined to stand as a candidate for re-election, and, there being no competitor, he was chosen in the autumn of 1792 for a second term of office, to commence in the following March. Adams was at the same time re-elected to the Vice-Presidency, but not without opposition, for another candidate had appeared in the person of George Clinton, of New York.

While the United States were thus painfully struggling through the first difficulties of their new Government, and indeed for a period of several

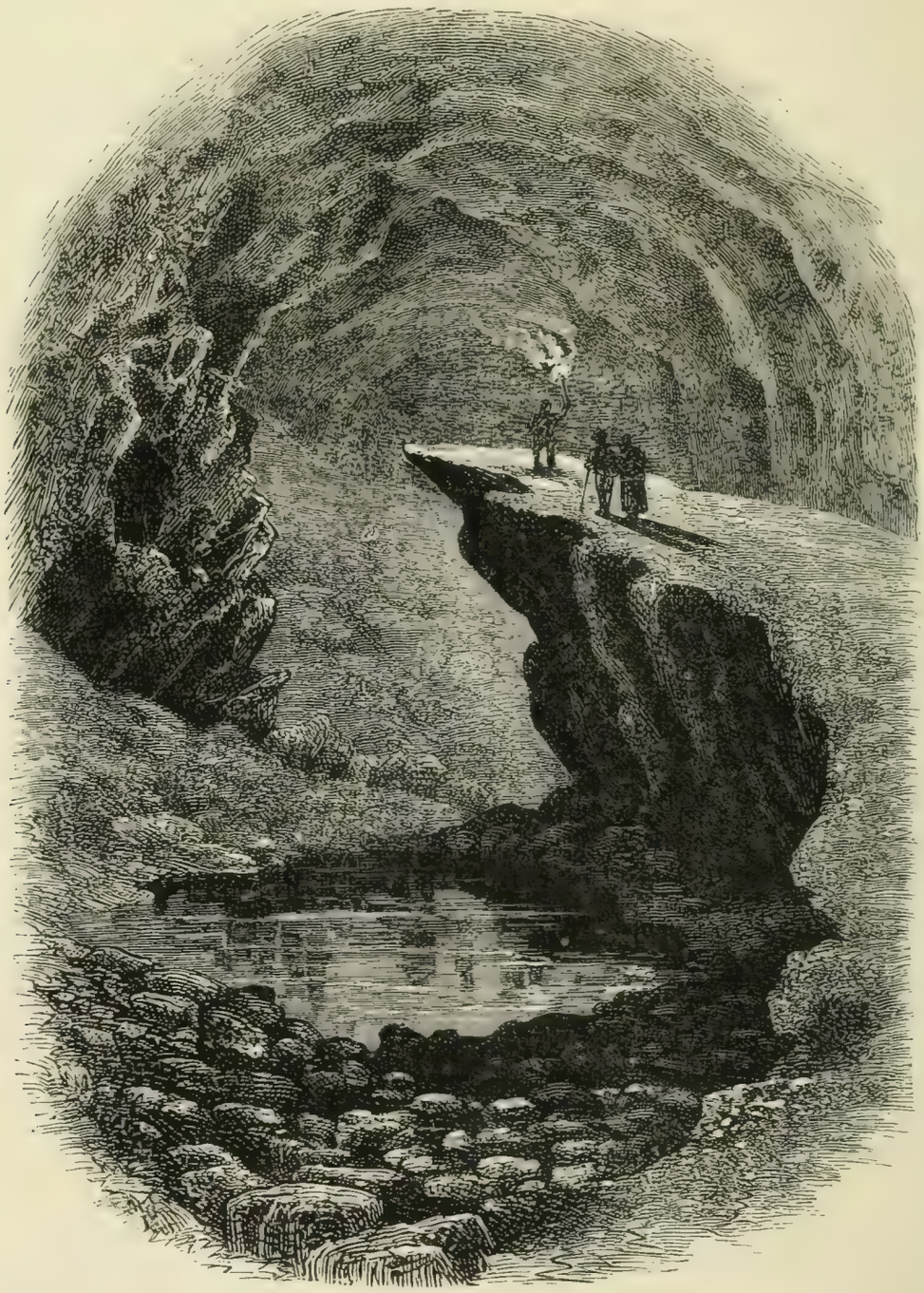
years, the Indians on the frontiers were creating great alarm amongst the distant settlers. The Creeks, under the direction of a chief of white descent, desolated the remoter parts of Georgia, whilst the North west was kept in a state of constant terror by the demonstrations of other tribes. Against these barbarians it became necessary to take decisive measures, and the President, directing his attention in the first place towards the Creeks, who seem to have enjoyed some degree of support from Spain, endeavoured to bring about an amicable arrangement with them. The attempt proved abortive, but was renewed in 1790, when Gillivray, the ruler of the Creeks, was induced to proceed to New York, and conclude a treaty. Similar overtures made to the Indians beyond the Ohio were altogether without result. These tribes appear to have been influenced by an impression that the British Government was taking steps for bringing back its former colonies to the allegiance they had shaken off, and that, if renewed hostilities should break out, their services would be required again, as they had been before. Sir John Johnson, whose relations with the native tribes were always such as to create apprehension on the part of the Americans, was the British Agent on that frontier, and Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, had been re-appointed to the Governorship of Canada. These facts may have had some effect on the minds of the savages; but the latter were never without grievances, real or imaginary, which influenced them much more. Whatever the causes of their present action, they exhibited a very rebellious spirit in the spring of 1790. General Harmer was accordingly sent into the Indian country, north of that which is now the State of Cincinnati, at the head of fifteen hundred men. Ascending the river Wabash, he burnt some Indian villages; but here his successes ended. On October 17th and 22nd, 1790, he was twice defeated, with considerable loss, near the present village of Fort Wayne, in Indiana. Other expeditions were sent out in the following year; but ill-luck still pursued the American troops.

General St. Clair, at that time Governor of the North-west Territory, sustained a very severe repulse while encamped in Ohio, although he was in command of an unusually large force. He had marched into the wilderness, in October, 1791, with nearly two thousand men; but, by desertion and detachments, the army was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the 3rd of November they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, with the intention of remaining there until they were rejoined by their comrades; but, before sunrise on the following morning, the troops, just after being dismissed from parade, were suddenly and violently attacked by the Indians. It unfortunately happened that the front ranks of the American army consisted of raw levies. Struck with dismay, they fell back in confusion on the others, who were thus thrown into temporary disorder. Recovering themselves, they advanced against the savages, who retired from covert to covert, but returned to their former positions as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. General St. Clair, being ill at the time, was unable to take the command in person, and, after a contest of three or four hours, he resolved to call off his men, seeing that they had suffered severely. But to retreat is sometimes more difficult than to advance. As soon as the retrograde movement began, the troops, who had until then fought with resolution, were incapable of restraining themselves from flight. In four hours they were chased by the Indians a distance of thirty miles, though it is supposed they were not out-numbered by the adversary; and their camp was afterwards plundered and destroyed. The loss of nearly nine hundred men, in killed, wounded, and missing, was the price which St. Clair had to pay for his want of skill, vigilance, or good fortune.

This disaster threw the whole North-western frontier into dismay. The Federal Government was urgently petitioned for assistance, and Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Indians, who, with the indolence peculiar to their race, excepting in moments of great excitement, forbore from following up their advantage. General St. Clair was now succeeded by General Wayne, an officer who had distinguished himself in the War of Independence; and the military force of the Republic was raised to five thousand men, though with great difficulty, owing to the extravagant jealousy of a standing army felt by the Anti-Federalists. Not waiting for the negotiations to be brought to a conclusion, and divining that they would probably fail, and be followed by renewed attacks on the part of the savages, Wayne marched into the Indian country in the autumn of 1793. The winter was spent by him near the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a fort; and in the summer of 1794 he pushed still further into the west, building forts as he proceeded. On the 20th of August he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indians; then, laying waste their country, retired into winter quarters at Greenville, after a campaign of about ninety days. The tribes were now thoroughly cowed, and, on the 3rd of August, 1795, eleven hundred chiefs and warriors met a body of Commissioners from the United States, concluded

a treaty of peace, and ceded a large tract of land in the present States of Michigan and Indiana.

Despite all troubles, the area of the Republic continued to increase, and on the 1st of June, 1792, Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a fifteenth State. This territory had been chiefly settled by the Virginians, and was for a long time claimed by them as a part of their domain. The first regular settlement in that portion of America was made by the great explorer, Daniel Boone, in 1775; but parties of adventurers had encamped there from time to time during the previous twenty-seven years. The population rapidly increased, and passed so completely beyond the jurisdiction of Virginia that the Legislature of that State was compelled to allow a separation. Kentucky is now mainly an agricultural State, but it contains some of the wildest scenery in the Union. The caves of Kentucky are celebrated, and have been compared to those in Derbyshire, but they are on a much vaster scale. The Mammoth Cave has been explored to a distance of more than ten miles, without any termination being reached, and the aggregate length of all the branches is above forty miles. A stormy element seems to have entered into the blood of the people, and the Kentucky men are celebrated for their love of sport, their



MAMMOTH CAVE, KENTUCKY.

daring character, their vehement temper, and their tendency to a certain lawless freedom.

Act of 1791 was superseded by another, passed in 1794; but this gave no greater satisfaction than



PLAN OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, AS ORIGINALLY LAID OUT. (*From a Plate published in* 1793.)

Western Pennsylvania was in 1794 troubled by a popular outbreak known as "the whiskey insurrection." This was provoked by the Excise law which had proved so extremely unpopular. The the first. The officers sent by Congress to enforce the law in the western districts of Pennsylvania were violently resisted by the people. The insurrection soon became general; outrages of an

extreme kind were committed in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg; buildings were burned, mails were robbed, and the Excise officers were handled with great roughness. Between six and seven thousand insurgents were under arms, and the local militia could do nothing. Indeed, many members of that body had enrolled themselves among the rebels. Even the adjacent counties of Virginia were infected, and the President found it necessary to adopt measures for crushing the disorder. Two proclamations which he issued—one on August 7th, and another on September 25th—having been entirely disregarded, a large body of the militia of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, was ordered to march into the insurgent district, under the command of General Henry Lee, the Governor of Virginia. These forces appeared there in October, and speedily restored order, without the necessity of any active operations. The ringleaders were afterwards tried and found guilty of treason, but ultimately pardoned on their professing repentance. The military measures of the President, in sending to one State the militia of others, were decried as unconstitutional; but it is plain that he had no other means of suppressing a dangerous movement, and of asserting a rightful authority.

The insurgents appear to have had the support of the Anti-Federalists, who would doubtless have been delighted to tie the hands of the President and his Government in every possible way. The tendency of such principles is towards endless disintegration. The objection to a central power might be carried so far as to render even municipal rule impracticable. Every parish might lay claim to independence; and it is hard to see where these political theories could logically cease, short of the right of each individual to do exactly as he likes, without any reference to the collective good of the community. Men of large ability and unimpeachable honour, like Jefferson, cannot, of course, be suspected of a desire to push their opinions to such insane lengths; but inferior members of the party seem scarcely, as far as their aspirations went, to have stopped this side of a condition which would have been nothing less than permanent anarchy. The weak point in the politics of the Southern States of America has always been systematic rebellion against a strong Federal Government; and, while calling themselves Democrats, they have made it but too evident that their views are in every way opposed to the actual nature and tendencies of Democracy. The rule of the people is not the rule of sections, not the rule of special interests or of local peculiarities; but the will of the nation itself, firmly compacted—able to protect the well-being of all, strong to repel and to subdue whoever may have the daring to attack its sovereignty.

CHAPTER LXI.

The French Revolution, and its Effects in America—Differences between French and American Republicanism—Citizen Genet, Envoy from the French Republic to the United States—Division in the American Cabinet as to how he should be received—His fitting out of Privateers—Discussion with Jefferson—American Constitutional Law—Genet's insolent Threats—Suggestions made by the French Envoy to Henry Lee—Continued Disputes with Genet—Troubles created by Privateering—Recall of Genet, at the Request of the United States Government—Disputes with England—Position of Jefferson—His Retirement from Office—Opinions and Action of James Madison—Violent Feeling against England in the Legislature of the United States—Debate in the House of Representatives on the Commercial Resolutions of Madison—Opposition between the Government and Congress—Mutual Accusations of America and England—American Imitations of French Red Republicanism—Bill for prohibiting the Admission of British Commodities—The Measure defeated in the Senate by Adams's Casting Vote—Retirement of Hamilton.

Every day, the difficulties of the United States, consequent on the French Revolution, increased in gravity. It was natural for the American people to cherish a sentiment of gratitude towards the people of France for the aid which they had rendered to the cause of Independence. It was equally to be expected that they should feel flattered at the homage to their own political principles which was implied in the French adoption of Republican forms, as the result of that great rising against the misrule of Bourbons and nobles which gave so wild a character to the departing eighteenth century. For the same reasons, it is easy to understand that the democrats of Paris considered they had a claim on the citizens of the United States, and looked with confidence for their sympathy, and, if need were, for their support. But the case was in fact nothing like so simple as these conditions seem to suggest. The relations between countries are always complicated and uneasy in periods of general disturbance;

and, in the instance of the United States and France, the mere superficial agreement as to dispensing with kingly government could not long conceal the great dissimilarity of the two nations, their institutions and their aims. The most extreme Jacobins had, it is true, their admirers in America; but it may be safely asserted that the majority of the American people, and the greater number of eminent American statesmen, disliked and feared the principles which were then obtaining ascendency on the banks of the Seine. American Republicanism, than distasteful to a large proportion of those who had recently been colonists of Great Britain. Hence the want of cordiality which in time developed itself between the Envoy of France at the seat of the Federal Government, and the members of the Administration.

The feeling, however, did not arise at once. When news of the French Revolution first reached America, it was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Public demonstrations were made in several places. In Boston, an ox was roasted whole, dressed



COINS STRUCK IN THE UNITED STATES, 1793–5. (*From Specimens in the British Museum.*)

as generally understood and practised, was English Constitutionalism carried to its legitimate conclusions in a land where there could be neither monarch nor aristocracy—where neither existed, and neither was desired. The Republicanism of France was as much social as political—a wild and passionate attempt at the entire reconstruction of society, threatening the existence of property, of the family, of historic religion, and of transmitted morals. The English blood was too strong in the American people, the English soberness of character was too much an inherited condition of their minds, the English love of slow and cautious change was too much a habit of their political existence, for these tendencies of the emancipated French intellect to be otherwise with French and American flags, placed on a car drawn by sixteen horses, and paraded through the streets, followed by carts bearing bread and hogsheads of punch, which were distributed among the people. A civic feast was held at Faneuil Hall, over which Samuel Adams presided. The anniversary of the French alliance was celebrated in several places, and the progress of freedom in France was identified with the political ideas of America in a way which shows how completely enthusiasm had got the better of judgment. When the Minister appointed by Louis XVI. was recalled, his successor, Edmond Charles Genet, was greeted with the warmest expressions of friendship. He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1793. Louis had been

executed about a quarter of a year before, and Genet was a very ardent Republican. One object of his mission was to obtain the co-operation of the United States in the furtherance of French Republican designs. France was at war with England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Holland, and it was a matter of great importance to the new Government that it should obtain allies. The active friendship of the United States was anticipated; but, before the arrival of Genet at Philadelphia (for he lingered a good deal in the South), a split took place in the Government as to how the coming Envoy should be received. Hamilton, the Financial Secretary, and Knox, the Secretary at War, were for openly condemning the democratic Government of France, and refusing to accept its Minister, or at any rate for making his reception as cold as possible. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Randolph, the Attorney-General, took the opposite view, and maintained—what is now generally held to be the reason and justice of such matters—that America had no right to interfere with, or even criticise, the internal government of a country with which she was on terms of amity. It was agreed, however, even by this section of the Administration, that, for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, forbidding the citizens of the United States to equip vessels for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against any of the belligerent Powers. This was accordingly put forth, under date of April 22nd. The President resolved to receive the Envoy, but it was determined to make no allusion to the Treaty of Alliance concluded between France and the United States in 1778, by which it was stipulated that each Power should defend the other against England. Indeed, it was held by many that the Treaty in question expired with the War of Independence, out of which it grew.

Popular opinion was very much agitated by what was termed the French question, and much intemperate language was used by heated partisans on both sides. Washington was reviled by the democrats as a Royalist, and seems to have sometimes lost his self-control under these repeated attacks. Jefferson, in his "Anas," records a remarkable scene at a Cabinet Council on the 2nd of August. "Knox, in a foolish, incoherent sort of speech," says he, "introduced the pasquinade lately printed, called the 'Funeral of George Washington and James Wilson, King and Judge,' &c., where the President was placed on a guillotine. The President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the Government, which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that by God he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made Emperor of the world; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a King." This anecdote accords with what we know of the disposition of Washington. Imperturbable as he commonly appeared, there was a great deal of passion in the recesses of his nature; and this would occasionally break out with all the more vehemence because of its usual repression. The infirmity had increased of late years, and, according to Hamilton, the General's irritability had become so great towards the end of the war that his popularity with the army declined in consequence. The James Wilson referred to by Jefferson was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Nothing could be more imprudent or objectionable than the conduct of Citizen Genet, as he called himself in the phraseology of French Republicanism. He should of course, on leaving France, have sailed direct to Philadelphia, as the Federal capital for the time being; instead of which he preferred to land at Charleston, for the furtherance of the secret purposes with which he was charged. There he remained six weeks, superintending the fitting out of cruisers designed for intercepting British vessels, and injuring British commerce. Notwithstanding these unwarrantable actions, and this lack of respect to the President and his Ministers, Genet made himself popular with the people of Charleston. Indeed, it is not difficult to believe that the position he assumed rendered him all the more agreeable to the natives of the South, who were not very favourable to the Federal Government, and who saw in privateering a great source of irregular profit. Even on his journey to Philadelphia, when at length he started, he received every manifestation of esteem and regard, and, on entering the Federal metropolis, crowds flocked out to meet him. These exhibitions of popular good-will seem to have entirely perverted whatever judgment he may have originally possessed. He came very shortly to the conclusion that he could defy the Proclamation of the President, compromise the neutrality of the United States, and use the country to which he was accredited as a tool for promoting the interests of his own. He continued to make arrangements for the sending forth of privateers, and even went so far as to

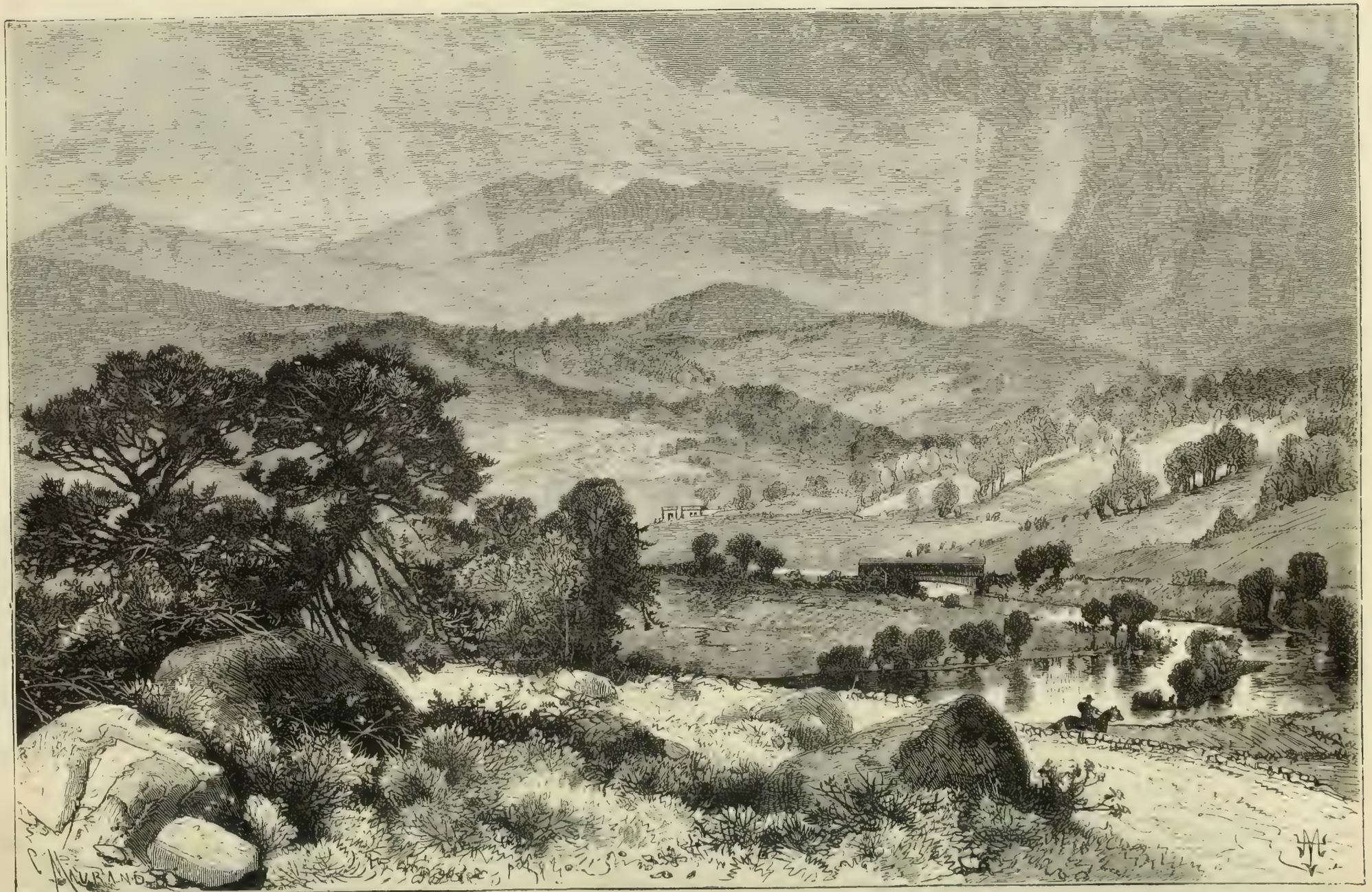
sanction the capture by his countrymen of vessels in the rivers, and therefore within the dominions, of the United States. French cruisers took captured vessels into American ports, where French consuls held Courts of Admiralty, by which the sale of prizes was authorised. And this was done even before Genet was recognised as the Minister of France by the American Government.

The conduct of the envoy was in fact so flagrant that even the section of the Cabinet which sympathised most with French ideas felt compelled to resist his assumptions. Jefferson, as Adams has related, was as little satisfied with the proceedings of the French Minister as anybody else. On the 7th of July he called on Genet, and told him he had received information of a certain vessel being furnished with extra guns in American waters, and about to sail on a privateering expedition. Being requested to detain this vessel until further inquiries could be made, Genet assumed a very high tone; charged the American Government with having violated the treaties between the two nations; complained that they suffered the French flag to be insulted and disregarded by the English; and, with an immense amount of vehement declamation, taxed the President's Administration with favouritism towards the British, and unfairness towards the French. If, he argued, the American authorities were unable to secure French vessels in American ports, and French property on the high seas, they ought to permit the representatives of France to protect them by their own action. He then dwelt on the friendly propositions he had brought out from his country, and observed that his instructions and his personal desires were to do whatever would gratify the American people. These very instructions, however, were in one respect such as to disgust all men of honourable feeling. They bitterly attacked the late regal Government of France, and asserted that the Ministers of Louis XVI. had plotted against the aggrandisement of the United States, even while, for selfish ends, promoting their independence of Great Britain. It cannot be denied that this statement was perfectly true; but, inasmuch as the Bourbon Monarchy had really, from whatever motive, largely assisted in the creation of the American Republic, it was extremely ungenerous for its successors to endeavour to destroy the natural gratitude of Americans towards an old ally. Anything, however, was considered fair by Citizen Genet, as long as the ends of faction could be served.

In his interview with Jefferson, Genet even presumed to lay down the law as to the constitution of the United States. He affirmed that the Executive should not have acted as it had done without consulting Congress, and said that on the return of the President from Mount Vernon he would certainly press him to convene that body. Jefferson explained that the American Constitution divided the functions of Government among three authorities—the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary—each of which was supreme in all questions belonging to its own department, and independent of the others; that all the matters in dispute belonged to the Executive department; and that, even if Congress were sitting, those matters could not be submitted to its judgment. Genet asked if Congress were not sovereign. Jefferson replied that it was sovereign only in making the laws; the Executive was sovereign in executing those laws, and the Judiciary in construing them in certain cases. It was for the President, said Jefferson, to see that treaties were observed. "But," urged Genet, "if he should decide against a treaty, to whom is a nation to appeal?" Jefferson's response was that the Constitution had made the President himself the last appeal. Hereupon the French citizen made the American citizen a bow, and said he could not compliment him on such a Constitution. Genet had now regained his coolness, and Jefferson remarked on the impropriety of his conduct in persevering in measures contrary to the will of the Government, and in defiance of its obvious rights. The subject of the privateer was then once more brought forward by the American Secretary of State, who repeated his request that the vessel should be detained. Genet answered that he should not be justified in detaining her; he could not make any promise; it would be out of his duty to do so; but he was able to state that the vessel was not in readiness, and therefore could not sail that day. Jefferson, however, could get from him no direct promise that she would remain until after the return of the President from the country, though his language and gestures seemed to imply that such would be the case. The Secretary finally said he would take it for granted that the ship would not be ready before the President's return; and the two shortly afterwards parted.*

In the course of this interview, Genet gave Jefferson to understand that he should publish a narrative or statement of the transactions; and some time before, in conversing with Mr. Dallas, he went the astounding length of saying that he would appeal from the President to the people. This was a direct incentive to one of those revo-

* Jefferson's Minutes of his Conversation with Genet.



MOUNT MANSFIELD, VERMONT.

lutionary movements which were so continually altering the Government of France; but the United States were not a likely scene for the success of such attempts. To Jefferson, the French Minister expressed his belief that there existed in America an English party, and ascribed to the misinformation, the industry, and the manœuvres of that party some of the decisions of the Executive. He complained that the agents employed by Government acted with gross partiality; that they allowed not a single movement of a French vessel to pass unnoticed, yet never informed against an English one arming, or informed only when it was too late to stop her. Jefferson seems to have acted throughout this business with entire good faith, and perhaps with greater prudence than some of his colleagues would have shown. The Secretaries of the Treasury and of War proposed to erect a battery on Mud Island, and to fire at the offending vessel and sink her if she attempted to pass. Such a step would of course have led to a war between the two Republics, and Jefferson very properly refused his sanction. The privateer was at that time at Gloucester Point, and soon afterwards fell down to Chester—influenced, possibly, by a fear that the Government would take some such course as that suggested. Many of the American newspapers severely criticised the policy of the Cabinet in restraining the furious partizanship of Citizen Genet. There was no doubt a war-party in the United States, as well as a peace-party; but it is certain that the latter greatly outnumbered the former for the moment. Henry Lee, in writing to President Washington, said he



COMMODORE ROBERT HOPKINS. (*From a Print of* 1776.)

believed that nine-tenths of the American people applauded the system of neutrality declared in the President's Proclamation. Genet had endeavoured to enlist Lee on his side, and had suggested to him the desirability of the United States taking part in the war then commencing in Europe. He observed that, in case Royalty were re-established in France, the European monarchs would combine to destroy liberty in America, and that the very existence of the United States as a nation depended on the success of the Republican system in Paris, to aid which the Americans might conveniently make important diversions on their Southern and Northern neighbours—to wit, Spain in the Floridas, and Great Britain in Canada. To this argument Lee opposed their infant state as a people, their love of peace, the heavy debt which oppressed them in consequence of the last war, the probable futility of such vast enterprises, and the certainty that France would derive more benefit from retaining within her own bosom all her resources of men and money than could possibly ensue from doubtful adventures.

The dispute between the French Envoy and the American Government continued for a long while. Genet maintained that the treaty between France and the United States (the permanent existence of which was very doubtful) sanctioned such measures as those he desired to see taken, and that any difficulties thrown in their way would be infractions of that treaty, and treason against the rights of man. The Government nevertheless arrested two persons engaged in privateering. Genet at once demanded their release, and adopted a tone of menace which was not at all likely to effect his purpose. He relied upon the support which he found in a certain section of the people—that section which affected Anti-Federalist and democratic ideas. Several persons belonging to this party entertained the French Minister at great feasts, wherein red caps of liberty were circulated, and toasts of a seditious character were proposed. Some of the worst features of French political life flourished rankly in these circles. Jacobin societies were formed, and at Philadelphia a club was set on foot, the object of which was to overrule both the Legislature and the Government, after the fashion of similar associations at Paris. Emboldened by these tokens of support, Genet determined to defy even more openly the authority of the President and his Ministers. Although he had certainly given Jefferson to understand, without positively stating so in distinct language, that the privateer then being armed should not sail until the President's return from the country, he permitted that vessel to depart without awaiting any further conferences. Whilst the Government was consulting its law officers as to what would be the fittest course to pursue, the French Envoy set up a counter complaint, and alleged that the British were in the habit of taking French property out of American vessels, contrary to the principles of neutrality avowed by the rest of Europe. Jefferson replied that the British were legally entitled to do so. "I believe," he said, "it cannot be doubted but that, by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy are free, and the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend are lawful prize." Genet was furious. He retorted by again threatening to appeal from the President to the people; and to some extent he was supported in his estimate of the popular sympathies, for a person tried at Charleston on a charge of privateering was acquitted by the jury. The Government, however, was resolved not to be intimidated. Orders were issued against permitting privateers in the ports, for preventing captures within the American waters, and for restoring captures so made; and the American Minister at Paris was instructed to demand the recall of Genet. As if foreseeing that the end of his power was near at hand, the Envoy now observed no measure in his violence. He caused the forcible rescue of a reclaimed prize, and it sailed in possession of the original French captors. In due course, Genet's credentials were annulled by the Government which had sent him out. He feared, however, to return to his own country, where it is not improbable that his ill-success would have been avenged by his death, after the fashion then common among French Republicans. Conceiving himself much safer in the land whose Government he had outraged, he married a daughter of Governor Clinton, of New York, and remained in the United States to the close of his life, which was extended to the year 1834.

It was not merely with the French Republic that the United States came into collision on this delicate question of neutrality. The English Government was as arrogant as that of France. Orders were issued from London for stopping all neutral ships laden with provisions that might be bound for French ports. This was a serious check upon American trade, which consisted largely of exports of corn, and it is not surprising that both the people and the Government of the United States should have resisted such an assumption. It was also alleged that England was in the habit of pressing American seamen for her own navy. It is probable that she intended only to reclaim her own subjects who had become American citizens:

but even this was going much farther than could be justified; and it appears that several native-born Americans were seized also. Of course these acts excited the most vehement indignation among such of the Americans as inclined towards the French; but in truth they were not tolerable by any division of the people. When Congress re-assembled, in December, 1793, the President felt compelled to draw attention to the chief subjects of controversy. He asked for an increase of taxes, and an augmentation of the national force, to enable him to repel the designs of either France or England, and to maintain the neutrality necessary to the well-being and honour of his country. His Government was much shaken by these unusual disturbances. Jefferson in particular was in a very painful position, for in opposing Genet he had been compelled to oppose also the party to which he himself belonged. This did not draw him any the nearer to the opposite party, and his dislike and suspicion of Hamilton were as great as ever. The newspaper which expounded Jefferson's views was edited by a man named Freneau, who observed no measure in his abuse of the Government and of the President. Washington not unnaturally complained of such a licence, and Jefferson determined to retire—a measure which he had been contemplating for some time. Before leaving office (which he quitted at the close of 1793), he drew up an elaborate report on the commerce of the United States, and on the privileges and restrictions attending mercantile intercourse with foreign nations. The upshot of this document, as might be expected from its author, was to favour the interests of France as against those of England. The hostility of the latter country to American trade predisposed a great many persons, even beyond the lines of the Anti-Federal party, to receive these suggestions with favour. Jefferson was followed by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, as Secretary of State; but the views of the retiring Minister had more influence than those of his successor.

Very early in the session of 1794, the House of Representatives exhibited a disposition to adopt hostile measures against Great Britain. The Opposition, no longer hampered by the presence of their real leader, Jefferson, in the Cabinet, felt themselves more free to attack the policy of the Government with vigour, and they were now aided by many not belonging to the same connection, who were angered by the policy of England towards the United States. Jefferson had an able auxiliary in the Lower House, in the person of James Madison, a man generally acknowledged as the leader of that House, a close thinker, a politician of large experience, and one who was destined in time to be President of the United States. Although he had hitherto been identified with the principles of the Federalists, he was at one with the Democrats on the particular matters now occupying the public mind. Like Jefferson, and like Washington, he was a native of Virginia, and the Virginians, as a rule, were less disposed than the New Englanders to take a British view of American affairs. The attention of Congress was soon called to the report of Jefferson, and to the measures which it recommended. Among those measures was a tonnage duty on British vessels, from which French vessels were to be exempt. Public opinion, irritated for a time by the insolence of Genet, had now once more gone round to the side of France. It was not that the political ideas of French Republicans had become any more acceptable to the majority of the American people; it was simply that American commerce was injured, and American pride wounded, by the British Government, and that any method of retaliating upon England was consequently acceptable to the popular mind. The Americans had recently been additionally exasperated by the removal of the Portuguese cruisers from before the Straits of Gibraltar—an act said to be owing to the representations of England, and certainly resulting in the escape of many Algerine corsairs into the Atlantic, and in serious depredations on American vessels. It was thought, moreover, that the hostile movements of the frontier Indians were prompted by the Governor of Canada and other British officials; and all these occasions of irritation, taken together, had produced a very widespread feeling of enmity towards Great Britain.

Such were the sentiments which influenced the House of Representatives in no slight degree when the debate on the commercial resolutions commenced in that Assembly. The discussions were long and violent. Mr. Smith, a Southern member, denounced the proposed plan as unjust and politically vindictive. He enlarged on the benefits of commercial intercourse with England, and maintained that it had been regulated as fairly by that country as the commerce of France by the French Republic, besides being much more remunerative. The objections to a prohibitory system he showed to be numerous, and he pointed out the inconvenience of forcing the small capital of the United States from its natural channel of agriculture into manufactures and navigation, the advantages of which were less known and more problematical. Madison very strongly expressed the contrary view. He seemed desirous of obtaining for America the same doubtful benefits which had accrued to England from her

Navigation Acts. America, he believed, would thrive more from exclusion and contest than from a conciliatory policy; and he vehemently insisted that the existing moment, above all others, was the time for effecting such a purpose, since England was then engaged in a mortal struggle with France. The plans of Madison may have been politic for the moment; but they lacked the deeper wisdom which provides for succeeding as well as for present times. He furnished for successive generations of his countrymen the basis of that Protectionist policy which exists even to the present day, and which has been so injurious to the true interests of America. His theories, however, fell in with the prevailing mood, and the anti-British resolutions were carried by a majority of five votes.

In this excited condition of the public mind, Government thought to divert the attention of the people from the vexed questions with England by undertaking an expedition against the Algerines. It was proposed to equip six frigates, to reduce those troublesome pirates to submission; naval constructors and navy agents were set to work; captains and superintendents were commissioned; and the foundations of a national fleet were thus laid. Something of a naval power had been created during the Revolution, and many gallant deeds had been performed by Hopkins, the Commander-in-Chief, and by Paul Jones. But this force had since been neglected, and even the necessity of chastising the Algerines did not do much towards reviving it. The Democrats, now all-powerful, determined not to lose sight of their complaints against England. They considered that a war on the Continent of America was imminent, and they determined to concentrate their force at home, so as to be prepared for the worst. Hostilities began to be openly talked of; Lord Dorchester, the Canadian Governor, seemed himself to contemplate a war; and frequent captures of American vessels by British cruisers excited the popular fury to the utmost. Congress therefore proceeded to consider the raising of a military force, the fortification of the ports, and other measures of protection. It was even proposed by Madison to break off all commercial intercourse with England, and to sequester her debts. Mutual accusations passed between the American and British Governments, and each charged the other with violating the treaty of peace concluded in 1783. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the War of Independence; that the British still held possession of certain military posts on their frontiers; and that the whole policy of England was directed towards the ruin and humiliation of the United States. The British, on their side, alleged that the stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had been disregarded. As the year advanced, the English Government moderated or withdrew some of its obnoxious acts; and this enabled the Federal or British party in America to regain something of its former strength, and to make advances towards removing the causes of dissension. The Democratic or French party became all the more violent at these prospects of pacification, and its members, imitating the habits of Parisian life, continued to establish clubs professing extreme opinions, and applauded all the most violent actions of the Republican body in France.

The condition of the country had now become so serious that the necessity for taking some step, even of an unusual character, was apparent to the President and his Ministers. It was resolved to send Jay as a special Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, for the purpose of attempting a settlement of the questions in dispute by means of a treaty. This measure of the Executive was met by a very threatening movement on the part of the Legislature. Madison's suggestion for breaking off commercial intercourse with the offending country was adopted in the House of Representatives, in a Bill prohibiting the admission of all commodities from Great Britain until the grievances complained of should be entirely redressed. The great object of this measure, it can hardly be questioned, was to render the proposed mission of Jay abortive, and to precipitate a war with England, in which the United States would have appeared as the ally of Republican France. The result might have been fatal to the rising fortunes of America, for she was certainly not then in a position to bear the drain of such a contest; but the peril was averted by the wisdom of John Adams. When the Bill came before the Senate, that body was almost equally divided, and on the third reading was absolutely so. The numbers were then thirteen to thirteen, and it devolved on Adams, as Vice-President, to give the casting vote. He did so on the side of the non-contents, and the Bill was consequently lost.

This exceptional power was very frequently exercised by Adams, and always on the side of the Federalist party. A short time previous to the rejection of Madison's commercial Bill, the Lower House had sent up a measure framed to prevent violations of neutrality like those committed by Citizen Genet, which, in spite of the President's

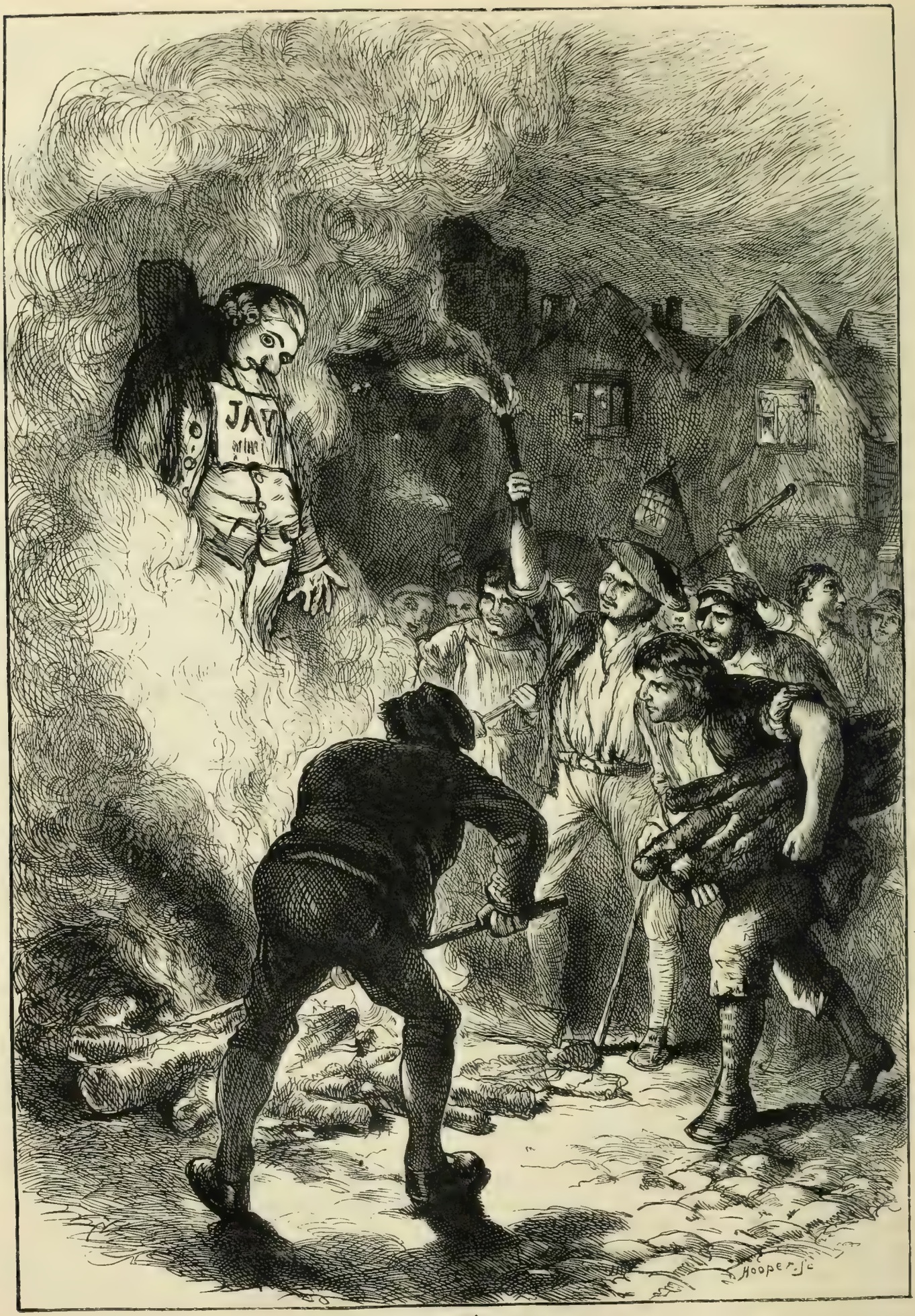
Proclamation, the law did not seem strong enough to check. This was an effect which the Democrats were by no means desirous of promoting, and the opposition to the measure was so strong that the casting vote of Adams was three times required to pass it through. The Vice-President detested the Gallic party, and saw how much of mere insubordination and anarchy lay behind its plausible phrases. Although he believed that his country was being badly used by England, and was always ready to support her rights, it is probable that, as between England and France, his sympathy was to a great extent with the former. In a letter to his wife, dated the 4th of February, 1794, he ridicules what he calls a "rascally lie," a "red-hot lie," to the effect that the Duke of York was in a cage at Paris, and that the English fleet was in the hands of the French. On the receipt of this monstrous report, the bells of Philadelphia were set ringing, and an attempt was made to get Adams to read the glorious news in the Senate; but he very wisely refused. Judging from his private and familiar letters at this time, Adams would appear to have been in a mood of general despondency and depression, like that of Hamlet after the supernatural disclosures of his buried father. He was satisfied neither with the French nor with the English, and dreaded lest his own countrymen were going wild with faction.

The retirement of Jefferson was followed in time by that of his rival, Hamilton, who, on the 31st of January, 1795, left the Ministry of Finance, in which he had effected so many remarkable results. Before quitting the scene of his labours, he issued a report on the finances of the United States, containing a further development of his plans. He was undoubtedly a man of very remarkable powers. Jefferson himself admitted that he was a Colossus to the Federal party, and a host in himself. Distinguished alike in administration and in debate, he must be reckoned among the most eminent of those statesmen who founded the American Republic. But he was hated by the Democrats, and described by them as a Royalist, mainly because he inclined to English rather than to French ideas in the working of free institutions, though it must be admitted that some of his political principles were out of harmony with the Republican institutions of America. He was more than once accused of peculation in his office, but, it would seem, unjustly. When he relinquished power, he was so far from being enriched by his association with the Government that he was actually embarrassed in his private means. Whatever blots may rest upon his private life, he had done the State good service in very difficult times. He had restored the credit of his country, and he left its service a poorer man than when he entered on that thankless task.

CHAPTER LXII.

Decline of Strength in the Federalist Party—Jay's Treaty with England, and its Provisions—Vehement Popular Opposition—Unpopularity of the President in Certain Quarters—Imprudent Conduct of Edmund Randolph—His Intrigues with France, and consequent Resignation—Signing of the Treaty by the President—Treaties with Spain and Algiers—Compromise with the Barbary Pirates—Violent Debates in the House of Representatives as to the English Treaty—Approach of a New Presidential Election—Washington determined not to present himself for a Third Term—Jefferson on Re-elections to the Presidency—Insolence of France towards America—Washington's Farewell Address to the People—Summary of its Contents—Question as to its Authorship—Remarks on the Political Principles which it expressed—The Future Course of American Politics determined by Washington.

Washington felt himself considerably weakened by the retirement of Hamilton, the strongest and most gifted supporter of his Federalist policy, and of his inclinations towards peace. He had also lost the assistance of his old friend, General Knox, who quitted the War Office a little before. The retiring Ministers were succeeded by Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering, and the President could now count on but slight assistance of an effective kind in repelling the attacks of the Democratic party. Unfortunately, he wanted all the assistance he could get. Jay, who had been sent as special Envoy to England in the spring of 1794, for the adjustment of the long-standing differences between the two countries, concluded a treaty, which, in June, 1795, was laid before the Senate. On the whole, it was a favourable treaty; yet some of its features were such as to excite great disapprobation. England was not likely to yield everything, and that was exactly what the Demo-



BURNING JAY'S EFFIGY.

crats desired. She had undertaken, however, to evacuate, by the 1st of June, 1796, those posts on the North-western frontiers which she had held ever since the conclusion of peace. On the other hand, the United States covenanted to give every facility to British subjects for the recovery of debts due before the termination of the war. Indemnity for illegal captures was promised on both sides. Freedom of trade was permitted, with certain modifications. Americans were allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels under twenty tons; but they were to carry their produce to their own ports only, and were to export no such produce to Europe. These qualifications, together with an admission of the English claims with regard to contraband articles, and the fact of the treaty containing no stipulation for redressing the injuries of those who had lost negroes through the action of the British authorities, were considered by many sufficient reasons for condemning the whole agreement. When the treaty was laid before the Senate, in June, it only just received, after a fortnight's discussion, the necessary sanction of two-thirds of that assembly, and then on condition that the President should procure an alteration in the parts having reference to commerce. This was ultimately done; and indeed it was obvious that the treaty, as originally framed, would prohibit



GROUP OF FRONTIER INDIANS.

Americans from sending their staple productions, cotton and sugar, to Europe. A storm of popular fury awaited the document. One of the senators, violating his obligation of secrecy, communicated a copy to a Philadelphian newspaper, and in a little while public opinion was most powerfully agitated all over the country. Meetings were called in every town, and few dared to say a word in favour of the detested concessions. In several places, all who ventured to take the unpopular view were threatened with personal violence. Jay was burned in effigy; Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting; and the British Minister at Philadelphia was insulted. The Democrats were especially loud in their condemnation. They declared that such a treaty was an act of base ingratitude to France, and involved nothing short of treason towards America herself, whose watchword should at all times be hatred to monarchy and to England. Even the President was treated with little respect, and felt compelled to rebuke those who had sent some of the more violent addresses. Hamilton and others, however, defended the treaty by their pens, with great power and marked effect; and signs of a reaction became visible after awhile.

This reaction was strengthened by an incident which resulted in Edmund Randolph being compelled to resign his place as Secretary of State. It was discovered that he had been acting, to say the least, with very great imprudence. His sympathies, though not openly declared, were in favour of the Gallican party; and while, by his trimming policy, he gave offence to many of his own friends, he so far acted with them as to carry on relations with the French Government, of a nature not strictly official, nor consistent with his duties as a Minister. M. Fauchet, the representative of France at Philadelphia, had sent to his Government a letter, which was intercepted by the English Minister, Mr. Hammond, and laid before the President, and from which it appeared that Randolph had been plotting against the views of the Cabinet generally, and had supported his own ideas of what was right by an unauthorised use of public money. His motives may have been pure; but it was impossible, after such disclosures, to retain him in the public service, and his disappearance from office, while it did not greatly offend the Democrats, by whom he was mistrusted, rendered the position of the Federalists more easy than it had been for some time past. It was a difficult matter, however, to obtain a fitting successor to Randolph. All the most capable and influential men refused to undertake so onerous a responsibility at that period of domestic menace and foreign entanglement; and Washington was obliged to be content with Colonel Pickering, whom he transferred from the War Office.

In spite of all the popular clamour against it, the treaty with England was signed by the President on the 18th of August, 1795—the day previous to that on which Randolph resigned his office; and in October a treaty was concluded with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida on the one hand, and the American Republic on the other, were defined, and the United States obtained the right of freely navigating the Mississippi, together with the use of New Orleans as a port for ten years. These concessions were very grudgingly made by the Court of Madrid, and nothing but fear extorted them. The right to the Mississippi had been resolutely asserted by the people of Kentucky, who, after demanding of Congress that that right should be maintained at any cost, made preparations among themselves for invading Louisiana. Spain was now involved in a war with Republican France, and, being anxious not to increase her embarrassments, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty with the United States, if a Special Envoy were sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinckney was accordingly despatched on the business, and the result of his labours gave general satisfaction. About the same period, a treaty was also concluded with Algiers, and with the Indians beyond the Ohio. The latter was the result of warlike operations already related; the former was perhaps in some measure hastened by the naval preparations which had been commenced the year before by the President's Government for chastising the insolence of the Algerines. The evil had indeed attained very great proportions. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the corsairs had captured and carried into Algiers fifteen American vessels, and had made slaves of a hundred and eighty officers and seamen. The treaty of November 28th, 1795, secured immunity for the citizens of the Republic, but only by the humiliating means—long practised by European Governments—of paying an annual tribute for the redemption of captives. This was to be to the amount of 23,000 dollars. It was also agreed that the United States should pay 800,000 dollars for captives then alive, and, in addition, should make the Dey a present of a frigate worth 100,000 dollars. The treaty did not last very long; but it answered its purpose for awhile.

The internal difficulties of the United States showed no signs of abatement in the session of

1796. Washington having proclaimed the treaty with England, the House of Representatives, on meeting in March, assumed a position of great hostility. The majority of that assembly complained that they had not been consulted in the matter, and they passed a vote demanding of the President the communication of the papers and correspondence relative to Jay's negotiations. This was refused by the Chief Magistrate, on the grounds that such a demand was unconstitutional, and that it would act as a pernicious precedent. The next step taken by the Lower House was even more vexatious. It lies with the President and Senate, and not with the House of Representatives, to ratify treaties; and, in the case of Jay's treaty, this ratification had already been given. But certain measures were necessary to bring it into active operation, and here the popular assembly threatened to throw all into confusion. The position assumed was that the treaty necessitated an appropriation of public money; that this could be made only by the House of Representatives; and that, consequently, the sanction of that House should have been obtained before the treaty was promulgated or ratified. The same principle has been asserted in more recent times, but seems never to have been authoritatively accepted as a correct interpretation of the American Constitution. The Opposition mustered in great force against the enabling measures, which would probably have been lost but for the extraordinary eloquence of Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts. Ames was in bad health at the time. When he rose to address the House on the side of the Administration, he was so pale and thin, and his voice so feeble, that it seemed doubtful whether he could proceed; but, kindling with his subject, he spoke with such fervour, passion, and power of reasoning, that many of his auditors were excited to tears. Fearing the effect of this impressive oratory, a member on the Opposition side of the House moved that the question should be postponed until the next day, in order to avoid acting under the influence of an emotion which their calmer judgments might not approve. These debates were continued throughout the session, and, on the final question being put, a bare majority of three voted in favour of the Government.

The earlier months of 1796 had passed away before this matter was finally settled. It was now time to consider the new election for the Presidency, as Washington's second term of office was to expire in the following year. By some, including John Adams, it was wished that he should offer himself as a candidate for a third election, as being the man most likely, by his high character and still considerable popularity, to reconcile contending factions, and guide the country through accumulated difficulties. But this was doubtless a mistaken view. Washington was no longer in the position he had occupied at his first, or even at his second, elevation. He had become thoroughly identified with a section, and, although he enjoyed the unbounded confidence of that section, he had to pay the penalty in a corresponding loss of esteem among those of the opposite camp. He was by this time the object of many virulent attacks, in which he was even accused of being a defaulter as regards the public funds; and there were some who threatened him with impeachment. The Presidential election had become an affair of party, and on party grounds it was possible to choose a more efficacious ruler than Washington. Moreover, he was utterly weary of his task, and extremely desirous of seeking, at his country estate, the repose which advancing age and long services gave him every right to enjoy. He resolutely refused all requests to allow himself to be put again in nomination; and it was felt in many quarters that such a course would be objectionable on purely constitutional grounds. It was certainly not desirable to make the Chief Magistracy a settled possession in one man's hands—to give to an elected President the character of a King in perpetuity. Jefferson, remarking in his Autobiography on the Constitution of 1787, states that his fears with regard to the re-eligibility of the President were founded on the nature of the office, on the fierce contentions it might excite among themselves if continued for life (as some desired), and on the dangers of interference by foreign nations, to whom the choice of an American ruler might be important. He found examples of this in history—as, for instance, in the Roman Emperors, the Popes, the German Emperors, the Kings of Poland, and the Deys of Barbary. He observed also in feudal records, and in the more recent case of the Stadtholder of Holland, "how easily offices or tenures for life slide into inheritances." His wish, therefore, was that the President should be elected for seven years, and be ineligible afterwards. But he subsequently thought the practice adopted a better one; viz., allowing the continuance of the office for eight years, with a liability to be dropped half-way, making that a probationary term. "The example," wrote Jefferson, near the end of his life, "of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage;

insomuch that, should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views." The four Presidents here alluded to were Washington, Jefferson himself, Madison, and Monroe.

The arrival of a new French Envoy in Philadelphia stimulated to a yet higher degree the feeling of enthusiastic admiration for the Republic which had been established in Paris; and the desire for war with England became stronger in proportion. In the spring of 1794, John Adams observed to his wife that some persons were in positive horror lest peace should continue; that any prospect of peace threw them into distress; and that gleams of joy beamed from their faces whenever all possibility of it seemed to be cut off. These tendencies had become still more marked two years later; but the determination of the Government not to embroil the country with Great Britain, unless forced to do so on grounds of self-protection or of honour, was equally strong. The new Minister from Paris brought with him the Republican colours of France, which he was directed to present to Congress. They were solemnly received by the President, transmitted by him to the Legislature, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. In the House of Representatives, a resolution was unanimously adopted, expressing the lively sensations which were excited by this testimony of the existing sympathy of the two Republics, and a hope that the brilliant and glorious victories of the French people would lead to the perfect establishment of their liberty and happiness. This efflorescence of mutual civility, however, did not last long. The representative of France soon contrived, by his insolence, to disgust the people with the country on whose behalf he acted. The treaty between the United States and England was made by him a great cause of offence. The Directory, which was then the governing body in France, complained in particular of those articles which conceded to the British the right of taking French goods from neutral ships—though Jefferson in a previous year had shown that the English were entitled to do so. The French Ministers seem to have taken their stand on extra-diplomatic grounds. They had begun all things afresh, and apparently expected that other nations should accept their new ideals of right and justice. From America they hoped for special sympathy, and proceeded on the assumption that one Republic was bound to aid another, without any relation to established laws and usages. When they found the United States disinclined to follow so romantic a course, their compliments turned to bitterness and insult. They gave directions to their Envoy, M. Adet, to address Congress on the subject, and Genet's outrageous threat to appeal from the President to the people was once more uttered. Foiled in all her endeavours, France now adopted regulations injurious to American commerce, and directed her cruisers to capture in certain cases the vessels of the United States. Several hundred merchant-ships, loaded with valuable cargoes, were seized in consequence of these regulations, and confiscated. Such acts had naturally the effect of destroying that sympathy with France which had hitherto been carried to so thoughtless an excess. Even in the South, where the Gallic feeling was greater than in the North, a sense of indignation against the Directory began to appear. The conduct of affairs was rendered more difficult by the fact that the American representative at Paris, Mr. Monroe, had been acting in the interests of France, or had at any rate failed to vindicate with sufficient spirit the rights and dignity of his own Government. He was therefore recalled, and Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, the latter sailed from the United States, with instructions to use every effort compatible with national honour to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister Republics.

It must have been with a feeling of infinite relief that Washington saw the termination of his Presidency approaching at no distant date. His Farewell Address to the people of the United States was dated the 17th of September, 1796, though his retirement from office was not to take place until the 4th of March in the following year. In this document, Washington announced the resolution he had formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a new President was to be chosen. He expressed the deep acknowledgments he owed to his country for the many honours it had conferred upon him; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it had supported his measures, and for the opportunities he had thence enjoyed of manifesting his inviolable attachment to the institutions of the land. He added that he could not refrain from offering to their solemn contemplation, nor from recommending to their frequent review, some sentiments which were the result of much reflection and of no inconsiderable observation, and which appeared to him all-important to the permanency of their happiness as a people. The love of liberty, he remarked, was so interwoven with every ligature of their hearts, that no recommendation of his was necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment. The unity of Government, by which they were constituted one

people, had also by that time become dear to them. "It is justly so," continued Washington, "for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence — the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed,—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must also exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

The President then went on to indicate the mutual advantages derived by the different sections of the Union from one another; but he specially warned his countrymen against the danger of characterising parties by geographical distinctions, such as Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western. One of the expedients of party, to acquire influence within particular districts, he showed to consist in misrepresenting the opinions and aims of other districts. He believed his countrymen could not shield themselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which sprang from those misrepresentations. He pointed his remarks more particularly against the inhabitants of the Western country, whose interests had been consulted in the treaties with Great Britain and Spain, but who, previous to the conclusion of those treaties, would seem to have been almost disposed to sever themselves from their brethren, and place their fortunes under the rule of aliens. The Constitution established in 1787 had a just claim, in the opinion of Washington, on the confidence and support of the entire nation. The basis of their political system, he observed, was the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions. But the Constitution existing for the time was obligatory upon all, until changed by an explicit or authentic act of the whole people. In the most solemn manner, Washington exhorted the citizens of the United States to be on their guard against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. Such a spirit, he told them, was the worst enemy of all popular forms of Government; and, in words most necessary to be remembered by all who would give permanency to freedom, he reminded his countrymen that the domination of one faction over another is in itself a frightful despotism —one which in time leads to a despotism of a more formal and lasting kind. The disorders and miseries thus accruing "gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty."

Passing to the consideration of other matters, Washington insisted on the necessity of giving support to the principles of religion and morality, and of promoting institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. As a very important source of strength and security, public credit was to be cherished; and he remarked that one method of preserving it was to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars might have occasioned, so as not to throw upon posterity a burden which the passing generation ought to bear. It is a curious indication of a weakness in the American mind, in the stage of development through which it was then passing, to find that Washington considered it indispensable to remark that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; and that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant. As regards their general conduct to foreign nations, he begged

them to observe good faith and justice towards all, but to avoid passionate attachment towards any one. Washington was here thinking, there can be no question, of the different feelings with which the population of America at that time regarded England on the one hand, and France on the other. "The nation," he wrote, "which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest." The jealousy of a free people, he very earnestly added, ought to be constantly awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence. The great rule of conduct for them in regard to foreign countries was, in extending their commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as they had already formed engagements, such were to be fulfilled with perfect good faith; but there they should stop. The primary interests of Europe had to them only a remote relation, if they had any at all. Their detached and distant situation enabled them to pursue a course very different from that of the Old World. It was their true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any foreign country, as far as existing obligations would enable them to do so. Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations were recommended by policy, humanity, and interest; but no exclusive favours or preferences, even in matters of commercial policy, should be allowed. As regarded the existing war on the Continent of Europe, Washington once more insisted on the fitness of observing complete neutrality —a policy, the excellence of which had been virtually admitted by all the belligerent Powers; and with words of affectionate farewell the retiring President took leave of those public duties which, under various forms, had engrossed his time and attention for five-and-forty years.

To what extent Washington was himself the author of this production has been made the subject of discussion. When the termination of the President's original period of office was approaching, he desired in the first instance not to offer himself as a candidate for re-election; and before this feeling had been removed by a deeper consideration of what was due to the exigencies of his country, he had requested Madison to furnish him with the draft of a Farewell Address. This was done, and some portions of that document were embodied by the President in the official paper actually issued four years afterwards. At the later date, Hamilton was consulted as to the terms in which this final address to the nation should be expressed. He too sent in a draft, in the composition of which he consulted John Jay. That this draft to some extent formed the basis of what was ultimately put forth, is evident; but there can be little doubt that Washington was in a great degree the author both of the sentiments and the language of that admirable piece of writing in which he retired from the field of politics. Mr. Sparks, summarising the facts of the case in the Appendix to his edition of Washington's Writings (Vol. XII.), says that what is known with certainty on the subject proves that an original draft was sent by Washington to Hamilton; that the latter bestowed great pains in correcting and maturing it; that during this process several communications passed between them; and that the final draft was printed from a copy, containing numerous alterations in the matter and style, which was unquestionably made by Washington. It is very probable, as the same authority remarks, that the language was improved by the careful revision of Hamilton, and that he suggested some of the topics, and amplified others. But the opinions there put forth are such as Washington had been in the habit of uttering for many years; and the fact that on so important an occasion he fortified his own judgment by the judgment of others, detracts in no material degree from his claim to be considered the fountain from which those principles of political wisdom issued forth. In any case, however, the interest and worth of the document remain the same. It was the concentrated expression of the best statesmanship of America at that particular date, and its value is rather enhanced than diminished if we assume that it proceeded, not from one mind, but from several. The advice which it contained was characterised by sense, probity, and noble feeling. To an old-established nation, whose principles of rule have been deduced through a long succession of ages, from ancient precedents and accumulated experience, some of the exhortations of this Farewell Address may seem almost too obvious to require so much insistence and so solemn a form. But it must not be forgotten that the people of the United States were then emerging from the chaos of a revolution; that everything had been temporarily unsettled; that the time was full of blind movements and half-developed principles of action; that there was some danger of the old landmarks being lost before new ones had been found; that there was danger even of eternal principles of justice and sanity being temporarily forgotten in the whirl and tumult of new sensations, in the fever of new experiments, in the labour, and struggle, and doubt attendant upon all new conditions. In this

seething and turbid state, inseparable from the fresh beginnings of a national life, such words of temperate wisdom, of counsel derived from knowledge acquired in the actual working of the political machine, were of incalculable value. The Farewell Address of Washington was a priceless gift to the nation he had served so well; and, although it cannot be said that its advice has in all respects been observed in succeeding times, it has in the main directed the action of the United States ever since, and has been one of the sources of their immense prosperity.



JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Effects of Washington's Farewell Address—His Speech to both Houses of the Legislature—Mutual Position of Adams and Jefferson—The Candidature for the Presidency—Division in the Federal Ranks—Election of Adams as President, and Jefferson as Vice-President—Difficult Position of the Former—Inauguration of Adams—Farewell Banquet to Washington—The existing Cabinet adopted by the New President—The American Minister at Paris dismissed by the Directory—Insulting Conduct of the French Government—Three Envoys sent to Paris—Indirect Negotiations with them—Failure of the Mission—Adams's Consultations with his Cabinet as to what Course should be pursued—Suggestions of McHenry—Secret Influence of Hamilton—Message of the President to Congress—Publication of Despatches from France—Preparations for War—Washington at the Head of the Army—The New Military Appointments—Measures of Defence in America—Opposition by Jefferson—Popular Rage against France—Ambition of Hamilton—Project with regard to Spanish America—Adams's Disapproval—Efforts for Peace—War Faction in the Cabinet—Disagreements between the President and his Ministers—Opening of Congress in December, 1798—Negotiations with France through Holland—Intrigues and Difficulties—Appointment of New Envoys to France—Procrastination of the Government—The President Triumphant—Prospects of Peace—Death of Washington.

GREAT was the effect of Washington's Address on the people of America. The State Legislatures, as soon as they assembled, voted thanks to the President, expressing their cordial approbation of his

conduct during the eight years in which he had filled the office of Chief Magistrate, and their deep regret that the nation was to be deprived of his services. In some States, the document was printed and published with the laws, by order of the Legislatures, in order that it might, in succeeding ages, be regarded as a classic text-book in all the leading principles of government. Congress was not sitting when the Address was published; but it sat again in December, when Washington met the two Houses for the last time. He delivered to them a speech, in which he reviewed the general condition of the country, recapitulated the acts of the year just terminating, and recommended to the consideration of members certain measures which he regarded as important. A gradual increase of the navy, a provision for the encouragement of agriculture (in which Washington always took great interest), the establishment of a national University, and the institution of a military Academy, were the topics on which the retiring President mainly insisted; and he concluded his speech by congratulating his auditors and the country on the success which had attended their experiment in self-government, and by fervent supplications that the virtue and happiness of the people might be preserved, and their constitution be rendered perpetual.

The session was distinguished by but little business of importance. The approaching elections to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency stood in the way of other matters, and agitated the thoughts of men by the contention of great principles. It was a struggle between the Federalists and the Democrats; between the English and the French parties; between those who desired above all things to maintain a strong central Government, and those to whom nothing was so dear as the rights of the individual States, and the limitation of authority. On the one side stood John Adams; on the other, Thomas Jefferson. These eminent statesmen may be described as the fathers of their respective parties—the founders of two sets of opinions which have powerfully influenced the whole succeeding course of American history. Their differences led to a personal alienation during the middle period of their lives. But two men who had so earnestly prepared the way for the American Revolution—who had shared in the production of the Declaration of Independence, and had watched the cradle of the infant Republic—were not likely to be permanently mistaken as to each other's motives; and at a later date their mutual esteem arose once more, serene and fair, above the mists of party. In truth, no reason existed why they should not always have respected one another, as main props of that political edifice which they had helped to rear. Their differences were not essential. They parted rather on the details than on the fundamentals of civil rule. Both were Republicans; both were for basing the administration on the consent of the governed; both regarded America as the great example of a free commonwealth, destined to exercise a regenerating effect on the older States of the world. But Jefferson's principles took a French colour; Adams's retained a hue which spoke their English origin. Jefferson dreaded lest the rising interests of freedom in his native land should be compromised by too great a concentration of power in the hands of Government officials; Adams feared that individual liberty might be carried so far as to endanger the right of the community to defend its corporate existence against the attacks of faction and of anarchy. Each of these sentiments was in itself legitimate and just; and it may safely be said that neither can be dispensed with in a well-governed State. It is the evenly-adjusted balance of these distinct yet not really opposing interests which constitutes the security and happiness of all the best political conditions, whether Monarchical or Republican. We may admit, without serious detriment to their fame, that both Adams and Jefferson carried their partizanship too far. Neither sufficiently recognised the truth which the other embodied; each was too apt to consider his own hemisphere the complete orb. But at the bottom of the minds of both was the same general idea—the granite of an unshaken faith in the people and in America.

In the contest now about to ensue, the Democrats had one clear advantage over the Federalists. Their allegiance was given entirely to one man, whereas their opponents were divided in their regards among divers candidates. Several influential leaders in the Northern and Eastern States were desirous of returning Alexander Hamilton; others were inclined to support John Jay; but to the greater number John Adams seemed the fittest person for filling the Presidential office. Hamilton was considered, even by many of the Federalists, too much inclined towards England, and Jay had rendered himself unpopular by his recent treaty with Great Britain. The contest, therefore, seemed likely to narrow itself into a struggle between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But, even after it had been generally determined to support Adams's claims, an attempt was made to divide the ranks of the Federalists by starting another candidate. The idea is said to have originated with Hamilton, and to have been carried on through his political

friends.* Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was the person thus put forward. He was not very widely known, nor usually supposed to be a member of the party to which Adams and Hamilton belonged. No one had ever thought of him previously as a successor to Washington, and his candidature took most people by surprise. Such a scheme could only have succeeded by some clever and underhand contrivance; but in fact it failed. Pinckney did not even obtain the second place; the aggregate number of votes given to him was only fifty-nine, and the plot, for such it seems to have been, came to nothing. Adams enjoyed the confidence of many in the Northern States; even among the Southern, he was not entirely devoid of friends and believers; and Jefferson himself observed that he was the only sure barrier against Hamilton's getting in.

The election was a very close one. The votes received by Adams were seventy-one, which was one more than the requisite number. Jefferson stood only three votes lower, and therefore became Vice-President. Although Adams was thus successful, the narrowness of his majority (and that it was a majority at all was due to a few unexpected votes from the South) showed how strong a party existed against the opinions which he embodied. He called himself the President of three votes, and felt that his position was insecure, or at least extremely difficult. Yet he determined to bate not one jot in vindication of his opinions. He was eminently a man of courage—one whose faculties were always called forth in the highest degree by the ardour of conflict. "John Adams," he wrote of himself, in a letter to his wife, "must be an intrepid to encounter the open assaults of France, and the secret plots of England, in concert with all his treacherous friends and open enemies in his own country; yet, I assure you, he never felt more serene in his life." One omen of the difficulties he would have to encounter was seen during the progress of the election. The representative of France, hoping to influence the result in a manner favourable to the claims of his country, caused the publication of a note, addressed to the Secretary of State, in which he recapitulated all the grounds of complaint alleged by his Government against the Federal Administration. This interference of a foreigner with the working of American institutions was not likely to produce any serious effect; but it showed what was to be anticipated from the animosity of France, should Adams succeed in his candidature.

* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 9.

The French difficulty was in fact the earliest trouble which Adams was called on to encounter. Washington, who had always been regarded as a mediator between extreme views, was now removed from the political scene. On the 4th of March, 1797, the President-elect took the oath of office, and commenced his duties. The ceremony was performed in the Hall of the House of Representatives, but without any distinctive circumstances. In his inaugural speech, Adams made it sufficiently clear that his alleged preference for a monarchy had no foundation in fact, and it was generally admitted that his statement of principles was satisfactory. Washington was present as a spectator and auditor, and afterwards dined with the chief citizens of Philadelphia at a splendid entertainment, to which were invited foreign Ministers, the heads of departments, officers of rank, and other distinguished persons. A spacious rotunda was fitted up for the occasion, the walls of which were decorated with emblematical paintings, fanciful devices, and a landscape representing Mount Vernon and the scenery around it. The remainder of Washington's life, excepting when he was again called to the head of the army, was passed in the pursuit of agriculture, which was perhaps the most absorbing passion of his nature.

Before the elevation of Adams to the chief dignity, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the new American Minister in France, had been ordered to leave that country by the Directory, which indeed refused to recognise his credentials. Matters had thus reached a very perilous stage as between the two Republics, and it is probable that even Jefferson, had he been President, would have been compelled to vindicate the dignity of his nation by resisting, whether in a greater or a less degree, the insolence and aggressiveness of France. Such a course was obviously all the more probable under the rule of Adams; yet his first steps did not show any desire to take up an extreme position. He adopted as his own the Cabinet Council left by his predecessor. Thus, he had Timothy Pickering for his Secretary of State; Oliver Wolcott for Secretary of the Treasury; James McHenry for Secretary of War; and Charles Lee as Attorney-General. It was therefore to be presumed that the former lines of policy would be continued, unless necessarily modified by a new development of events. But the conduct of France soon made it evident that very decided means must be taken for upholding the honour of the United States. Not only was Pinckney dismissed by the Directory, but it was intimated that no other Minister from America would be received until that Power had fully complied with the demands made

by the French Republic. As if even this were not enough, Monroe, the former Envoy, was addressed, at his taking leave, in a long and violent tirade, which fell little short of a declaration of war. Once more the favourite threat of appealing from the Government to the people of the United States was hurled at the Federation. To have tolerated such acts would have been an abnegation of power on the part of that Government. President Adams was not the man to make this abnegation, and he accordingly convened an extraordinary session of Congress on the 15th of May, and laid before the two Houses the despatches recently received from Paris. Even then, however, a disposition was shown to adopt conciliatory measures, if such were compatible with the national honour. In the month of July, the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed two Envoys to proceed to France, and endeavour, in conjunction with Pinckney, to adjust existing difficulties. On arriving there, these officials saw M. Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but were informed by him that they could not be received by the Directory. They were allowed, however, to remain in Paris, and informal negotiations were carried on with them. The profits made by the seizure of American prizes, in which the Government shared, were so large as to create a strong feeling against relinquishing that lucrative business. The French Government, through its agents, haggled for money in a way that was simply despicable. Talleyrand demanded a *douceur* of fifty thousand pounds for himself and others, besides a loan from America to France. The demand was resisted with just disdain; and Pinckney, on one occasion, exclaimed, in a sentence which has since become famous in America, "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute!" The greed of the Directory being thus disappointed, two of the Federalist Envoys were ordered out of the country, while the third, Mr. Elbridge Gerry, was allowed to remain, because he belonged to the party which sympathised with French views. Gerry soon found it necessary to return home, and was for awhile severely censured by his countrymen for prolonging his stay.

At the time that this mission was resolved on, laws were passed for preparing against the eventuality of war, should the worst ensue. The President was authorised, whenever he should consider it necessary, to detach eighty thousand men from the militia of the United States; to make provision for an increase of the navy; and to augment the national revenues. But nothing definite was yet determined on, and all parties were equally reluctant to take the responsibility of so perilous a step as entering the field against France. Still, it was necessary to look possibilities in the face, and on the 24th of January, 1798, Adams, anticipating that the mission of the three Envoys would end in failure, addressed to the members of his Cabinet a letter, requesting their views of the course proper to be taken in such a contingency. He asked whether there should be a declaration of war or an embargo, and whether any change should be sought in the relations of the country with other European Powers, especially with Great Britain. The only member of the Government who, in answer to these queries, distinctly recommended a declaration of war, was the Attorney-General, Lee. The Secretary of State, Colonel Pickering, was disposed to solicit an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain, but does not appear to have made any suggestion of this nature to the President, by whom, had he done so, it would probably have been rejected. The War Secretary, Mr. McHenry, was in favour of preparation for hostilities upon a very extensive scale, and of conferring on the President, as regards the creation of a navy, powers which would, in truth, have been dictatorial. In these suggestions he was countenanced, if not prompted, by Hamilton, who appears to have been much consulted by some of the Ministers, and to have exercised over them a secret and irregular influence. McHenry deprecated a formal alliance with Great Britain, but recommended that overtures should be made, through Mr. King, the American Minister in England, to obtain a loan, the aid of convoys, and perhaps the transfer of ten ships of the line, should Congress give the authority to obtain so many; and he proposed that, in case of a rupture with France, facilities should be given to Great Britain for conquering the Floridas, Louisiana, and Spanish South America, on the understanding that all the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, together with the port of New Orleans, should be allotted to the United States. Such an alliance would have been in the highest degree imprudent from any point of view consistent with American interests. To have concluded a treaty with England, such as would have given her military power within the dominions of the United States, would have been to run great danger of an attempt by the mother country to re-establish her rule over those who were formerly her colonists. Adams would certainly have been one of the last men to accept such a suggestion; for, although denounced by the Democrats as a slave to the English alliance, he was considered by the more extreme section of the Federalists as wanting in hearty devotion to that cause.

Somewhat later in the year, when intelligence

had been received as to the treatment of the Envoys in Paris, Adams submitted to his advisers these two questions:—"1. Should all the particulars be disclosed at once to Congress? 2. Should the President recommend a declaration of war?" Lee counselled delay; McHenry referred to his former reply; and the other Secretaries, as before, answered not at all. Adams accordingly adopted the draft of a message prepared by Oliver Wolcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, which, without proposing any new measures, repeated former exhortations to prepare for protection and defence. This message was sent to both Houses on the 19th of March. It contained a paragraph, written by Adams himself, which said:—"The present state of things is so essentially different from that in which instructions were given to collectors to restrain vessels of the United States from sailing in an armed condition, that the principle on which those orders were issued has ceased to exist. I therefore deem it proper to inform Congress that I no longer conceive myself justifiable in continuing them, unless in particular cases, where there may be reasonable ground of suspicion that such vessels are intended to be employed contrary to law." The despatches were withheld, with one exception. That which contained a notification that the Directory had determined to forfeit all neutral ships covering any English productions, and had closed French ports even against those which had touched at any English port in their voyage, it was considered proper to communicate. The others were kept in reserve until the Envoys should be safe beyond the clutches of the French authorities. It was resolved, however, by the House of Representatives to demand their immediate production, and they were issued next day, the 3rd of April. The effect was prodigious. War seemed inevitable, and preparations were made for conducting it with vigour. In May, an army was voted, consisting of twelve new regiments, with Engineer and Artillery corps. To command this force, Washington was again summoned from his beloved retirement, and, as might have been expected of him, at once obeyed the call. He consented to occupy the position, however, only on the understanding that Alexander Hamilton should be the acting Commander-in-Chief; alleging that his years were now too many to do more than give general directions from a distance, unless his presence should be required by the urgency of circumstances. He also stipulated that the principal officers should be such as he approved; and, as on previous occasions, he declined to receive any part of the emoluments attached to his office, except as a reimbursement of sums he might himself lay out. Any assistance he could give, in arranging and organising the army, he professed his willingness to render; and, in point of fact, a large part of his time to the end of his life—now not very distant—was taken up with the administration of the new force which it was found necessary to create. The views of Washington on the existing state of affairs were conveyed by him in a letter to Adams shortly before his appointment to the chief command. "The uncertainty of the event," he observed, "creates my embarrassment; for I cannot fairly bring my mind to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country after such an uniform and unequivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes." It is plain, however, that the French rulers were greatly deceived as to the true state of opinion in America. They had inferred, from the general policy of the Democratic party, from the expressions of men like Jefferson, and from the extravagant opposition shown to the British treaty, that the people were in antagonism to their Government, and would not support a war with France. This impression was at the bottom of their repeated menaces to carry their appeal from the Administration to the populace. But they must by this time have discovered the egregious nature of their mistake; and their own acts had certainly been of a character to destroy whatever sympathy with the Red Republic had before existed on the western shores of the Atlantic.

Some difficulty was felt in selecting the principal officers of the new army. Many of those who had served during the Revolution were desirous of reappointment; and it became a question whether their former rank should be admitted or denied. Washington inclined to the opinion that no regard should be paid to previous rank, but that the best men should in every instance be selected, without reference to other considerations; and this opinion was at length held to be valid. For the office of Inspector-General, and as his two Major-Generals, he proposed Alexander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Henry Knox. These appointments were made as Washington desired; but General Knox was displeased with the arrangement, and believed that, as an older officer than either of the others, he had a claim to the post of Inspector-General. This, indeed, was the choice that Adams himself would have made; but he deferred to the judgment of Washington, who seems in this matter to have been unduly influenced by the military

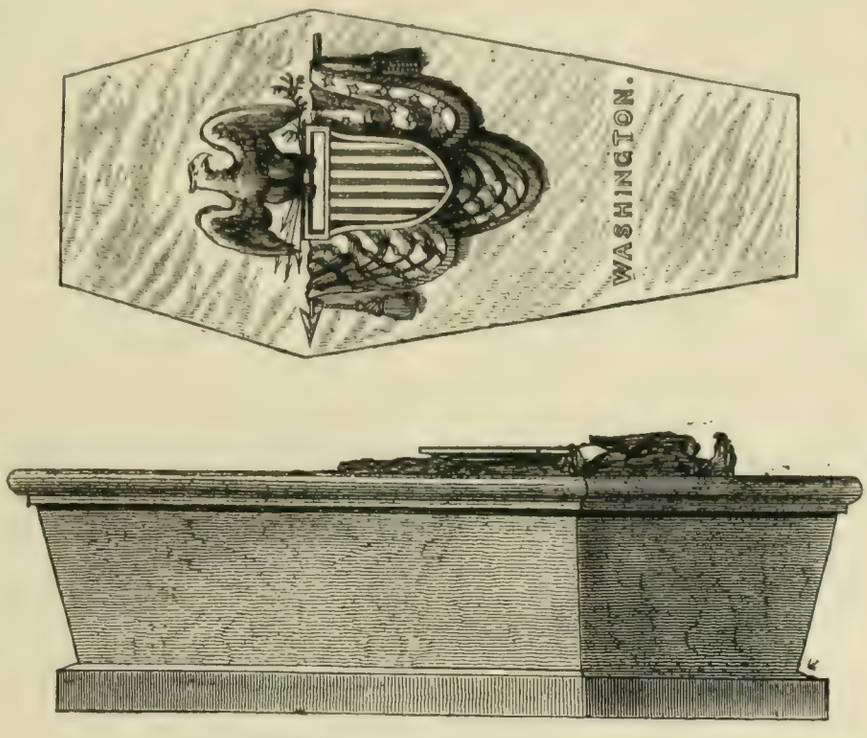


WASHINGTON ON HIS DEATH-BED.

ambition of Hamilton, even to the extent of threatening to resign at once if his demands were not fully complied with—an instance of peremptoriness singularly out of keeping with the usual tenor of Washington's life. The Commander-in-Chief now engaged in unremitting correspondence with the Secretary of War, the Major-Generals, and other officers, to whom he communicated instructions derived from his own long experience and active service. A month was passed by him at Philadelphia, where he was engaged with Generals Hamilton and Pinckney in making arrangements for the raising, organising, and equipping of the forces.

Amongst other measures made necessary by impending war, were the creation of a naval armament, the opening of another Department of State — that of the Navy, with a seat in the Cabinet—a land-tax, an Alien Bill (passed for getting rid of the celebrated author Volney, Collot, and other French emissaries), and a Sedition Bill, which excited great indignation in the minds of the Democrats. Communication with the offending country was prohibited; orders were issued for capturing any of her vessels that appeared off the coast; and the treaty of alliance with France was declared void, together with all other treaties concluded with that Power. At the close of a message to Congress, transmitted on the 21st of June, Adams said:—"I will never send another Minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured, as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." The measures which his Government sanctioned were bitterly condemned by the opposite faction for unnecessary severity towards France. Jefferson, making special reference to the withdrawal of the prohibition on merchant-ships to go armed, characterised the President's message in which this was announced as "insane." On Adams's elevation to the Presidency, Jefferson had professed his satisfaction at the high functions of the first office having been confided to such capable hands; but he does not appear to have afforded any support to the rival who had been placed above his head.

The publication of the papers, giving an account of the recent mission to France and its results, excited in many quarters the most vehement anger against the Government of France. Even Jefferson saw that the sense of indignation had too valid an excuse to be easily removed or safely resisted, however much he might carp at the measures adopted by Government. The return of the Commissioners increased this emotion to an incalculable degree. It is doubtful if England herself was ever held in such popular abhorrence in America as was that country which had long been the idol of the people, their refuge in war, and their model of noble endeavours in the field of political action. The great difficulty of Adams at this time was to moderate the popular fury, and restrain it within the bounds of prudence. He desired nothing more than a defensive war; the fiery spirit of Hamilton would have been contented with nothing less than a war of offence. The latter statesman contemplated the ultimate establishment of an army of fifty thousand men, and it would appear that he wished that army to be permanent, and to be used in the furtherance of ambitious views. Hamilton had in fact connected himself with an immense project for revolutionising South America. The plan had been conceived in the previous year by Francisco de Miranda, a Spanish-American General, who had for some time fought on the side of the French Republicans, but who, having had a quarrel with the Directory, was now in London, awaiting the decision of the Premier, William Pitt, as to the degree of assistance which Great Britain



WASHINGTON'S SARCOPHAGUS, MOUNT VERNON.

would be willing to render to his scheme. It was a part of Miranda's plan that England should supply some twenty ships, together with money and men, and that the United States should furnish seven thousand troops, to be maintained throughout the war, whatever its duration. While the negotiation was proceeding, Hamilton was in confidential communication with Miranda. He desired that all the troops should be supplied by the United States, an arrangement which was accepted by the projector; and the command of the troops so supplied was to be bestowed upon himself. This seems to have been the reason why Hamilton urged the creation of so large a military force, and obtained for himself what was virtually the principal military position in the country. The design, however, wonld have involved a gross breach of faith, for the United States had no quarrel with Spain, and could only have attacked her with the licence of a pirate. The countries of South America thus conquered were to be made independent "under a moderate Government, with the joint guarantee of the co-operating Powers, stipulating equal privileges in commerce." Such, at least, is the statement made by Hamilton in a letter to Rufus King, at London. Hamilton was haunted by fears of a social revolution, and his hope of escape from that danger was in giving to the United States the character of a military Power, and possibly in the ultimate establishment of a form of Government very different from that which then existed.

The enthusiastic and almost universal feeling in favour of resisting France was a great support to Adams in the difficult task with which he now had to deal. Addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, expressing the utmost satisfaction at the decided yet moderate stand which he had taken. The effect of this outburst of national spirit was felt no less in France than in America. The Directory saw that they must retreat from the position which they had so rashly taken up. They disavowed the agents who had made proposals for bribes and subsidies, and threw out suggestions indicating a disposition to come to some amicable arrangement. When intelligence of this altered disposition at Paris reached America, the President was passing the summer recess in his farm at Quincy. His mind was at that time greatly distracted by domestic anxiety; for Mrs. Adams, the cherished companion of his life, on whose counsel and sympathy he had relied for many years, was so seriously ill that for a time her recovery seemed extremely doubtful. Under these distressing circumstances, he had to resist the insolence of a foreign country, to direct the fortunes of his own, and to act against the plots and counter-plots of those who would have imposed their will on his. It was at that moment that a letter from Francisco de Miranda reached the President. This communication stated that the South American project had been listened to by Great Britain with some favour, and the co-operation of the American Government was solicited. Adams was not then aware that Miranda's Utopian plan had the support of Hamilton, nor that it was favoured by members of his own Administration. His estimate of the project, however, would probably have been the same in any case. As it was, he wrote to the Secretary of State:—"We are friends with Spain. If we were enemies, would the project be useful to us? It will not be in character for me to answer the letter [viz., Miranda's]. Will any notice of it, in any manner, be proper?" The Secretary of State, Pickering, who is believed to have been one of those who desired to promote the scheme, made no answer to the questions thus put to him, and the whole matter came to an end.

It was on the 1st of October, 1798, that Elbridge Gerry arrived from Paris. The first expression of popular dissatisfaction with that Envoy, for remaining in France after his colleagues had departed, was in time greatly modified by the intelligence which he brought, pointing to a desire on the part of the French Directory to retrace their steps. A few days after the return of Gerry, Adams received from Mr. Murray, the Minister of the United States in Holland, a letter revealing the uneasiness of France at the prospect of an alliance between Great Britain and some of the other countries with which she was at issue. It therefore appeared to Adams that the calamity of war might yet be averted. On the 20th of October he wrote to Colonel Pickering, reminding him of the approach of the next session of Congress, and expounding certain general ideas which he conceived should be maturely considered, and, as soon as possible, submitted to the judgment of the other Cabinet Ministers. The two main points for consultation were—first, whether it would be expedient for the President to recommend a declaration of war with France; secondly, whether any further proposals of negotiation could be made with safety, or any new Envoy named, who might be prepared to embark at once, in case assurances should be given that he would be received. No answer was returned to either of these questions. The Cabinet, influenced by Hamilton, were opposed to Adams, and resolved on over-ruling his policy whenever they could. They considered that he was not sufficiently

zealous in resisting the arrogance of France, and they determined, if possible, to force on a war between that country and America. A council of their supporters, including Washington, Hamilton, and Pinckney, was accordingly summoned, and at this meeting a draft was prepared for the use of Adams in his opening speech.

The President arrived in Philadelphia from his country house about the end of November. Shortly afterwards he met the members of his Cabinet, and put to them the two questions contained in his letter of the 20th of October, to which no reply had yet been given. It was evident that Adams was disinclined to a declaration of war, and, although most members of the Government had formed a different view, it was resolved to omit the subject altogether from the speech to Congress at the approaching session. As regards the renewal of negotiations with France, Adams was willing to make such an attempt, though not without some manifestation by that Power of a sincere desire to re-establish the old friendly relations. For his opening speech he prepared a paragraph on the subject, which explicitly declared the President's disposition to send a Minister to Paris, or to receive one from the Directory, whenever assurances should be given that any representative of the United States would be met in a becoming manner. The paragraph was not sanctioned by the Cabinet, who now brought forward the draft to which allusion has been made, and which in the main was accepted by the President. He demurred, however, to a clause so constructed as to shut him out from sending a mission to France, even should there be signs of a more pacific disposition on her part, unless she should in the first instance send an Envoy to America. The President had hitherto been over-matched by his Cabinet. They represented opinions more extreme than his own, and they had been enabled to force those opinions on their unwilling chief. But Adams now resolved to submit no longer to this dictation. Several members of the Government insisted with great warmth on the adoption of the passage; Adams as resolutely refused. He was determined to introduce some modification into the objectionable phrases; and in the end he succeeded. The paragraph, as it stands in the speech actually pronounced, ran as follows:—

"But, in demonstrating by our conduct that we do not fear war in the necessary protection of our rights and honour, we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire of peace. An official preparation for war can alone insure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated; and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another Minister without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit. It must, therefore, be left to France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will respect the sacred rights of embassy. And, with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore inflicted on our commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, I give a pledge to France and to the world that the executive authority of this country still adheres to the humane and pacific policy which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the other branches of the Government, and of the people of the United States. But, considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion that, whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable. These alone will give us an equal treaty, and insure its observance."

The Speech was delivered in Congress on the 8th of December, in the presence of Generals Washington, Hamilton, and Pinckney, then assembled at Philadelphia for the organisation of the army. It recommended a large extension of the navy, so that the coasts might be watched, the national trade be protected, and the safe transportation of troops and stores be secured. The policy of the President, however, continued to meet with great resistance. An attempt was made by some members of Congress to bring on a declaration of war; but the attempt resulted in failure. At the commencement of 1799, the President and his Ministers were hopelessly at issue, and the latter omitted no opportunity of defeating or embarrassing the plans of the former. The feeling of the country, except in a few circles, was much in favour of war. France had as yet given but slight indications of a desire to adopt more conciliatory measures, and there was every probability that a collision would be precipitated, and all the evils of a disastrous struggle be forced on a country which had not yet recovered from the effect of former contests. The position of Adams suffered from the difficulties which naturally belong to

moderation. The President was not loved by either of the contending parties, since he held aloof from the exaggerations of both. He was disliked by the Democrats, because he would not be the servant of France; he was equally disliked by the Ultra-Federalists, because he declined to rush headlong into a wild crusade against the Directory and its principles. Nothing, however, was more conspicuous in Adams than strength of will. Although Congress was not heartily in his favour, and his own Ministers were very much against him, he persevered in his views—a course wherein he was greatly encouraged by a communication received from Mr. Murray, in Holland, the tendency of which was to show that the French had really become more pacific in their ideas. The Dutch had made an offer of mediation, and, on the 21st of January, the terms of the Directory's answer to this offer reached the American President. It was there stated that the French had already clearly intimated at Philadelphia their hearty desire for reconciliation, and the Government of the United States was charged with the consequences if it should persist in manifesting an implacable spirit.

Adams saw that the effect of these French statements, as soon as they became public, would be to increase the desire for peace on the part of the Democrats, and to give them the power of saying that it was America which held back from a friendly arrangement. Ten days later came a letter from Mr. Murray, containing particulars of his interviews with M. Pichon, the French Agent at the Hague, respecting the nature of the assurances required by the President in his message of the 21st of June, 1798. Talleyrand had addressed a despatch to M. Pichon, in which he reiterated the profession of a desire to come to a good understanding with America, and, adopting the very words used by the President on the 21st of June, had promised that a new Envoy, if sent, would be "received as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." This gave a very decided turn to affairs in the direction of peace; yet Adams, knowing the warlike tendencies of his advisers, hesitated as to calling them together with a proposal for new attempts at negotiation. The course which he adopted was to send a communication to the Senate, nominating Mr. Murray, then Minister at the Hague, as Minister to France. In bringing forward his recommendation, he provided that no advance should be made beyond that appointment, until further assurances had been given by France, of such a nature as the dignity of the United States required. The Senate was much agitated by this message. The Federalists feared that their opportunity for forcing a war had passed; the Democrats affected to think that the President had kept back Talleyrand's letter, in order to let the war-measures go on. After two days' delay, the nomination of Mr. Murray was referred to a committee of five persons, all of them Federalists. The members of that committee determined to visit the President personally, and to obtain from him, if they could, such modifications of the proposed measure as would have been equivalent to its destruction. Adams, however, told them that he would neither withdraw nor alter the nomination. The committee, as extreme Federalists, and therefore desirous of a war with France, were of course disinclined to send any mission at all; but, finding that they could not induce the President to abandon his plan, they proceeded to make objections to the particular diplomatist who had been selected. Adams replied that, should the Senate think proper to decide against Mr. Murray, he might then propose to join with him two other individuals. On the following morning, he nominated Oliver Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia, as fellow-commissioners with Mr. Murray; thus anticipating any further action on the part of the Senate.

The news of these appointments was received, as might be supposed, with very opposite feelings by the two parties into which the country was divided. Jefferson, as the head of those who admired French institutions, declared that the nomination silenced all arguments against the sincerity of France, and rendered desperate every further effort towards war. To Mr. Hamilton and his friends, the act of Adams seemed nothing less than a dishonest desertion of the policy which they believed to be necessary to the honour and safety of the Federation. Men of more moderate and less factious habits, however, saw the wisdom of the President's course, and upheld him in his endeavours, at once to save the reputation of the country, and to avoid the dangers of war. The carrying out of the proposed plan did not prove a very easy task. Patrick Henry, while agreeing in the advisability of sending Envoys, was unable to take his place in the Embassy, and Governor Davie, of North Carolina, was substituted for him. The Opposition adopted every means of delaying the preliminaries, in the hope that matters might yet assume a different complexion. In this they were aided by a piece of imprudence on the part of Adams. He left Philadelphia for the summer recess, after maturing with his Cabinet

the points fixed upon as *ultimata*, in case the negotiations with France should be renewed, and after preparing certain papers necessary to the vindication of the direct tax recently imposed for defraying the additional expenses incurred by the preparations for war. It would have been wiser to remain at his post, since he well knew that he had unwilling subordinates. In the absence of the President, every kind of procrastination ensued. On the 6th of March, Mr. Murray was informed that a distinct pledge must be obtained from the French Foreign Minister, that the Envoys should be received and treated with due respect; and that no indirect unofficial communication would be permitted, nor any variation of the designated policy be listened to, unless the Directory should themselves prefer to send a Minister to Philadelphia. These instructions did not reach Murray until May. Talleyrand repeated the assurances previously given, and complained of the delays which were now being unnecessarily made. The French Minister's note arrived in America on the 30th of July. Adams then urged upon the heads of Departments the propriety of completing all arrangements for the Commission with the utmost despatch. They acted, nevertheless, with elaborate slowness, in the manifest hope of defeating the attempt at peace. Indeed, the plot at length became so serious, that Mr. Stoddert, the Secretary of the Navy, wrote to Adams that his presence was absolutely necessary at Trenton, whither the public offices had been temporarily transferred, in consequence of an outbreak of yellow fever at Philadelphia. The Cabinet, it appeared, had been discussing the advisability of suspending the mission for some time. This idea was suggested by intelligence recently received from Paris, announcing that the rule of the Directory was at an end, that Talleyrand and many of the other Ministers had resigned, and that there were strong probabilities of the Jacobins being restored to power. The altered condition of affairs in France offered a valid excuse for re-considering the course which had been adopted so many months before; and the President himself saw that it would be reasonable to suspend the mission for awhile, until the result of the new revolution should be ascertained.

Adams arrived at Trenton on the 10th of October, and at once met the members of his Cabinet. Nothing was then decided; but the war-party soon obtained an accession of strength by the news of British and Russian successes over the French. It was thought by many that the French Republic would soon be at an end, and the Bourbons reinstated in power. The defeat of the contemplated mission was now regarded as almost certain by the war party; but they were in fact on the eve of a great reverse. On the evening of the 15th of October, Adams summoned his Cabinet to a meeting. When its members had assembled, the President laid before them the draft of instructions to the Commissioners which had been prepared by the Secretary of State. After a long discussion, this document met the unanimous approval of the Ministers. The Cabinet Council broke up about eleven o'clock at night, believing that the great struggle, as to whether the Commission should be sent at all, was only postponed until the next day. Very early on the following morning, however, two of their number received from the President a brief direction in writing, that the papers agreed upon for the use of the Commissioners should be forthwith made out, and that the frigate *United States* should be put in readiness to receive them, and set sail for France on or before the 1st of November.* On the 5th of that month the Commissioners started for Europe, and the ultimate result of their negotiations was to re-establish peace between the two countries.

But, almost before they could commence their duties, the head of the American army, and, taken altogether, the greatest character of that epoch and nation, had attained his final rest. A neglected cold had caused the death of Washington, on the 14th of December, 1799, after little more than a day's illness. He expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in his beloved house at Mount Vernon, surrounded by that quiet and that domestic affection which he coveted above all things, and which came as a sacred solace and conclusion to a life of turmoil, danger, and contest. It may be said of him, as of many other great men, that his work was finished before he himself departed. Had he lived longer, he would perhaps have added nothing to his fame. He had helped to free his nation; he had lived to organise the political constitution of his country; he had added eight years of wise administration to eight of sterner service, and to a long career of preparation for the one great task. It would be difficult to imagine how anything more could have been placed upon the record, worthy of that which had already been accomplished. With men of special greatness, death is the completion and consecration of the full magnificence of their lives; and such, it may be said, was the case with Washington. The popular grief at

* In this narrative of the events of Mr. Adams's Admistration, great use has been made of the Life of that statesman, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, which was published at Boston, U.S., in 1856, and which, as regards many matters, was based on information not previously given to the world.

his loss was universal and profound. It did not even cease with America, but was reflected from the greatest natures in other countries also. When the fact became known in France, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, issued to the army, on the 9th of February, 1800, the following order of the day:—"Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberties of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all free men of the two worlds; and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have combated for liberty and equality." It was directed that black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the French Republic for ten days. Splendid military ceremonies took place in the Champ de Mars, and a funeral oration was pronounced in the Hôtel des Invalides, at which the civil and military authorities of the capital were present. But a yet grander testimony, because of the generous sentiment it embodied, was rendered by the Power with which Washington had so long been at war. A British fleet lying at Torbay lowered its flags half-mast on receipt of the intelligence. The bitter contest was now at an end, and it was not for England to refuse her recognition of that lofty spirit which had conducted America to independence.



WASHINGTON'S GRAVE, MOUNT VERNON.



VIEW OF WASHINGTON FROM THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Reaction against the War-Party—Effect of the Death of Washington—Honours paid to his Memory—Designs of Hamilton's Friends—Changes in Adams's Cabinet—Foes in the Government—The Alien and Sedition Laws—Their Unpopularity, and Eventual Repeal—Insurrectionary Movement in Pennsylvania—The Case of John Fries—Naval Actions between the French and Americans—Conclusion of a Treaty between the United States and France—Its Leading Provisions—Removal of the Federal Government to the City of Washington—The Approaching Election for President—Intrigues against Adams—Designs of Alexander Hamilton—Treacherous Conduct of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury—Publication by Hamilton of his Letter concerning the Conduct of Adams—Effect of the Pamphlet in dividing the Federal Party—The Success of Jefferson rendered almost certain—Final Acts of Adams—Opening of the Second Session of the Sixth Congress—Election of Jefferson as President, and of Aaron Burr as Vice-President—Departure of Adams from the Seat of Government—The Census of 1800.

With the despatch of the commissioners to France, a reaction against the extreme war-party set in. In the House of Representatives, the moderate Federalists, coming in the main from the Southern and Middle States, were attaining a preponderance, under the leadership of John Marshall, of Virginia, who not long afterwards became Chief Justice of the United States. The violence of the Senate, however, knew no abatement, and in that assembly the President's address at the opening of the next session of Congress was very coldly received. The speech was short, and, as regarded the state of affairs between America and France, simply recommended, in earnest terms, a perseverance in defensive measures pending the negotiations. For a time, the fervour of party conflict was suspended by the national grief at the loss of Washington, and by the agreement of all sections to do honour to the memory of that first of American citizens. On receipt of the intelligence, Congress immediately adjourned, and the House of Representatives, on assembling the next day, resolved that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, that the members should wear black during the rest of the session, and that a committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable method of paying homage to so great a man. The Senate addressed a letter of condolence to the President, in which they said:—

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory." Adams, in his reply to this address, observed:—"In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity; with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy. The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of Royalty could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal."

In accordance with the resolve of Congress, a funeral procession started, on the 26th of December, from the Legislative Hall to the German Lutheran church in Philadelphia, where an oration was spoken by General Lee, one of the most intimate of Washington's friends. Other funeral addresses were delivered in various parts of the Union, and the people wore crape on their left arm for thirty days. Never was a public man more generally and more sincerely mourned, and to our own time Washington retains in the hearts of his countrymen a position almost analogous with that of the semi-mythical heroes of antiquity in the affectionate remembrance of the nations which they raised from barbarism, or rescued from the tyranny of alien foes. The friends of Alexander Hamilton had, in the early summer of 1799, appealed to Washington to put himself forward once more as a candidate for the Presidential office. The idea was to some extent, though secretly, supported by the members of Adams's Cabinet; it met with great favour in the New England States; and Gouverneur Morris, of New York, was commissioned to address to the Commander-in-Chief a specific request to this effect. Death prevented his knowing anything of the design; and it is probable that he would have refused to connect himself with it. He had done enough for duty, for fame, and for immortality, and it was not for him to stoop to the vulgar level of party intrigues.

The relations between Adams and his Ministers became every day more difficult and unsatisfactory. The latter were much under the influence of Hamilton, and that influence was not at all favourable to the President. Adams accordingly resolved, in the early part of 1800, on changing some of them, but was anticipated, as far as concerned his War Minister, by the resignation of Mr. McHenry. His place was filled by Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts; and at the same time Colonel Pickering was succeeded in the State Department by John Marshall, of Virginia—a lawyer of plain, blunt habits, but known to be well-disposed towards Adams. The change was for the better in some respects, but it set loose against the President the pent-up antagonism of Pickering and McHenry, who did not scruple to supply Hamilton with facts, derived from their recent official positions, which they thought would have the effect of damaging the Chief Magistrate in the popular estimation. Worse than this was the treachery of Oliver Wolcott, who, while retaining office as Secretary of the Treasury, and receiving the entire confidence of Adams, regularly supplied to his enemies the most confidential details of the Administration.*

The position of the President was harassed from two sides—that of the more extreme Federalists, who wanted him to make war on France, and that of the Democrats, who thought France had been opposed too much. The latter had many opportunities for enforcing their views with effect. The Alien and Sedition laws were unpopular, and were in truth of so arbitrary a character as to furnish very good texts for the Opposition to dilate upon. It does not appear that Adams had anything to do with suggesting either of these laws; they were no part of his distinctive policy; yet he was doubtless responsible for them to the extent that he did not exercise his constitutional right of veto, but suffered them to pass, and afterwards used them whenever he found it convenient. The Alien Act—which authorised the President to expel from the country any foreigner, not a citizen, who might be suspected of conspiring against the Republic, or to imprison

* Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 10.

him if he persisted in remaining — was vindicated on the ground that there were at that time more than thirty thousand Frenchmen in the United States; that these were devoted to their native country, and were for the most part bound together by clubs or in some other way; and that there were also within the limits of the Federation at least fifty thousand persons who had been subjects of Great Britain, some of whom were persons of questionable character. The Sedition Act punished with heavy fines and imprisonment those who might circulate "any false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President." If the former of these laws was justified by existing circumstances, it can hardly be said that the latter was capable of defence. It was denounced by Jefferson, and not without reason, as calculated to sap the very foundations of Republicanism: one might go farther, and say that it was out of harmony with any political system, whether Republican or Monarchical, which professes to entertain a regard for personal liberty. Undoubtedly every State has the right, when necessary, to frame and enforce the most stringent and exceptional laws; but there does not seem to have been anything in the condition of America at that period to warrant so despotic a measure as the Sedition Act, which was plainly capable of being used for party purposes, and applied to the suppression of legitimate differences of opinion. At the close of the eighteenth century, two hundred newspapers were published in the United States, of which about a hundred and seventy-five were in favour of the Federalists; the remainder, which were for the most part conducted by aliens, were imperilled by the objectionable statutes.* The Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky declared both the Sedition and the Alien Acts to be unconstitutional, and they were eventually repealed. It was a happy release to be rid of them; yet it is well known that they had the approval of Washington.

Another cause of unpopularity was found in the war-taxes imposed by Adams's Administration. These provoked an insurrectionary movement in Pennsylvania in 1798, which it was found necessary to put down by a display of military force, and which afterwards led to an awkward difference of opinion between Adams and his Ministers. One of the persons arrested as a leader in these commotions was a man named John Fries, who was tried on a charge of treason, and found guilty by the verdict of a jury. Mr. Wolcott, in communicating the fact to the President, with whom it lay to sanction or remit the sentence of death, mentioned that the counsel for the prisoner had insisted that the offence committed did not amount to treason, and had reported a remark made by Fries, that persons of greater consequence than himself had been at the bottom of the business. The President evinced a disposition to exercise his constitutional right of setting aside the verdict; his Ministers saw no reason why the law should not take its course, and conceived that an example should be made. This was in May, 1799. Subsequently, the court which had condemned Fries granted a new trial, on the ground that one of the jury was proved to have prejudged the case. The second investigation took place before another judge; but Fries was again condemned. At the same time, two other persons lay under sentence of death for similar acts. When the question again came before the President, which was in May, 1800, he directed that a pardon should be made out for all the offenders. His Ministers were annoyed at this determination; and it was broadly asserted that the act was prompted by a desire to stand well in Pennsylvania, and to propitiate the Democratic party. It is possible that political considerations did in truth influence the President in the course which he followed.

Although there had been no actual declaration of war between the United States and France, hostilities had occurred at sea, both in 1799 and 1800. In February of the former year, the American frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Commodore Truxton, and the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of forty guns, came into collision. The French frigate had previously taken the American schooner *Retaliation*; but she was now captured by the American Commodore. In a subsequent action, the same gallant officer compelled another French frigate, of fifty guns, to strike her colours; but she afterwards escaped in the night, after a loss of one hundred and sixty men in killed and wounded. The latter action took place on the 1st of February, 1800, when the disagreements between France and America were drawing towards a close. Napoleon Bonaparte had by that time seized on the supreme power. He was not at all inclined to add the American Republic to the formidable array of enemies whom he was called on to encounter; and he evinced every disposition to come to terms with the Government of the United States, provided the Commissioners appointed by Mr. Adams did not assume too arrogant a tone. Those gentlemen saw the necessity of peace, and made due recognition of

* Lossing's History of the United States.

the dignity of France. They concluded a treaty, which bears date September 30th, 1800, and which, without removing all the causes that had led to dissension, gave partial satisfaction to the people of both countries. When the documents arrived in America, the only article to which serious exception was taken was the second, by which the old treaties, giving a guarantee of mutual support in case either Power should be attacked by England—an obligation which had been the origin of the recent disagreements—were annulled, without, however, any settlement of the question of indemnity for past grievances, which was postponed to a future date. This left open a large field for possible, or even probable, quarrels at no distant time; and the Senate, in ratifying the treaty, excepted the second article, which they desired to see expunged, and at the same time suggested a provision to the effect that the agreement should be in force for eight years only. The President accepted the ratification in this form, while avowing his opinion that the treaty was better as it originally stood. When the modifications were submitted to Bonaparte, as First Consul, they received his assent, but with the addition—"Provided that by this retrenchment the two States [America and France] renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article." The effect of the proviso was unfortunate, for it took away from the Americans the right to make any claim for compensation on account of French seizures of American vessels, by which from twenty to thirty millions of dollars had been lost. On the return of the Commissioners to America, the provisional army of the United States was disbanded, and one great cause of popular dissatisfaction was destroyed. A little before the attainment of this result, a negotiation, set on foot by Mr. Marshall, the new Secretary of State, put an end to certain irritations consequent on the inability of two different commissions, under Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, to come to an understanding.

The year 1800 was also distinguished by the formation, in May, of a distinct Territorial Government for the country between the western frontier of Georgia (previously claimed by that State) and the Mississippi River, known as the Mississippi Territory; and by the removal of the Federal Government to the district of Columbia, which took place during the summer. The district of Columbia was originally a tract of country ten miles square, situated on both sides of the Potomac, about a hundred and twenty miles from its mouth, measuring by the river's course. It was ceded to the United States by Maryland and Virginia in 1790, in order that it might be made the capital of the Union. At the present day it includes the cities of Washington and Georgetown, having been curtailed of its first proportions by the retrocession to Virginia, in 1846, of all that portion which lay on the right or western bank of the Potomac, including the city of Alexandria. The city of Washington stands on a point of land between the chief river and a stream called the Eastern Branch. It was laid out in 1791, and the erection of the Capitol or Senate House, which stands on an eminence near the middle of the city, was commenced on the 18th of April, 1793, when President Washington laid the corner-stone of the north wing. Great additions have been made to this building in later times, and it is now one of the largest and finest edifices of the kind in the world. The President's official residence, known as the White House, is situated some distance westward from the Capitol, and is itself a stately mansion. The appearance of the city generally is imposing, from the great number of stone edifices of large dimensions; but, except during the sessions of Congress, it is wanting in animation, for, after all, it is only the official seat of the Federation, and possesses no independent life. The regularity of the streets, which are mostly at right angles to one another, detracts from picturesqueness, and the large spaces of open ground have obtained for this capital the title of "the City of Magnificent Distances." The Government of the district is vested solely in Congress; the inhabitants send no representatives to that body, and have no voice in the election of Federal officers. The Judiciary of Columbia consists of a Circuit Court, presided over by a Chief Judge and two Associate Judges, a Criminal Court, and an Orphans' Court. The country where the city of Washington now stands was explored in the early part of the seventeenth century by the adventurous navigator, Henry Fleet, with whose exploits our readers are familiar.*

In view of the approaching re-election to the Presidential office, all parties were now busily engaged in agitating the country. The Federalist candidates were Adams himself, who desired a renewal of his term, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; and the support of Hamilton and his friends was secretly given to the latter. Great activity prevailed in that section of the Federalist ranks, with a view to defeating the candidature of the existing President. Everything that could possibly be made to bear a character disadvantageous to the Chief Magistrate was industriously circulated, and

* See Vol. I., chap. 31, of this History.

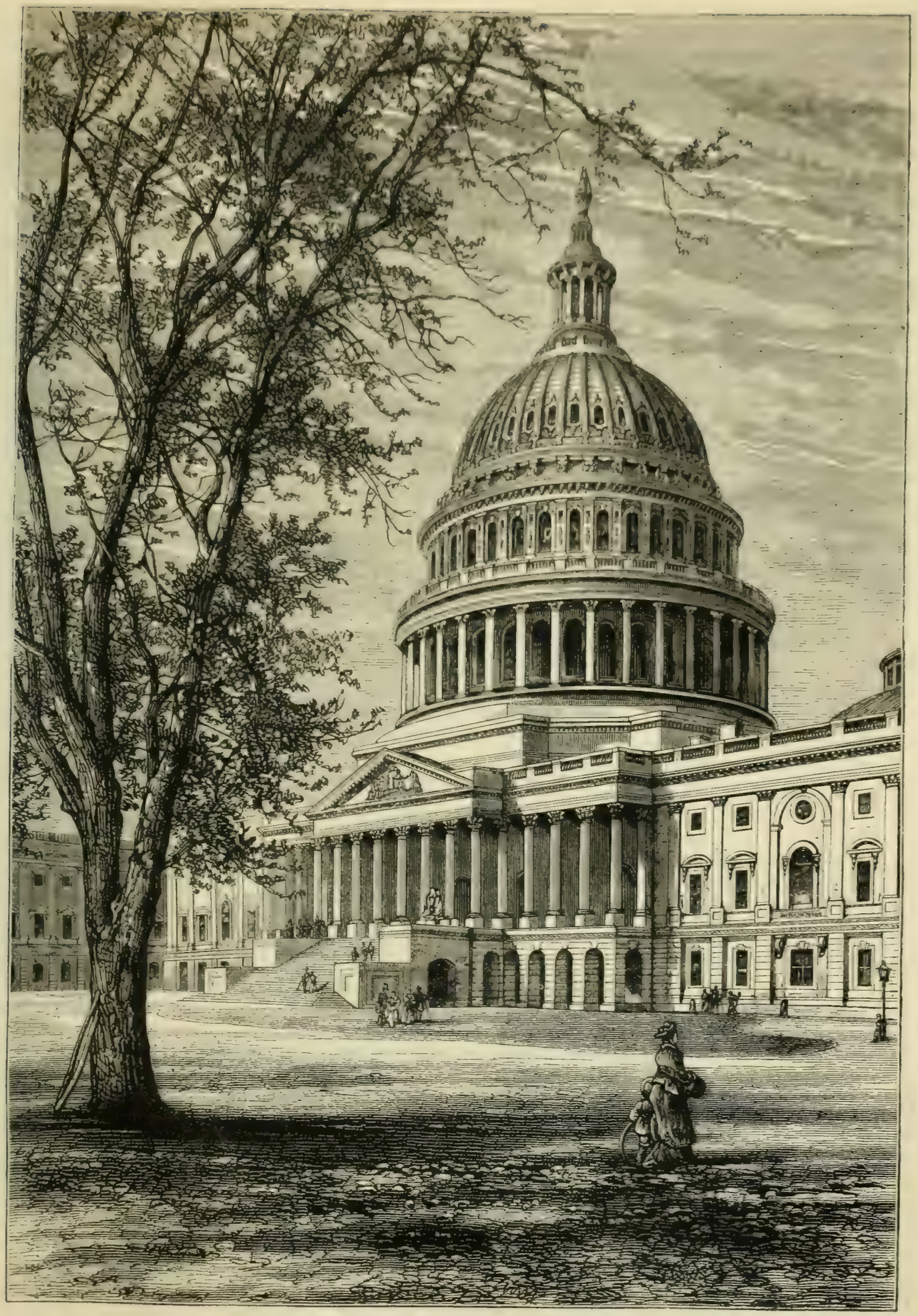
not without effect. Those who had been his confidential Ministers co-operated with others who had not stood in that relation, to decry his character for political sagacity, and even for political honesty. Their proceedings were not unknown to Adams, who alleged that his Federal enemies were inflamed against him because he had refused to lend himself to their schemes for an alliance with England, and a war against France. Hamilton had recently applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for details of confidential transactions in the Cabinet, to be communicated to those whom he described as "discreet persons." Wolcott, in replying on the 7th of July, agreed to furnish the requisite information, alleging that in his opinion it would be a disgrace to the Federal party to permit the re-election of Mr. Adams. It was also resolved by Hamilton to write to the President himself for explanations of certain remarks made by him in the course of conversation, to the effect that there was a British faction, of which he, Hamilton, was a leading member. On the 1st of August this demand was forwarded to Adams, who made no reply, considering that it would not be fit for one holding his position to enter into a merely personal altercation. Even, however, before Hamilton could have received any answer, supposing it had been thought meet to send one, he wrote to Wolcott, intimating his intention to make a public statement of his opinion of Adams. Hamilton's confidential friends —Oliver Wolcott himself, Fisher Ames, and George Cabot—were alarmed at the idea of an open attack upon the President, dreading the imputation of breach of faith to which it would expose them, since it had been agreed by the Federalists generally to support Adams and Pinckney, as alternative candidates for the chief office. They advised Hamilton, however, not to refrain from his attack, but to conduct it anonymously. Nevertheless, he determined to make his assault without disguise, and on the 26th of September he transmitted to Wolcott a draft of what it was proposed to put forth, with a request that he would note exceptionable ideas or phrases. Hamilton had derived some of the most delicate of his facts from three of the President's Ministers, and particularly from Wolcott himself; and he would not take the contemplated step without the consent of that gentleman. It was no part of his plan to produce evidence of the truth of his allegations; he would stand, he said, on the credit of his veracity. In answering this letter, Wolcott hesitated a good deal as to what would be the safe course to pursue. He could not make up his mind whether such a publication would injure or advance the cause of Adams. Hamilton accordingly determined to go his own way. He put his statement into print, and was still deliberating what he should do with it when Aaron Burr, always his enemy, and in the end the instrument of his violent death, contrived by some unexplained means to get access to the sheets while passing through the press, and caused extracts to be published in the Opposition newspapers. This was made by Hamilton an excuse for a complete publication of the remarks on Adams, and they were issued under the title of "A Letter from Alexander Hamilton concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States." The pamphlet appeared in the last days of October, and very shortly afterwards the different States were to make choice of that electoral body by which the President is appointed.

The criticism was written with much bitterness. The main charges brought against Adams were, that he had resolved on sending Mr. Murray to France without consulting his Cabinet; that he had afterwards persevered in despatching Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie to the same country, in opposition to the advice of many of his party; and that he had pardoned John Fries, who ought rather to have been hanged. Yet, notwithstanding these accusations, which the author manifestly regarded as having a serious character, Hamilton still advised his friends not to withhold from Adams a single vote. The conclusion was of course discredited by the premisses, or the premisses invalidated the conclusion. Perhaps on this account, the publication was not well received by thoughtful politicians. Some even among his friends expressed to Hamilton their disapprobation of what he had done. Yet the pamphlet had a damaging effect, not so much on the reputation of Adams as on the union and stability of the Federal party. By dividing the votes of that party, it destroyed all chance of success for the higher office at the approaching election. The triumph of Jefferson, which now became almost certain, was due not only to the gathering strength of his own adherents, but to the feud existing in the ranks of his opponents, which this unlucky publication fomented and developed. Up to that date, Jefferson himself had doubted whether he should be able to defeat his chief adversary; but, after the issue of the pamphlet, he saw his chances to be immensely increased, while the probability of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney obtaining even the Vice-Presidency was proportionably diminished. The real design of Hamilton and his friends was to get Pinckney elected to the chief office; but he appears to have had too much

honour to avail himself of these intrigues for his benefit. He insisted upon standing or falling together with Adams.

The result of the election was the choice of Jefferson as President, and of Aaron Burr as Vice-President. But that result could not at once be ascertained or determined. Each of these two candidates received seventy-three votes, an excess of three on the number required by the Constitution. The task of choosing between the two devolved on the House of Representatives, where the Federals had a numerical majority; but that majority could not on the present occasion be put in force, because, in the exercise of this particular function, the Constitution appoints that the House shall vote by States, and of the States, taken individually, there was ultimately a preponderance against Adams. The Second Session of the Sixth American Congress began on the 22nd of November, 1800, with a speech from the President, which is stated to have been more his own work than any of its predecessors. After alluding to the inauguration of the new seat of Government at Washington, and recommending to the care of Congress the territory thus set apart, he described the relations of the country with foreign lands, and the state of the negotiations still pending with Great Britain and France. Then, turning to domestic affairs, he referred to the reduction lately effected in the army, recommended further measures for the establishment of a defensive naval force, and insisted on the necessity of amending the judiciary system. He spoke of the revenue for the year as being in a prosperous condition, the amount received exceeding that of any former period of the same length; and, winding up with some general remarks, he observed:—"As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid, the causes which may have produced it. If, turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour; we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of much real felicity, and resist with unabating perseverance the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence." It cannot be doubted that Adams was here glancing at the principles of the Democratic party, now standing on the threshold of power.

The question with regard to the Presidency—whether Jefferson or Aaron Burr should occupy the first place—was not decided until February, 1801; nor was the result then arrived at without thirty-five ballotings in the House of Representatives. Some of the Federalists suggested the appointment of a temporary Executive, and the ordering of a new election; but the Democrats were determined not to give up their chance for Jefferson. The number of States at that period was sixteen, and the concurrence of nine of these was necessary to a Presidential election. Jefferson at first had only eight in his favour; yet in the end he prevailed, owing to the divisions and jealousies of the Federal party. In this way the great Democratic leader succeeded to the supreme power, while the post of Vice-President was assigned to Burr, a man of very indifferent character, who had intrigued with both sections for the promotion of his own ends. The official life of Adams terminated in his nominating several of his party to high judicial functions, in accordance with a measure recently passed for re-organising the Federal Courts. That Act had reduced the future number of Justices of the Supreme Court, and had increased the District Courts to twenty-three, distributed into six circuits, to be travelled by three Judges in each. Adams considered it necessary that these high judicial posts should be filled by members of the Federal body as a counterpoise to that reaction in favour of the Democrats which he foresaw would follow the election of Jefferson to the Presidency; but the precaution proved unavailing. Just then, Mr. Oliver Ellsworth resigned his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Adams offered the place to Jay, and, on that gentleman declining to serve, because of bad health, conferred it on John Marshall, who, not long before, had been made Secretary of State. The other appointments were conceived in the same spirit and with the same object, and Jefferson always resented them very strongly, as a check on the designs which he determined to carry out as soon as power had passed into his hands. Wolcott, who at the close of 1800 had resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed by the retiring President one of the Judges of the Circuit Courts—an appointment which, according to the new law, was to endure for life. Adams, though knowing that Wolcott supported the views of Hamilton, never suspected him of having acted treacherously, and to the day of his death absolved him from all suspicion of bad faith. In acknowledging the President's kindness, Wolcott wrote to his superior:—"Believing that gratitude to bene-



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factors is among the most amiable, and ought to be among the most indissoluble, of social obligations, I shall without reserve cherish the emotions which are inspired by a sense of duty and honour on this occasion." It would have been better had Wolcott paid more regard to the sense of duty and honour when he was in the Ministerial service of the President.

The inauguration of Jefferson took place on the 4th of March, 1801. It would certainly have been more courteous had Adams remained at the Federal capital until the installation of his successor; had he been present at the ceremony, and spoken some words of formal compliment. But he was a man of quick and passionate nature—a failing not seldom found in combination with real nobility of soul, yet a fault none the less. He distrusted Jefferson as a politician; he believed that he was personally opposed to him; and he did not care to grace the spectacle of his rival's entry into power. He was irritated also by the defection of those of his own party whose treachery had caused his defeat. Moreover, he had recently endured a severe affliction in the loss of his second son, Charles, who had died at New York, leaving behind him a widow and two infant children. From all these causes, the retiring President felt unable, or at least unwilling, to do towards Jefferson what Washington had done towards himself. He left the half-formed city on the banks of the Potomac previous to the 4th of March, and from that time to the end of his long life ceased to have any vital influence on the course of American politics.*

During the last year of Adams's Administration, the second Census of the people of the United States commenced, though it was not completed until 1801. The population was then ascertained to be 5,305,925, showing the remarkable increase of 1,376,098 in the previous ten years. A still greater augmentation was noticeable in the Federal revenue, which had been only 4,771,000 dollars in 1790, whereas in 1800 it had run up to 12,945,000. The exports of the Republic had during the same period swelled from nineteen to ninety-four millions of dollars, and in every direction were seen the most remarkable evidences of national growth and prosperity. The institutions of the country, insuring at once freedom and safety, had much to do with these favourable results. In 1801, the Americans had every right to look with satisfaction on the progress of their great experiment in popular self-rule.

CHAPTER LXV.

American Politics of the Eighteenth Century and of the Nineteenth—The Balance of Power passing from the North to the South—Jefferson and his Party—Their Predominating Influence for Sixty Years—The New Cabinet—System of Official Changes on the coming into Office of a New President—Jefferson's Reforms in the Administration of the Country—His Letter to Kosciusko—Formation of the State of Ohio—Retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France—Jealousy excited in America—Jefferson's Instructions to the American Minister at Paris—Sale of Louisiana to the United States—Bonaparte's Object in parting with the Territory—American Views on the Subject—War with the Algerines—Gallant Exploit of Lieutenant Decatur—Attack on the Tripolitans—Conclusion of Peace—Exploring Expedition towards the Pacific—Death of Alexander Hamilton in a Duel with Aaron Burr—Jefferson's Measures for the Freedom of Religion—Designs of Aaron Burr in the West—His Trial and Acquittal—Character of the Man.

ADAMS's term of office just conducted the American people within the porches of the nineteenth century. It may be said, moreover, to have wound up a certain phase of American politics which was characteristic rather of the century which had expired than of that which was commencing. Until then, the leading party in the Union was that of the New England States—modified, no doubt, by the opinions of the Southern and Middle States, but on the whole predominant. The principles which the Puritan founders of Massachusetts and her sister colonies had brought out with them, and which they lost no opportunity of asserting, were the principles of the American Revolution. Men from all parts of the Confederation thought and acted in the great cause; but the ideas they received and propagated were the ideas of the North. So, in the final settlement of the Federal Government, the political maxims by which the Constitution was shaped were mainly derived from the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants. Adams, as a New Englander, shared the general sentiments of his school; though, with the moderation of a practised statesman, he had declined to go the extreme

* Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 10.

lengths to which some would have pushed him. With the year 1801, a total change took place in the policy of the Federal Government. Jefferson, the new President, had long forsaken the Northern supporters of the Declaration of Independence and of the existing political condition. He had founded a party, the great objects of which were to weaken the general powers of the Union, and to circumscribe authority within the narrowest limits. To that party he had given the energy of his genius, the strength of his will, and the force and mastery of his organising abilities. The mistakes of Adams's Presidency—mistakes for which the subordinates were more responsible than the chief—had vastly improved the position of Jefferson and his adherents, and the new President found himself at the head of a numerous body of supporters, with an ever-increasing accession of opinion in most parts of the country. In the period during which he held office, he was enabled to give a new direction to American affairs, and to create an impulse which, with but few checks or reactions, continued for sixty years. Adams represented the eighteenth century, with which he retired; Jefferson, the nineteenth, with which he began his rule.

On assuming office, Jefferson was nearly fifty-eight years of age. He was therefore between seven and eight years younger than his rival, and represented a somewhat more modern tone of thought. Starting on his career with the entire confidence of the Democratic party, he was regarded with proportionate distrust by the Federals; but his inaugural speech was of a nature to allay their fears. None the less was Jefferson determined to carry out those projects of reform which he conceived to be necessary to the existence of Republican institutions. He retained for awhile Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and the Navy (Samuel Dexter and Benjamin Stoddert), but not for long, and the other posts were at once filled by his own supporters. Since Jefferson's time, it has been usual for American Presidents, on coming into power, to effect a complete change in the Administration, and to make the new appointments in strict conformity with party lines. There is of course something to be said for this system, because it is obviously easier for a man to work with his own political followers than with those who are perhaps biassed in favour of different opinions. But the custom is attended by serious evils, for it introduces a revolutionary element, of frequent recurrence, into the conduct of affairs, and opens the door to a vast amount of faction. Americans themselves have seen its disadvantages, and Nathaniel Hawthorne has made it the subject of ridicule in one of the most popular of his works.* But to Jefferson it appeared an indispensable concomitant of democratic rule. James Madison became Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. Madison, some years before, had been one of the most energetic of the Federals, but had long gone over to the opposite party. Before the end of the year, Albert Gallatin had succeeded Dexter in the Treasury, and Robert Smith had been made Secretary of the Navy, in place of Stoddert.

With as little delay as possible, Jefferson set to work reforming and retrenching. He reduced the army and navy; he cut down the diplomatic corps; he submitted to Congress a Bill for diminishing the Judiciary; and he proposed the remission of taxes. The alterations in the judicial system, to which Congress had consented a little before the termination of the late Presidency, and whereon Adams relied for counteracting the effect of his successor's political measures, were now swept away by the same body which had so recently sanctioned them. This repeal annihilated the offices of sixteen judges who had only just been appointed. It was contended by the Democrats, and not without some reason, that the creation of so many new offices by the party which was just going out of power could have had no other object (since they were not required by the state of legal business) than to make lucrative and influential appointments, at the public expense, for the supporters of the late Administration; and it was said that the signing of the new judges' commissions was continued by Adams until the last hour of the last day of his Presidentship, in order to retain all the influence in his own hands. During the same session—the first under Jefferson's rule—the internal or Excise duties, always unpopular, and now no longer necessary, were abolished; and this enabled the President to do away with a number of offices which had proved burdensome to the country. Measures were taken for gradually paying off the debt, and a consequent diminution of patronage removed one of the chief sources of complaint with the Democrats. Reduction of imposts is a benefit when it is not purchased at the expense of the national service; but it should be recollected, in fairness to the Administrations of Washington and Adams, that the difficult relations then existing between the United States and France rendered an exceptional expenditure unavoidable, and that it was the treaty with Bonaparte, procured by the wisdom, firmness, and moderation of Adams,

* Introduction to "The Scarlet Letter."

which enabled Jefferson to annihilate so much onerous taxation, and to dispense with so many unfruitful officials. The paying off of the national debt was another very excellent work; but it could hardly have been effected had not Hamilton already placed the finances of the Republic in a more healthy condition than he found them. Jefferson, in short, availed himself, in some respects, of the altered and more easy posture of affairs to which he succeeded; but that better state had in part been brought about by the acts of his predecessors, many of which, however distasteful, had for the time been necessary.

In some other respects, the changes introduced by the President seem to have been prompted by no other motive than a desire to please the most extreme among the Democrats. The receptions which Washington and Adams used to give, and which their opponents characterised as levées similar to those of Royalty, were abandoned; and the practice of delivering in person the Presidential address to Congress at the opening of the session was set aside for a written Message, which was believed to be a more Republican mode of procedure. How freedom, or any other human interest, was a gainer by these two changes, it would puzzle a wiser than Œdipus to discover. Jefferson, however, was very well satisfied with what he had accomplished, and, writing to the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, after he had been some months in power, he said:—"The session of the first Congress convened since Republicanism has recovered its ascendency, is now drawing to a close. They will pretty completely fulfil all the desires of the people. They have reduced the army and navy to what is barely necessary. They are disarming executive patronage and preponderance, by putting down one-half the offices of the United States which are no longer necessary. These economies have enabled them to suppress all the internal taxes, and still to make such provision for the payment of their public debt as to discharge that in eighteen years. They have lopped off a parasite limb, planted by their predecessors on the judiciary body for party purposes; they are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries; and we have suppressed all their public forms and ceremonies, which tended to familiarise the public eye to the harbinger of another form of government. The people are nearly all united; their quondam leaders, infuriated with a sense of their impotence, will soon be seen or heard only in the newspapers, which serve as chimneys to carry off noxious vapours and smoke; and all now is tranquil, firm, and well, as it should be."

In the year 1802, a part of the North-western Territory, which had been first organised in 1787, was erected into an independent State, with the title of Ohio. It contains an area of 40,000 square miles, but a good deal of the soil is marshy. The population increased with extraordinary rapidity after the large cession of Indian lands in 1795, consequent on the successful war which had been carried on by General Wayne. The sense of security thus produced caused a rush of emigration towards the North-west, and in 1802 Ohio had a population of about 72,000. The Constitution was framed in November, and by this instrument it was provided that slavery should for ever be excluded from the State. In 1851 another Constitution was adopted, but the curse of negro bondage has never been admitted within the limits of this western Government. The country bordering on the Ohio River is very interesting from a historical point of view, because it was here that those collisions between French and Anglo-American colonists took place which led to the war terminating in 1763, and to the loss of Canada by the Crown of France. The earliest operations of Washington, while he was yet a soldier in the British service, were in this region, though not within the present State of Ohio. The whole Western Territory was long in dispute between France and England; but that part which was made an independent State in 1802 was in almost undisputed possession of the savages until the latter years of the eighteenth century.

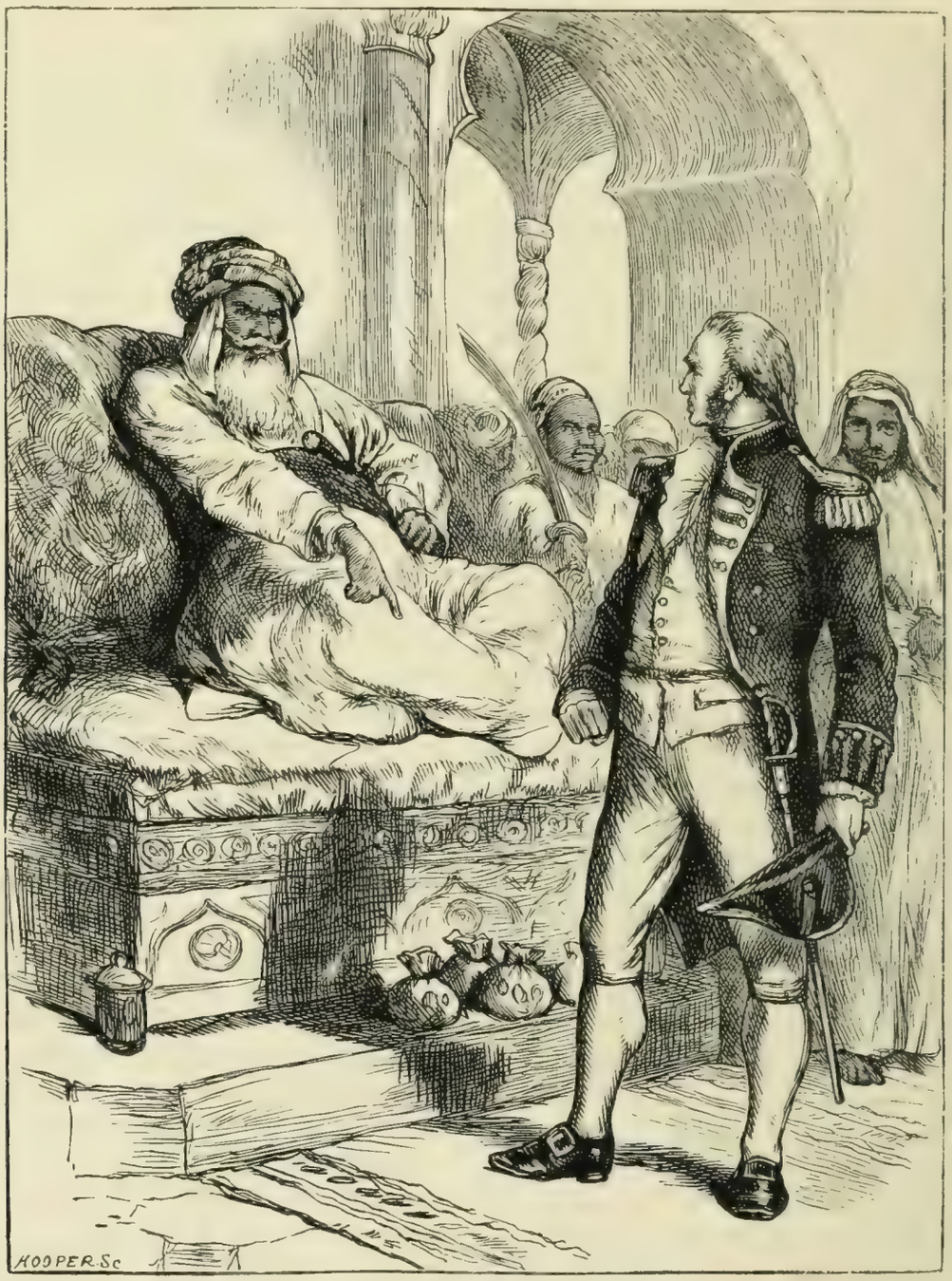
Another western land, not then within the dominion of the United States, appeared for awhile likely to give occasion for a war. By the Treaty of Amiens, in 1802, peace had been re-established between France, Great Britain, Spain, and Holland; and Napoleon Bonaparte, relieved from the cares which had but recently pressed on him, began to turn his attention to the development of a French colonial empire, not only in the West Indies, but in the province of Louisiana, which in 1800 had been re-conveyed to France by Spain. Such a policy, had it been carried out, would have given France the command of the Mississippi and of the Gulf of Mexico; and the arrangement was highly favoured by England, because it would act as a check upon the Americans. The transfer, however, had not yet taken place, and Jefferson saw that it might be avoided. He therefore wrote to Mr. Livingston, the American Envoy at Paris, directing him to represent to the French Government the inexpediency of France assuming such a position on the American Continent. He was to urge that France, as matters then stood, offered no point of collision with the United States; that she was in

consequence regarded as the "natural friend" of those States; that there was only one spot on the globe, the possession of which made the possessor the natural and immediate enemy of the American people; that this was New Orleans, through which three-eighths of American produce was compelled to pass, to find a market; that France, by the occupation of that city, would place herself in an attitude of defiance and hostility; that under such circumstances it would be hopeless to think of amity between France and America; and that the latter country would be compelled to fling herself into the arms of Great Britain, and to unite with that Power in sweeping France from the seas, and subverting all her West Indian dominions. In the event of France determining to retain Louisiana, Livingston was instructed to demand the cession of New Orleans for a sum of money; though this alternative, it was added, would not be likely to remove the cause of irritation arising from the propinquity of France. It was also desired, in the latter case, that Spain should be persuaded to sell the Floridas.

While the matter was pending, an inconsiderate action of the Spaniards nearly precipitated hostilities. In October, 1802, while they still held possession of Louisiana, the right of depositing cargoes at New Orleans, secured to the Americans for ten years by the Treaty with Spain in 1795, was suddenly withdrawn. The people of Kentucky and Ohio, to whom the privilege was a necessary concomitant of their prosperity, were highly exasperated at this breach of faith, and it was proposed in Congress to take possession by force of the whole of Louisiana. There can be no doubt that such a resolve would have been highly popular with the western men; but fortunately a more conciliatory course became possible. The peace between France and England was evidently destined to be short-lived. Bonaparte foresaw that he would soon be again cut off from a free use of the ocean, so that it would then be impossible to maintain a French colony in America; and he had a firm conviction that to strengthen the United States was to weaken England. He therefore proposed to the American Government that it should purchase Louisiana, and the offer was at once accepted. This immense and fertile region, watered by one of the finest rivers in the world, containing a city capable of being made, as it has in fact become, a magnificent seat of commerce, and conferring the command of all that part of America, was added to the United States for 15,000,000 dollars (about 75,000,000 francs, or £3,000,000). The bargain was concluded on the 30th April, 1803, and the Americans took peaceable possession on the 20th of December. The territory then contained about 85,000 mixed inhabitants (of French and Spanish origin), and 10,000 negro slaves. That part embracing the present State of Louisiana was called the Territory of Orleans; the remainder was designated the District of Louisiana, and it comprised a large tract of country extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. The government of Louisiana was offered to Lafayette, and declined by him; but he received a grant of twelve thousand acres in the new territory. Napoleon was well satisfied with the result of the negotiations. He observed that the new accession of territory would permanently strengthen the power of the United States, and that he had just given to England a maritime rival who would sooner or later humble her pride. Some among the Americans were not so well pleased. It was objected that the Floridas and New Orleans would have been a more important acquisition than the whole of Louisiana; to which Jefferson astutely replied that the Floridas, being now surrounded, must in time be absorbed in the Union. Not many years elapsed before his words proved true, and in the meanwhile the possession of Louisiana assured to the Americans an immense extension westward. This very fact, however, was regarded by several as a source of danger. The Western States, it was argued, had already a considerable tendency to separate from their Eastern brethren; and, now that they were reinforced by this enormous region, would form a distinct Confederation.

The United States were now again involved in trouble with the Algerines. Notwithstanding the arrangement of 1795, the Barbary pirates continued to make exactions on American commerce. Captain Bainbridge had been in the Mediterranean in 1800, charged with delivering the annual tribute-money; and while performing this distasteful office, in the September of that year, the Dey of Algiers had demanded the use of his vessel to carry an Ambassador to Constantinople. Bainbridge refused, when the Dey insolently replied, "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slaves, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." The American Commander was not permitted to pass out of the harbour without complying, and, as the Castle guns could have sunk his frigate, he had no choice but to submit. In the following year he was again sent to the Southern coasts of the Mediterranean, that he might render some protection to American commerce; and in 1803 Commodore Preble was despatched thither to humble the sea-rovers. The Emperor of Morocco

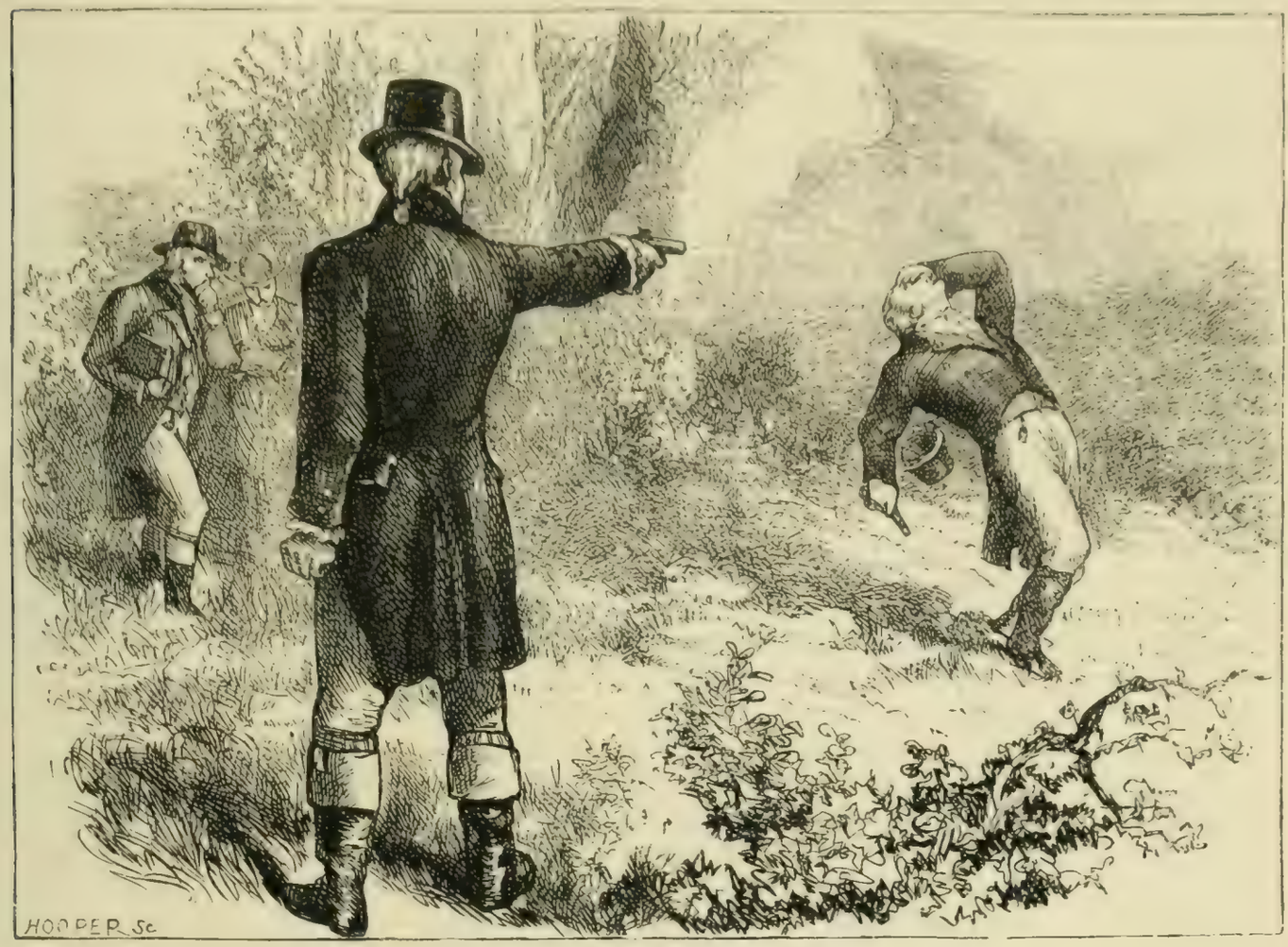
was brought to terms, and the squadron then sailed to Tripoli. The *Philadelphia*, commanded by Bainbridge, struck on a rock in the harbour, while reconnoitring, and was captured by the Tripolitans on the 31st of October. Her officers were treated as prisoners of war, but, as was usual with these corsairs, the crew were sent into slavery. The Pasha of Tripoli was the more disposed to make war on the United States, as he, together with some of the other Barbary Powers, had been unable to obtain a share in the tribute, which was monopolised by the stronger of those States. Jefferson (who must now have additionally regretted the failure of his attempt, some years before, to form a league of European countries against the Algerines) found it necessary to augment his navy, which not long before he had reduced. The service became popular, and a general determination was formed to resist with spirit the insolence of these barbarians. On the evening of the 3rd of February, 1804,



CAPTAIN BAINBRIDGE AND THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

Lieutenant Decatur, with only seventy-six volunteers, sailed into the harbour of Tripoli in a small vessel which he had captured from the enemy, and, running alongside Bainbridge's former ship, the *Philadelphia*, which was guarded by a large number of Tripolitans, and had been moored near the Castle, boarded her, killed or drove into the sea those who were in possession, set her on fire, and, without losing a man, escaped under cover of a heavy cannonade from the American squadron, replying

to the batteries on shore. Tripoli was afterwards bombarded by the vessels of the United States, and on the 3rd of August the Tripolitan gun boats were engaged in a severe action with the attacking force. Negotiations for peace were opened in 1805, through the mediation of Hamet Caramelli, brother of the reigning Pasha. The circumstances of this negotiation were very singular. Hamet, who was an exile in Egypt, asserted that he was the rightful heir to the throne, from which his brother had



DUEL BETWEEN BURR AND HAMILTON.

excluded him by an act of usurpation. Captain William Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, knowing of the existence of this claimant, thought he might turn his pretensions to account, and, with the sanction of his Government, obtained his co-operation in measures against the reigning Pasha. After an interview with him at Alexandria, in Egypt, at which the details of the plan were settled, Eaton set out on his journey to Tripoli, with seventy of his own sailors, Hamet and his adherents, and a few Egyptian troops. Marching a thousand miles across the Libyan Desert, with terrible fatigue and suffering, the allies reached Derne, a Tripolitan city of the Mediterranean, on the 27th of April. This place they captured, and on the 18th of May fought a battle with the enemy, whom they defeated. Again routing the forces of the Pasha, a month later, they pressed on towards Tripoli. But the news of their approach had so alarmed the ruler of that State that on the 3rd of June he made peace with Colonel Tobias Lear, the American Consul-General in the Mediterranean. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from the pretender. This of course put an end to Hamet's attempt upon the throne, and, not unreasonably considering himself aggrieved, he afterwards went to the United States, and applied to Congress for remuneration. He did not get as much as he wanted; but Congress voted for his temporary needs a sum of 2,400 dollars.

During the development of these events, affairs in America progressed in a peaceable and orderly fashion. The President recommended an appropriation for defraying the expenses of an exploring expedition across the Continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and, the suggestion being adopted by

Congress, an expedition was organised, the members of which, to the number of thirty, left the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804. They were absent about two years and a quarter, and returned laden with information which gave a more clear conception than had hitherto existed of the vast and important region lying between the great river and the Western Ocean. One tragical incident threw a lurid stain on the political contests of America during the year 1804. A quarrel occurred between Alexander Hamilton and the Vice-President. The former had reflected upon the character of the latter in public, and had in this way caused him to lose his election as Governor of New York; and Burr demanded a retractation, which Hamilton refused. Burr challenged him, and they met on the 12th of July at a spot on the west side of the Hudson, near Hoboken, where, by a strange fatality, a son of Hamilton had perished in a duel some few years before. Hamilton discharged his pistol in the air, but the fire of Burr's weapon took deadly effect. The wounded man expired next day, at about forty-seven years of age, and the event produced a general sense of indignation throughout the Union. At the re-elections for the offices of President and Vice-President, Burr was set aside in favour of George Clinton, of New York, while Jefferson was again chosen for the chief position. Burr found himself utterly discredited in the older parts of the Federation, and, believing that the Spanish and French population of Louisiana would not submit to the rule of the United States, he departed for that territory in April, 1805, to take advantage of any insubordination which might exist. His more immediate object, however, seems to have been to form an army of adventurers for the invasion of Mexico. Many of the new settlers in Louisiana were persons of desperate character, and Burr was soon joined by General Wilkinson, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army in those parts, and a man who afterwards proved himself capable of more loyal conduct. Besides his military position, Wilkinson was acting as Governor of Louisiana, so that his conspiracy with Burr is open to a double imputation of bad faith. The Eastern States, however, knew nothing of what was being plotted. They were glad to be rid of one whom they described as the murderer of Hamilton, and as yet they did not guess the full extent of Burr's political dishonesty.

The Democratic policy of Jefferson continued to receive the support of a large section of the American people. In many points, that policy was characterised by a spirit of wise and liberal statesmanship, peculiarly adapted to the nature of American life. In one respect, however, the President was regarded with distrust by a considerable number of his countrymen. As a man standing equally aloof from all established religious sects, he was disinclined to the predominance of any one over any other. He objected to the principle of Church establishments, and, in his native State of Virginia, had effected the erasure from the statute-book of all laws giving an exceptional position to any religious body. His measures in favour of religious liberty excited considerable opposition in many quarters; but they triumphed, because they were true expressions of the American genius, of the legitimate tendencies of the nineteenth century, of the highest liberality and the deepest justice. In some personal reminiscences which Jefferson wrote towards the latter end of his life, he alludes to his action in this matter as among the chief services which he believes he rendered to his State. "The attack on the establishment of the dominant religion," he says, "was first made by myself. It could be carried at first only by a suspension of salaries for one year, by battling it again at the next session for another year, and so on from year to year until the public mind was ripened for the Bill for establishing religious freedom which I had prepared for the revised code also. This was at length established permanently, and by the efforts of Mr. Madison, being myself in Europe at the time that work was brought forward." The entire freedom with which the religious life in America is now enabled to assume whatever forms it pleases, without injury or prejudice to the views of others, and which was so emphatically asserted by Jefferson in Virginia, is one of the greatest glories of that Confederation which the descendants of Englishmen have established on the western side of the Atlantic. There is no reasonable middle ground between the principle of the Papacy and that of the perfect liberty of the individual to determine for himself the rule and practice of his faith. If this development of modern ideas is difficult to realise in older States, where it is never easy to escape altogether from the traditions of an earlier and a darker age, that is no reason why America, circumstanced as she was, should voluntarily adopt the shackles of a social condition which in other respects she had cast off. In America at the present day, religious establishments do not exist; but in no country is there a wider range of religious sentiment, or a deeper sense of religious claims. The principles of Jefferson, however, made him numerous enemies among the fanatical and the timid, who did not

forget his Virginian policy of earlier years when he had attained the higher dignity of President of the United States.

It was not long ere the designs of Aaron Burr began to attract attention. Surrounding his plans with an air of mystery, and giving to them a character of vastness and splendour which kindled the imaginations of the enthusiastic, he contrived to obtain the support of some honourable men, as well as of several who were quite the reverse; among the former, of Andrew Jackson, then in command of the militia of Tennessee, and in after years seventh President of the United States. Several persons in the West believed that the Government was secretly favouring Burr's projects against Mexico, and on that account gave the schemer their countenance and aid. In the summer of 1806, he was busy organising a military expedition, purchasing and building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend the river. His declared object was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but it was suspected by the authorities that the true object was either to gain possession of New Orleans, and make it the seat of an independent Government, of which Burr himself should be the head, or to invade Mexico from the territories of the United States. Probably both ideas were combined in the daring and unscrupulous intellect of this adventurer. It is even said that he intrigued with the Spanish Governor of Mexico for separating the Western from the Atlantic States, and forming a new Confederation, in which of course the two arch-conspirators would be the ruling spirits; but the friends of Burr have always denied that he had any such intention. However that may have been, he was manifestly carrying out some secret plot, which could not fail to excite suspicion. Jackson, who had at first listened to his fervid representations, began to see in them an element of disloyalty; and he found himself abandoned by all but the desperate and disreputable. Information of what was going on was conveyed to the Government. Agents were sent to watch him, and at Natchez, while on his way to New Orleans, he was cited to appear before the Supreme Court of the Mississippi Territory. Sufficient evidence to convict him, however, was not forthcoming, and he was discharged. But his schemes were destroyed, and a fear of renewed proceedings paralysed all action on his part. Hearing that several of his accomplices had been arrested at New Orleans and other places, he fled in disguise from Natchez, but, being apprehended in February, 1807, was taken a prisoner to Richmond, Virginia. In the following August he was tried upon two indictments, charging him with treason against the United States, and with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain. The judge was John Marshall, and he leant to the side of the prisoner. A large amount of political feeling was evoked by the trial. Burr had at one time belonged to the Federal party, and the members of that body took up his cause somewhat warmly. Marshall and the other judges were Federals, and the Government complained of being obstructed in its endeavours to vindicate the good faith of the country. The President was even summoned to appear before the court which was engaged in the trial of Burr. Much discreditable altercation took place between the executive and judicial authorities, and the institutions of the United States were lowered in the eyes of foreigners, and even of many of their own citizens, by this admixture of political feeling in a matter which should have been guided by no other sentiments than those of law and justice. The result of the second trial of Burr was that he was again acquitted. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the American people believed him to be guilty, and he was so generally deserted that a further prosecution of his designs, whatever they were, became impossible. He fell into a state of abject wretchedness, and was never again able to exercise any control over American affairs. He was a native of New Jersey, where he was born in 1756; and in his twentieth year accompanied Benedict Arnold in the expedition against Quebec. Quitting the army in 1779, he studied the law, and in time entered the field of politics; but his position there was never very eminent. His death took place on Staten Island, near New York, in 1836, at the age of eighty years. He was a man of ability and enterprise; but a defective moral sense destroyed all the better germs of his nature, and involved his whole career in ruin.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Jefferson's Second Term of Office—Successes of the Previous Four Years—Decline in Popularity—Disagreements with Spain—Opening of Congress in December, 1805—Opposition to the Administration in regard to their Spanish Policy—Defection of John Randolph—The Proposed Purchase of Florida prevented by the Tactics of the Opposition—Disagreements with Great Britain as to the Belligerent Rights asserted by that Power—Searching of American Vessels, and Impressment of Seamen—Conflicting Views on the Subject among the Federals and Democrats—Blockade of German and French Coasts by the British Government—Retaliatory Measures by Napoleon—Sufferings of American Commerce in consequence—Capture of American Vessels—Hopes of a General Peace in Europe—Jefferson's Letter to the Emperor of Russia—Collision between an English and an American Vessel—Opinions of Jefferson on Alliance with England or France—Conclusion of a Treaty between England and the United States—The President refuses to ratify it—Further Negotiations, without Result—Affairs of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*—Excitement in America—Measures of the President—Proclamation of the English Sovereign with respect to British Seamen in Foreign Service—British Orders in Council and French Decrees restraining the Trade of Neutral Nations—Destruction of American Commerce—Act of Embargo passed by Congress—Negotiations with England on the Affair of the *Chesapeake*—Failure of the Attempt—Opposition to the Embargo Act in America—Election of James Madison as President—His earliest Measures—Renewed Negotiations with England—The Question left unsettled—Severe Measures of the Emperor Napoleon—Arbitrary Proceedings of Great Britain—Another Collision at Sea—Symptoms of Approaching War.

JEFFERSON'S second term of office commenced on the 4th of March, 1805; and it was not long ere he discovered that, as in the case of Washington, it was not to be so easy a period as the first. His administration during the previous four years had been singularly successful. He had reduced the public debt more than twelve millions; he had at the same time lessened the taxes; he had doubled the area of the United States by his judicious treaties with France and with the native Indians; he had chastised the Barbary pirates, and advanced the reputation of his country as a naval Power. The reward of these services was, that he received more votes at his re-election in 1804 than at his first appointment to the Presidency in 1800.* But popularity is a very fleeting possession, especially in States where party feeling is so violent and headstrong as in America. The relations existing between the President's Government and that of Spain led to the first indication of a schism in the Democratic ranks. The Spaniards had very reluctantly yielded up Louisiana to France, and now endeavoured to raise objections to the treaty by which Bonaparte transferred that territory to the United States. There are reasons to believe that even France repented of her bargain after a little while; but Spain certainly looked upon the arrangement with great disapproval. She rejected all overtures for adjusting the boundaries of the ceded province, made incursions on to territory which was now American, obstructed commerce on the Mobile, refused compensation for past injuries, and in various ways acted in a spirit of antagonism. A war with Spain seemed but too likely to break out, and in such a contest that Power might have received the support of Napoleon. Jefferson thought he could avert the danger by purchasing Florida; but his Cabinet advised that no such step should be taken without the previous assent of Congress. The Legislature was accordingly summoned to meet on the 2nd of December, 1805; and it was immediately afterwards that opposition developed itself in a quarter where it was not expected.

Three days after the opening of the session, the President sent a confidential message to Congress, in which he stated that Spain had refused to ratify a convention lately concluded for the settlement of grievances, and had exhibited a most unfriendly and hostile disposition. He did not anticipate an actual state of war, but it appeared to him that a resort to force, to some extent, might be required for the assertion of American rights. The matter was referred to a secret committee of the House of Representatives, of whom John Randolph (a descendant of the celebrated Pocahontas) was the chairman; and Jefferson had no reason to anticipate that his suggestions would meet with any serious dissent. Randolph, who had entered Congress in 1799, had hitherto been conspicuous for his opposition to the Federals, against whom he had employed all his powers of wit, sarcasm, and invective, which were generally allowed to be very considerable. Of late he had exhibited some coldness towards his former friends, but it was not supposed that he had parted from them on any important matter of policy. It soon appeared, however, that such was the case. The select committee made a report to the House of Representatives, sitting with closed doors on the 3rd of January, 1806. In that report it was declared that the aggressions of Spain afforded ample excuse for war, and that such a course would be recommended by the committee if they simply con-

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson, Vol. II., chap. 7.

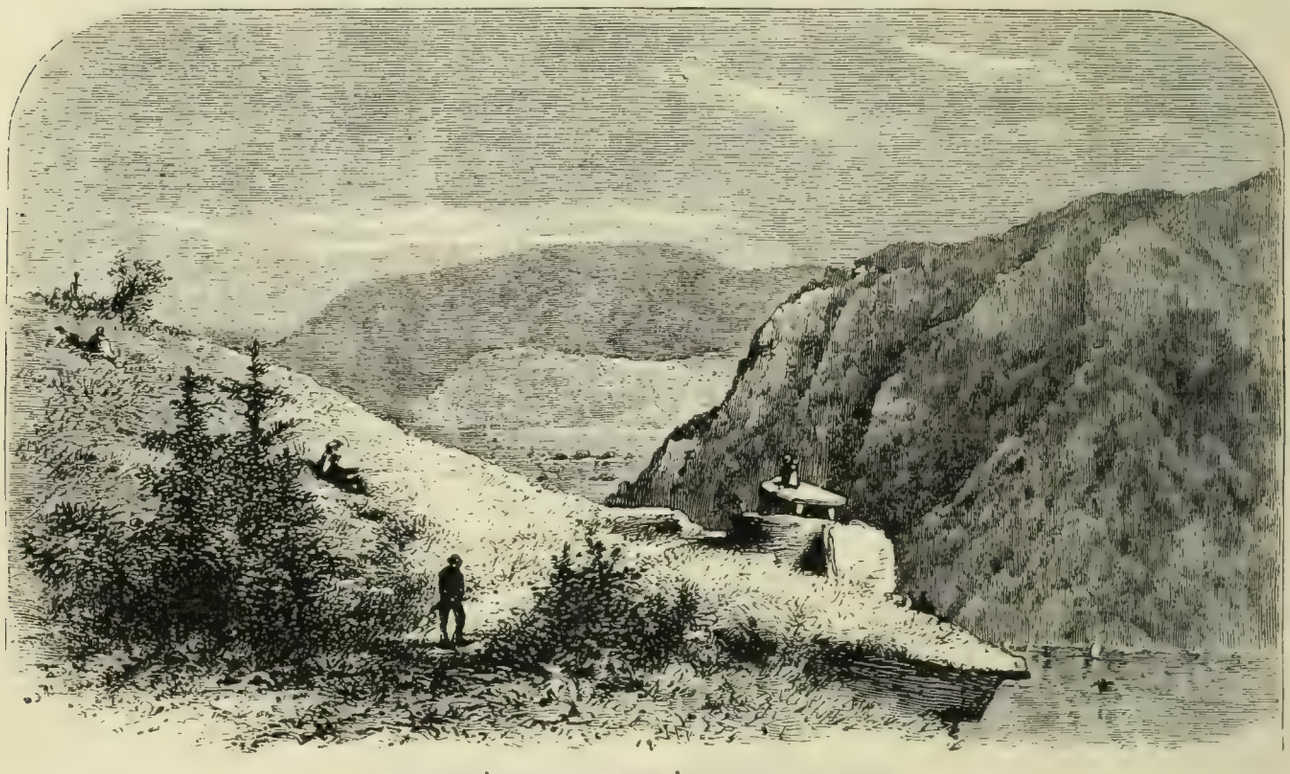
sulted their feelings; but that peace was exceedingly desirable in a country burdened with a public debt which still absorbed two thirds of its annual revenue. They consequently cherished the hope that an amicable arrangement would yet be made, but in the meanwhile submitted a resolution, that as many troops as the President might deem sufficient to protect the southern frontier from insult should be immediately raised.

The Administration considered that this resolution was likely to involve the nation in a war with Spain, and perhaps also with France; and they accordingly gave their support to another motion, the object of which was to authorise an appropriation for the purpose of buying the Floridas. The first resolution was rejected by 72 against 58, but amongst the minority were from fifteen to twenty Democrats. The undisputed reign of Jefferson over that party was now at an end, and Randolph was one of those who forsook their old allegiance. Nevertheless, the resolution respecting the appropriation of money for the acquisition of Florida was carried after an animated debate, and the sum assigned for the purpose was two million dollars. But the Opposition in the Lower House, now reinforced by Randolph and a few of his adherents, attacked the policy of the Government with great vigour. It was urged that the President, in his secret message, had brought to the notice of the House the injuries and insults received from Spain, and had called on the representatives of the people to vindicate the national honour; that it afterwards appeared that what he really desired was to obtain redress by negotiation; and that he had thus sought to appropriate to himself the credit of a spirited assertion of the nation's rights, while he threw on Congress the odium of abandoning them. The design of buying Florida was described as in itself highly objectionable, since it was an offer to compromise the national wrongs for a material advantage; and it was added that, in the pursuit of a policy thus unwise and dishonourable, the Executive had throughout been regardless of the rights of the Legislature, had suppressed important despatches from Mr. Monroe (then acting as Special Envoy at Madrid) until the appropriation had been made, and had even, before obtaining that authority, attempted to draw money from the Treasury for the purchase of the Spanish possessions. The President had, in truth, proposed to his Cabinet to make the purchase without waiting for the sanction of Congress, but in this respect had been overruled. Although the Opposition were always beaten on a division, they contrived to delay the necessary measures for effecting the proposed object until altered circumstances rendered it impracticable for the time; and it was not until fifteen years later that Florida passed into the possession of the United States.

The disagreements with Spain, however, were far less important than those with Great Britain, consequent on the existing war with France. England had laid it down as an axiom that a neutral cannot prosecute a trade in time of war which is not permitted in time of peace. The commerce of America had been much interrupted by the British. The coasts of the United States were troubled by foreign privateers who were in the habit of burning those captures to which they thought their claim questionable, and by public vessels which scrupled not to enter every creek and harbour that they cared to examine. American ships had been seized in the very act of entering American ports; in some instances their crews had been taken out, maltreated, and abandoned; and it had been found necessary by the President's Government to equip a force to cruise along the coast, and bring the offenders to trial as pirates. For some time, the United States were allowed to import West Indian produce into their dominions, and afterwards to export it to Europe; so that what was prohibited by a direct was sanctioned by a circuitous route. This privilege was now rescinded by the British Government, and the Courts of Admiralty declared that all vessels engaged in the trade would thenceforth be considered legal prizes. Another subject of complaint on the part of the Americans was the impressment of United States seamen, on the plea that they were British subjects by birth, and could not free themselves from their allegiance. These grievances, taken altogether, inflamed the popular mind in America to the utmost. Meetings were held in the great cities, petitions were forwarded to the Legislature, and measures of retaliation were loudly demanded. On the 17th of January, 1806, the President sent to the House of Representatives a message on the subject of the disagreements with England. The questions involved were debated for several weeks, and on the 17th of March the House agreed to the policy of prohibiting specific articles of British growth or manufacture, by a vote of 87 to 35. The Bill sanctioning this prohibition, which was to take effect from the 15th of November, passed both Houses by large majorities, though in the Senate an attempt was made to postpone it, in consequence of a more favourable line of conduct on the part of Great Britain. National honour and national safety were believed to be equally concerned in resistance to the claims of England,

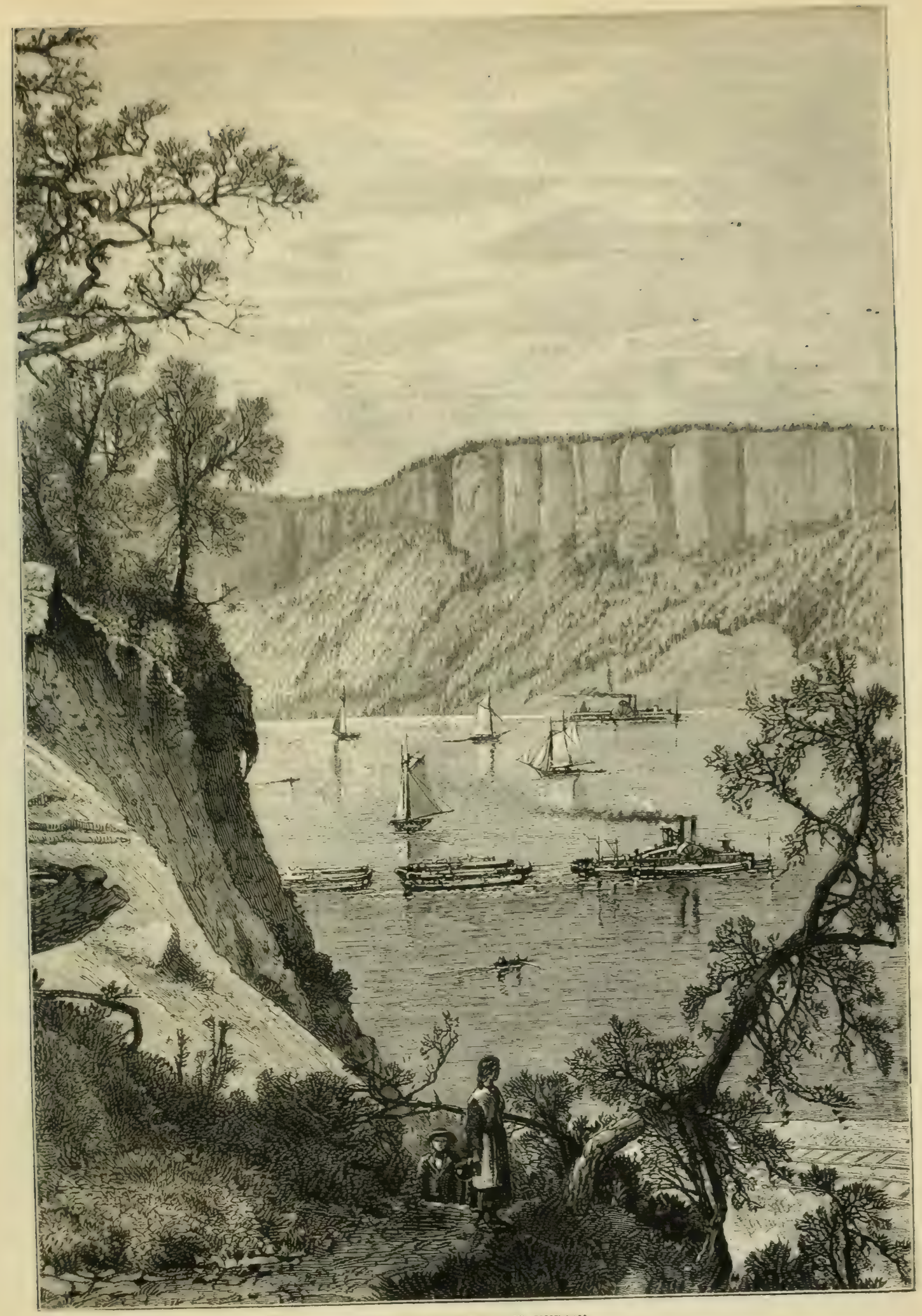
and all opposition to the prevalent sentiment was swept away by a tide of indignant feeling.

The minority consisted of the greater number of the Federalist party, together with some few Democrats who followed the lead of Randolph. Although it was chiefly the commercial towns in the North-eastern States which suffered from the action of Great Britain, it was precisely in those places that the least disposition was shown for a rupture, because it was there that the greatest injury would be inflicted by a state of war. The pretensions of the British Government, consequently, found some hesitating excusers amongst the people of New England and the adjacent States, and it was feared that Jefferson was endeavouring covertly to support the cause of Napoleon by fomenting a quarrel with his chief enemy. The Democrats, on their part, charged the Federals with designing to bring back America to the dominion of the mother country. Imputations of this nature are common in times of excitement, and are often without any foundation in truth. But the incidents of the war in Europe, and the measures taken by the belligerents, were such as to arouse a very natural feeling of dissatisfaction in the United States. By an Order in Council, dated May 16th, 1806, the British Government declared the whole coast of Europe, from the Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, in a state of blockade. Napoleon, then Emperor of the French, retaliated, on the 21st of November, with the celebrated Berlin decree, blockading all the ports of the British Islands. The commerce of the United States suffered equally from both orders, for the blockaded ports were not invested with a naval force such as would render hopeless any attempt to enter them, and American vessels on their way to Europe were liable to be captured and condemned. In consequence of these measures, the mercantile ships of the United States were largely seized by English and French cruisers. The Federal Government possessed scarcely any navy, and was therefore without the means of giving adequate protection. It had been part of Jefferson's policy to cut down the small fleet which was commenced by his two predecessors, and the country now felt the evil effects of that mistaken economy. A number of gun-boats had indeed been built, for the purpose of affording protection; but they were nothing more than small sailing vessels, having a cannon at the bow and another at the stern, and were manned only by a few armed sailors. They proved wholly inefficient, and the merchant-ships of the United States had nothing to shield them from the naval power of France on the one hand, and of England on the other.



JEFFERSON'S ROCK, HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA.

Some hope of a general peace in Europe was entertained during the year 1806, from the fact of Charles James Fox having become Secretary of



THE PALISADES OF THE HUDSON.

State for Foreign Affairs in the Ministry formed by Lord Grenville on the death of Pitt. The hope proved illusory, and Fox was not destined to survive many months; but for awhile Jefferson appears to have thought that the troubles resulting from the French Revolution were approaching an end. Under the influence of this idea, he addressed a letter to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, on behalf of neutral rights. Alexander, though a despot, was known to be a man of benevolent principles, and to entertain a friendly feeling towards the United States. In addressing this potentate, Jefferson complimented him on his efforts towards the pacification of the world, and enlarged on the common interest of the young Republic and of the Northern nations of Europe in preserving neutral rights. He suggested that the Russian Sovereign and the Ruler of France had it in their power, at the agreement which he believed to be approaching, to render eminent services to nations in general, by incorporating in the act of pacification a correct definition of the rights of neutrals on the high seas; and gave it as his opinion that those rights, thus defined, could be enforced, if necessary, by an exclusion of the nation violating them from all commerce with the rest. "Having," he continued, "taken no part in the past or existing troubles of Europe, we have no part to act on its pacification. But, as principles may then be settled in which we have a deep interest, it is a great happiness for us that they are placed under the protection of an umpire who, looking beyond the narrow bounds of an individual nation, will take under the cover of his equity the rights of the absent and unrepresented. It is only by a happy concurrence of good characters and good occasions that a step can now and then be taken to advance the well-being of nations. If the present occasion be good, I am sure your Majesty's character will not be wanting to avail the world of it. By monuments of such good offices may your life become an epoch in the history of the condition of men; and may He who called it into being for the good of the human family, give it length of days and success, and have it always in His holy keeping!"

Jefferson's anticipations were not realised; and in the spring an event occurred which rendered still more difficult the relations between the United States and England. The British ship *Leander*, then on a cruise off New York, prosecuted with great rigour the practice of searching American vessels for runaway English seamen. On one occasion, this ship fired on a coasting vessel near Sandy Hook, and killed a sailor named John Pierce. The President accordingly, on the 3rd of May, issued a proclamation, forbidding the entrance of the *Leander*, and two other ships in company with her, into the waters of the United States; calling upon all officers, civil and military, to apprehend Henry Whitby, the captain of the *Leander*, on a charge of murder; prohibiting any communication between the shore and the offending ships; and warning all citizens against giving them aid, under the penalties of the law. Special Envoys, however, were despatched to England for the arrangement of existing differences. The presence of Fox in the Government greatly mitigated the hostility of Jefferson, and he wrote to Monroe, then Minister at London, that the measures recently taken by his Administration ought not to be regarded by the existing Cabinet of London as looking towards them, but merely as consequences of the measures of their predecessors, which the English nation had called on them to correct. "No two countries upon earth," he observed, "have so many points of common interest and friendship; and their rulers must be great bunglers indeed if, with such dispositions, they break them asunder. The only rivalry that can arise is on the ocean." England, the President admitted, might check the development of the United States, but only for a time; and justice and conciliation on her part would promote the security of both. "We have," he proceeded, "the seamen and materials for fifty ships of the line, and half that number of frigates; and were France to give us the money, and England the dispositions to equip them, they would give to England serious proofs of the stock from which they are sprung, and the school in which they have been taught, and, added to the effects of the immensity of sea-coast lately united under one power, would leave the state of the ocean no longer problematical. Were, on the other hand, England to give the money, and France the dispositions to place us on the sea in all our force, the whole world, out of the continent of Europe, might be our joint monopoly. We wish for neither of these scenes. We ask for peace and justice from all nations, and we will remain uprightly neutral in fact, though leaning in belief to the opinion that an English ascendency on the ocean is safer for us than that of France."

These friendly feelings on the part of Jefferson—feelings which were certainly not in harmony with the ordinary tenor of his views towards England—fell in with the more pacific inclination of the new Government at London, and seemed at one time likely to bring about a complete accommodation of all existing difficulties. Monroe and William Pinckney, the two American representatives at the

British capital, came to an amicable understanding with the Ministers, Lords Holland and Auckland. The latter consented to permit the Americans to carry on, as before, their circuitous trade between the West Indies and Europe; but, as regards the impressing of seamen, nothing could be settled. The case was indeed extremely difficult, and both nations had just grounds for complaint. On the one side, it was obviously a serious grievance to the Americans that their vessels should be searched, and seamen taken from aboard, some of whom afterwards proved to be Americans by birth. On the other hand, the American mercantile marine was a harbour of refuge for a large number of deserters from the English navy, and that at a time when England required the aid of all her sons for resisting the most gigantic combinations that had ever been directed against her. The hardships endured by sailors on board English fleets, and the merciless severity with which the punishment of the lash was inflicted, had a great deal to do with these frequent desertions; but, however much the English system may have been to blame, it was not to be expected that any English Government should look with indifference at so serious a depletion of the national power. In the war between Great Britain and the United States which broke out some few years later, the successes obtained by American over English vessels were due in some degree to the elements of strength which had thus been transferred from one side of the Atlantic to the other. No party in England could afford to disregard such a question, and unfortunately it presented insuperable obstacles to an agreement with America. England has always maintained that a British-born subject can never become an alien, even though he should have made himself a citizen of another State—a contention which in itself seems not unreasonable, though it cannot be held to justify the invasion of foreign territory or foreign ships. America has invariably denied the English view; and this difference of opinion led to the embarrassments which we are now considering.

Had it been easy to distinguish between Englishmen and Americans, some arrangement might perhaps have been come to; but this was next to impossible, owing to the similarity of physical appearance, and the identity of tongue. The American Envoys at London could propose no feasible plan; yet, on the British negotiators promising that fresh orders should be issued to the navy, restraining their arbitrary practice in this respect, Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney signed the treaty on the 31st of December, 1806. It reached America early in 1807, when the President, dissatisfied with the absence of any provision with regard to the right of search and the power of taking sailors off American vessels, refused to ratify the document which his representatives had negotiated. The Non-importation Act, however, was for a time suspended. To the Federalists, the refusal to ratify the treaty, which was certainly in some respects an improvement on that of 1794, appeared a mistake in policy; and Jefferson himself considered it advisable to make further efforts towards an arrangement. On the 20th of May, 1807, the Secretary of State, Mr. Madison, wrote a set of new instructions to the American negotiators in London, in which it was particularly insisted that without a provision against impressments no fresh treaty was to be concluded. But the death of Fox had rendered still more unlikely any satisfaction of the American demands in this respect; and, on the 22nd of October, the new Foreign Secretary, Mr. Canning, sent a tardy reply to the proposals of Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney—a reply, of which the upshot was that the opening of fresh negotiations, upon the basis of a treaty already solemnly concluded and signed, was wholly inadmissible. In this communication, Canning justified the previous reservation of the right to retaliate the French decrees, and maintained that the subject of the impressment of British seamen from merchant-vessels formed no part of the treaty, and was entitled only to a separate and subsequent discussion. He also protested, on behalf of his Government, "against a practice, altogether unusual in the political transactions of States, by which the American Government assumes to itself the privilege of revising and altering agreements concluded and signed on its behalf by its agents duly authorised for that purpose; of retaining so much of those agreements as may be favourable to its own views; and of rejecting such stipulations, or such parts of stipulations, as are conceived to be not sufficiently beneficial to America." The practice was certainly inconvenient to foreign Governments, but it was a necessary feature of the popular system of rule which had been established in the United States.

Before the final resolve of the British Government had been made known by Canning, public opinion in America was exasperated to a pitch of fury by an event which gave a more than usually irritating character to the question of the right of search and the reclamation of supposed English subjects. The British ship-of-war, *Leopard*, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Humphreys, was cruising off the Capes of Virginia on the 23rd of

June. Perceiving the American frigate, *Chesapeake*, not far away, Captain Humphreys hailed her, and despatched a boat with a letter to the chief officer, Captain Barron, informing him that Admiral Berkeley had given orders to take any British deserters from the *Chesapeake*—by force, if necessary—and at the same time to allow, on his own part, a search for American deserters. Captain Barron, in reply, refused permission to search, but stated that he had instructed his recruiting officer not to enlist British subjects, and that he had no knowledge that any were on board. The *Leopard* thereupon fired into the *Chesapeake*, killing some of the crew, and the latter, being unprepared for action, immediately struck her flag. A boat from the English vessel was then sent to the American, the officers of which tendered their swords. The English officer in command declined to receive them, but required the muster-roll of the ship, and, having taken off four men whom he claimed as British subjects, left the *Chesapeake*, which then returned to Hampton Roads, whence she had come. Of the men so taken, only one was English. The other three were native Americans, men of colour, who had at one time entered the British navy, and who had been formally demanded at Washington. The Englishman was afterwards tried in Nova Scotia, and hanged as a deserter.

A paroxysm of rage seized on the American people when the story of the *Chesapeake* came to be known. The slight resistance offered by that vessel increased the general feeling of mortification and anger. Some demanded an immediate declaration of war against England, and Jefferson observed that the country had never been in such a state since the collision at Lexington. The people of Norfolk and Portsmouth, in Virginia, unanimously passed resolutions to discontinue all communication with the British war-ships then on the coast. They requested pilots and others to withhold their services, and appointed a committee to correspond with the neighbouring counties, and to invite the co-operation of the principal seaports until reparation should be made. At Hampton, the people even went the length of destroying two hundred hogsheads of water which had just been put on board a schooner for the British squadron. These measures led to reprisals; and, on the 3rd of July, an English officer wrote to the Mayor of Norfolk that, if the resolution prohibiting all communication between the British consul and the ships were not immediately annulled, he would stop every vessel bound either to Norfolk or out of it. The menace was afterwards withdrawn, and the captain was allowed to communicate with the consul by letter. A proclamation was issued by the President on the 2nd of July. Its object was to interdict armed British vessels from entering the harbours and waters of the United States, and to forbid all supplies to them, and all intercourse with them, on pain of the law; excepting only vessels in distress, and ships conveying despatches. It would doubtless have been a popular act on the part of Jefferson had he at once plunged into war; but he was willing to avoid that perilous issue, if it could be done consistently with national honour, and the due protection of national interests. He therefore determined to give the British Government an opportunity of disavowal and reparation, but in the meanwhile to prepare the country for war, should such a course become inevitable. An armed vessel was despatched with instructions to the American Minister in London to require satisfaction for the injury, and security for the future. A hundred thousand men in the several States were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and on the 30th of July the President summoned Congress to assemble on the 25th of October, by which time it might be expected that the reply of the English Ministers would have arrived.

On the meeting of Congress, the President, in his inaugural Message, stated that the aggressions of the British continued; that their ships remained within American waters, and that violations of American jurisdiction continually occurred. They had likewise interdicted all trade by neutrals between ports not in amity with themselves; by which, as they were at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, the vessels of the United States were compelled either to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port, or return home without a market. On the 18th of December, an English proclamation, dated the 16th of October, was communicated to both Houses. By this notification, all British seamen in foreign service, whether on board Royal or merchant-ships, were required to return home, and all commanders of ships of war were ordered to stop all persons who should be so employed on any foreign merchant-ship, but to commit no unnecessary violence. Foreign public ships were required to give up any British subjects serving on board; and these persons were warned that letters of naturalisation granted them by foreign States could not divest them of their natural allegiance. Those who continued in such service were to be proceeded against, and those who should enter into the service of any State at war with Great Britain were declared guilty of treason.

The commercial relations between America and the European belligerents became progressively

more troublesome and vexatious. On the 7th of January, 1807, Great Britain issued an Order in Council prohibiting the trade of neutrals from port to port of the French Empire. This comparatively mild decree of Lord Grenville's Whig Government was followed on the 11th of November, when the Tories were in power under the Duke of Portland, by another Order in Council forbidding neutral nations to trade with France and her allies, except on payment of tribute to Great Britain. The reply of Napoleon was a decree, issued from Milan on the 17th of December, 1807, which declared that every neutral vessel which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or should pay the tribute demanded, would be confiscated, if afterwards found in any port of the French Empire, or if taken by any of the French cruisers. By these several orders and decrees, almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean was liable to capture. In defence of the British Order in Council declaring the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade, and prohibiting neutral vessels altogether from commerce in those parts, it was pleaded on the English side that, in consequence of America having submitted to the Berlin decree (which, however, she denied having done), it was but fair to impose upon her such restrictions as would equally operate against France. Thus, the United States were made to suffer, and that in no slight degree, because England and France were at issue. As a measure of protection, the President recommended to Congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port, to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted, and it was hoped in this way to induce the belligerent Powers to return to a more conciliatory course, by depriving them of the benefits derived from their trade with the United States. The measure was passed on the 22nd of December, long before any news of Napoleon's Milan decree could possibly have reached America, and when the Washington Cabinet had only received an unofficial intimation of the British Order in Council of November 11th. The embargo was unpopular in the New England States, since it deprived the mercantile classes of their chief source of profit. The Federalists characterised the Act as unwise and oppressive; it did in fact lead to severe distress in many quarters; and, as it had proceeded from the Democratic party, it caused a revulsion of feeling in favour of their opponents.

The embargo acted more to the disadvantage of England, as being the greatest mercantile nation in the world, than to that of France. For this very reason it enjoyed the support of the Democrats, and in an equal proportion aroused the ire of the Federalists, and of those few members of the Democratic party who had joined in the political schism created by Randolph. The latter argued that an alliance with England was preferable to a good understanding with France, because it was on England that the commercial and internal prosperity of America depended, and because the balance of power in Europe would be better maintained in that way. The feeling against England, however, arising from the antagonism of previous years, and now intensified by the persistent assertion by the British of the right of search, prevailed with the American Government over every other consideration. Jefferson, in his correspondence, admitted that the imposition of an embargo was a measure preparatory to war, and was intended to have the effect of recalling American merchant-ships and their sailors from various parts of the globe, and giving time for the country to arm itself against possible eventualities. At London, a long correspondence took place between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Canning, but without any favourable result; and the American Minister left England early in November, and returned to his own country. The English Government professed readiness to make reparation, if any unauthorised act of aggression had been committed; but the general question of the right of search presented insuperable obstacles to an agreement. A Minister from England, Mr. Rose, afterwards arrived at Washington, for the purpose of adjusting the misunderstanding relative to the *Chesapeake*. Early in 1808, this gentleman addressed a letter to Mr. Madison, in which he said he was precluded from entering on the subject of reparation until the President's proclamation of July 2nd, 1807, was withdrawn, and he objected to mingling any general discussion with the specific facts connected with the case of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*. In reply, Mr. Madison stated that the President, being anxious to testify his moderation, and to restore harmony between the two nations, was willing, on Mr. Rose disclosing the terms of reparation which he thought would be satisfactory, and on their appearing so, to make the repeal of the proclamation coincident with the reparation. To this suggestion Mr. Rose responded that, on giving the subject the fullest consideration, he must decline all negotiation on the conditions stipulated, as being contrary to his positive instructions; and that, as the terms proposed by him had been rejected, his mission had come to an end. In the course of his communication, he reviewed the whole transaction, vindicated the conduct of the naval

commanders concerned in the affair of the *Chesapeake*, and affirmed that Great Britain, as on former occasions, would refuse to treat so long as hostility was manifested towards her. This letter closed the correspondence, and Mr. Rose left America for England about the end of March.

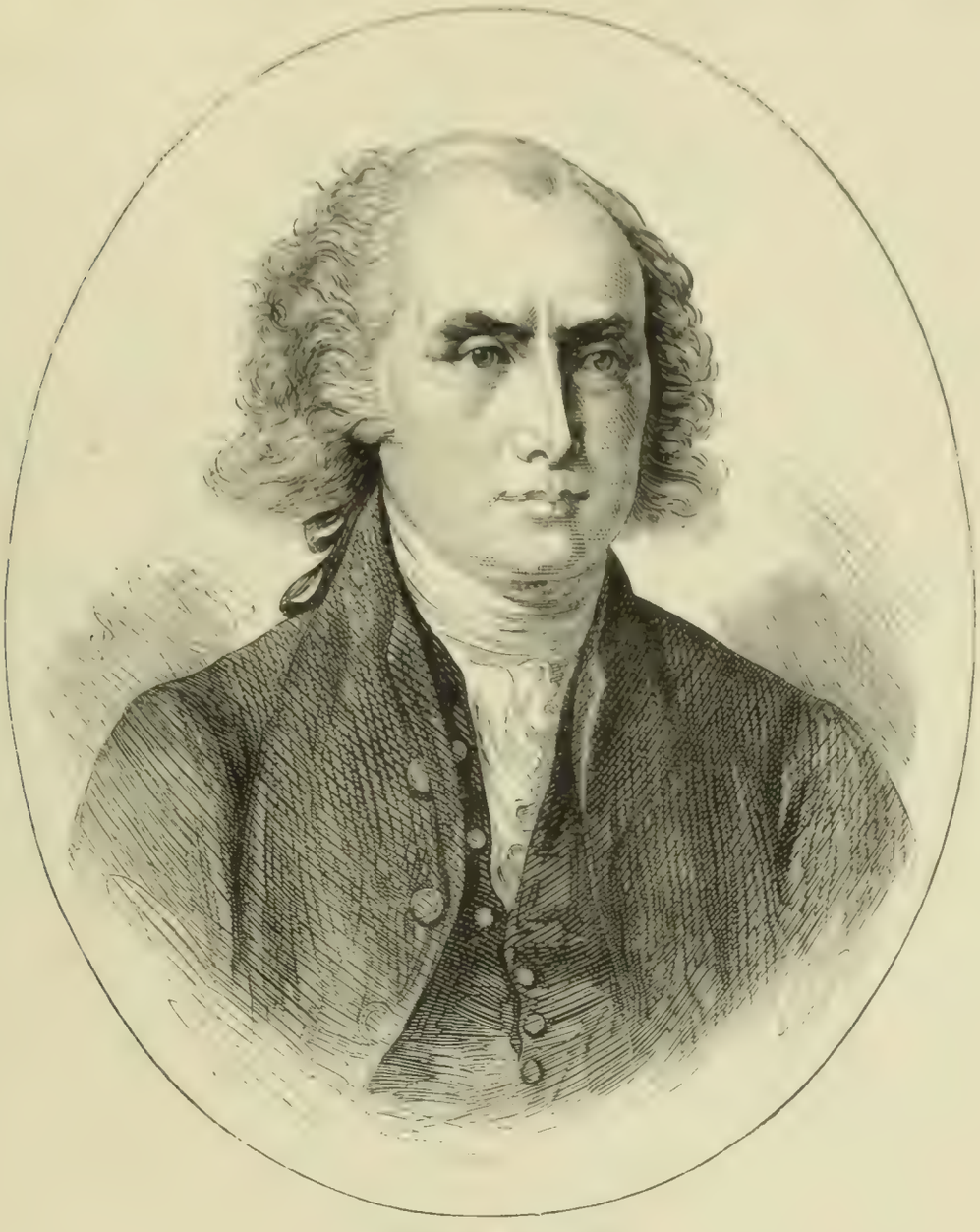
The situation was most embarrassing, and there seemed to be no clear way out of it. The American Government requested both England and France to recall their obnoxious decrees; but France returned no answer at all, and that of Mr. Canning was considered insulting. The distress occasioned by the embargo increased with every day, and the Democratic party was obviously losing ground in consequence of the support which its members gave to that questionable measure. Jefferson about this time wrote to a friend:—"The Federalists are now playing a game of the most mischievous tendency, without, perhaps, being themselves aware of it. They are endeavouring to convince England that we suffer more from the embargo than they do, and that, if they will hold out awhile, we must abandon it. It is true that the time will come when we must abandon it; but if this is before the repeal of the Orders in Council, we must abandon it only for a state of war." There was a split, however, among the Federalists as well as among the Democrats. John Quincy Adams, the eldest son of the late President, had recently resigned his seat in the Senate, because he differed from the majority of his constituents in supporting the measures of the Administration. He wrote to the President, informing him that it was the determination of the ruling party throughout New England not to submit



THE OFFICERS OF THE "CHESAPEAKE" OFFERING THEIR SWORDS.

much longer to the embargo, but to separate themselves from the Union if it were not speedily rescinded. He gave it as his opinion that, owing to the severe pressure of the embargo upon that mercantile and trading communion, they would be supported in such a course by the great body of the people, and that they were already receiving the countenance of a secret agent of Great Britain. In more recent times, however, it has been denied that the Federalists ever had such an intention. Shortly after the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, John Quincy Adams had been removed from his position as one of the Bankruptcy Commissioners, on the reduction in the number of those

officials. It was thought that party feeling had something to do with his deprivation, and Jefferson was certainly of opinion that the late President had been too fond of making places for members of his own family. But the communication with respect to the New England malcontents put the younger Adams on a more friendly footing with the Demo-



PRESIDENT MADISON.

cratic party, and shortly afterwards, under the Presidency of Mr. Madison, he obtained the appointment of Minister to St. Petersburg. As regards the state of affairs in the North, his information may in some points have been incorrect; but it is unquestionable that opinion in that quarter was strongly directed against interruption to the ordinary course of business. A report was drawn up by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, which declared the embargo ruinous at home, unsatisfactory to France, and ineffectual as a retaliation upon England. It recommended a repeal of the measure, as well as of that Act which forbade English ships to enter American waters, while those of France were admitted. The question was debated in Congress, and the several alternatives of submission, war with both countries, and war with one, were discussed with much violence, but without any practical issue. Before the close of the session, Congress determined to recommend, for the present, a continuance of the embargo; but, as a juster conduct on the part of the belligerents might render it unnecessary, they further suggested that a power of suspending it should be vested in the Executive until the next meeting of the two Houses. A law was then passed, authorising the President to suspend the Embargo Act in the event of a peace between the belligerents of Europe, or in case such changes should take place in their measures affecting

neutral commerce as might render the trade of the United States sufficiently safe.

During the discussion of these important and difficult matters, preparations were being made for the next Presidential election. The two candidates of the Democratic party were Madison and Monroe, both natives of Virginia. Madison, it was well known, would continue the policy of Jefferson, of whose Administration he had throughout been the leading member. Monroe received the support of John Randolph, and of those seceders from the Democratic party who ranged themselves under Randolph's guidance. There could be little doubt, however, that the choice would rest with Madison, who, on the retirement of Jefferson, would be the obvious and unquestionable leader of the great body which his intellect and character adorned. The strength of the two candidates was tested in a caucus* of the Democratic members of the Virginian Legislature, and also in a caucus of the Democratic members of Congress; on both which occasions a large majority declared for the Secretary of State. He was therefore nominated for the office of President, and George Clinton, of New York, for that of Vice-President. Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, were the candidates of the Federal party; and the former received the votes of all the New England States, except Vermont, the vote of Delaware, two votes in Maryland, and three in North Carolina—making in all forty-seven votes. George Clinton received six of the nineteen votes of New York, and James Madison all the rest, amounting to one hundred and twenty-two. Madison, therefore, was the President for the ensuing four years, and Clinton retained the position of Vice-President, which he had held since 1805. Mr. Monroe received scarcely any support at all, and even for the inferior office failed in obtaining more than three votes.

Three days before Jefferson retired from office—viz., on the 1st of March, 1809—the Embargo Act was repealed by Congress, which simultaneously passed a law forbidding all commercial intercourse with England and France until the Orders in Council and the decrees should be repealed. This change afforded some relief to the people, since it re-opened commercial intercourse with all nations excepting the two chief belligerent Powers of Europe. But these exceptions were so serious that the measure gave very slight satisfaction to the commercial interests of the North-eastern States.

* The word *caucus* is used in America to denote a meeting of citizens to agree upon candidates to be proposed for election to offices, or to concert measures for supporting a party. The origin of the word is not ascertained.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

Jefferson, who had entered office as the head of a vast and then undivided body, and who was at that time one of the most popular men in the whole Union, relinquished power in the midst of discord and doubtful party relations, the victim, to a great extent, of circumstances which it was impossible to alter or control, but also, in some degree, of his own vehement feelings, which always gave the utmost sharpness to his measures against England, but which, while starting from an extravagant flattery of French principles of rule, ended in placing his Administration in a position of antagonism towards the Government of Napoleon. On another question—the removability of the judges—the views of Jefferson made him unpopular with the Federals; and the impeachment of Judge Chase, in 1804, on charges of misconduct arising out of political feeling—a proceeding which resulted in the acquittal of the accused as to every one of the eight indictments—reflected little credit on the Government or the Legislature. But all these matters had now passed into other hands. Jefferson bade farewell to Washington on the 4th of March, 1809, and retired to his country seat at Monticello, Virginia—doubtless as heartily pleased as his two predecessors to leave the tumult of politics for the quiet of retirement.

Madison took up the reins of office at an epoch of gloom, depression, and discontent. Two months before his assumption of power, the Massachusetts Legislature had painted the general situation in very sombre terms. "Our agriculture," they said, "is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." If somewhat exaggerated by the warmth of party feeling, this statement was nevertheless true in the main. By the people of the North-eastern States it was greatly doubted whether matters would experience any improvement under the administration of Mr. Madison; but his inaugural address had so suave and conciliatory a character that most of his opponents were re-assured, and inclined at least to give him a trial. He was a man of very large political experience; his character was honourable and amiable; and, having at different periods of his life been connected with both political parties, it might not unnaturally be supposed that he would equally understand their conflicting views, and be

desirous of reconciling extreme opinions by the adoption of some middle course. It was held that the repeal of the Embargo Act offered a favourable opportunity for renewing negotiations with England. Mr. Erskine, the British Minister at Washington, had recently received from his Government full powers to treat, together with instructions as to the points to be insisted on. He was to consent to withdraw the Orders in Council on all essential points, provided that certain preliminary conditions were granted: that is to say, a repeal of the prohibition against English ships appearing in American waters, and the abandonment by the United States of their assumed right to trade with such of the French colonies as they were not permitted to trade with in peace. Mr. Erskine considered that the suspension of non-intercourse would be a fair equivalent for that of the Orders in Council, and therefore promised that these should cease to be in force at a certain epoch. The President accordingly, on the 19th of April, suspended the Non-intercourse Act; but, unfortunately, matters were marching a great deal faster than the British Government designed. The promises of Mr. Erskine were disavowed by the Administration in England, and the Orders in Council were suspended only so far as not to endanger those vessels which had sailed from America on the faith of the understanding which had been come to at Washington. The consequence was a re-proclamation of non-intercourse, which was made by the President on the 10th of August. The war-feeling now revived in all its bitterness, and Madison could scarcely restrain the popular impatience for hostilities. Mr. Erskine was recalled, on the plea that he had made engagements for which he had not sufficient authority, and Mr. Jackson was appointed his successor. In a correspondence between this gentleman and the Secretary of State, the former insinuated that the American Government knew Mr. Erskine had not been authorised to make the recent arrangements, and therefore knew also that they would not be binding on England. This imputation was distinctly denied by the Secretary, Mr. Robert Smith, but was subsequently repeated in an offensive manner by Mr. Jackson. The British representative was thereupon informed that, on account of his indecorous conduct, no other communication from him would be received. He was shortly afterwards recalled by his Government, and the wearisome and barren dispute seemed as far from settlement as ever.

Application was now again made by America to France, for the repeal of those decrees which had proved so injurious to the commerce of the United States. Napoleon replied that his ordinances had been issued only by way of retaliation, and that they would be immediately nullified if England recalled her blockade and her Orders in Council. In consequence of this answer, Mr. Madison obtained from the majority of Congress certain resolutions approving of the policy adopted by the French Emperor towards England. Such a step was certainly most objectionable, and little calculated to remove the difficulties existing between America and Great Britain. Massachusetts protested against this exhibition of ill will; but the opinion of America in general supported the President and Congress in the policy they had adopted. Preparations for war were pushed forward with redoubled activity, and attempts were made to produce at home those manufactures which the Americans had hitherto imported from England. On the other hand, the commercial classes in the old country endeavoured to find in Canada the commodities which they had been in the habit of deriving from the United States; and both nations suffered acutely because their rulers could not agree on certain political questions which might have been settled in a few days, had the two sides been governed by a spirit of fairness and conciliation.

The Non-intercourse Act expired in 1810, and the Americans took advantage of the opportunity to request once more that the restrictions of the two belligerents might be removed. The French Sovereign had issued from Rambouillet, on the 23rd of March, a decree more severe in its operation than any of its predecessors. He declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since the commencement of the month, or that might afterwards enter; authorised the sale of the same, together with the cargoes; and directed that the money should be paid into the French treasury. This sweeping measure was justified on the ground that it was made in retaliation for the American law of non-intercourse. The latest proposals of the American Government, which were put forth in May, contemplated the resumption of commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, provided their despotic Orders should be abandoned by the 3rd of March, 1811. The Act provided that, if either Government should repeal its decrees, and if the other Government should not do the same within the following three months, the first should enjoy commercial intercourse with the United States, but the other should not. In response to this invitation, the French Emperor behaved with great duplicity, and the British Government with great arrogance. The former assured the President, in August, that the

desired repeal should take effect in November. Madison accordingly proclaimed the resumption of intercourse with France; but, in spite of all promises to the contrary, American vessels continued to be captured by the French, and in March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be fundamental laws of the Empire. Moreover, a new Envoy from France gave official notice to the American Government that no remuneration would be made for property seized and confiscated. England had from the first told the United States Minister at London that the French Emperor could not be sincere in his declarations, as the repeal of his decrees would have broken through the Continental System (that by which he hoped to shut out the commerce of England from every European port), which was an unalterable part of his policy. On this account, and also because of the menacing tone assumed by the American Government, the English Administration declined to recall the Orders in Council, and, after a good deal of vain discussion, Mr. Pinckney determined to take leave, and return to Washington.

Another hostile collision at sea now brought matters still nearer to a declaration of war. A British sloop, the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham, was engaged in the interception of American merchant-vessels on the coast of the United States during the early months of 1811. On the 16th of April, off the shores of Virginia, she encountered the American frigate *President*, under Commodore Rogers. That officer hailed the sloop, and was himself hailed almost simultaneously. Neither officer would reply, and, after another interchange of hailing, without any response, the English vessel fired into the American. The fire was returned, and a brief but sanguinary struggle ensued, ending in the mutual rendering of that information which ought to have been given at first. The conduct of both officers was approved by their respective Governments, and in America popular feeling was highly excited by the haughty claims of England. The cry for war was almost universal, and it was felt that the country could hardly suffer more from a state of open hostility than it was then suffering from a state of nominal peace. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded and searched, and many were sent to British ports as legal prizes. The system of impressing American sailors alleged to be British subjects was continued with the utmost rigour, and it is to be feared that in many instances the proceedings of British naval officers were not merely harsh, but needlessly insulting. Since 1803, the English cruisers had captured nine hundred American vessels, and the injury to commerce was so great that the nation was threatened with pecuniary ruin. It was with difficulty that the Government could even moderate the indignation of the people; and before the close of 1811 it had become only too clear that war with England was inevitable within a period of a very few months.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Position of the United States, in 1811, for conducting a War with England—Suggestions for meeting the coming Struggle—Seizure of West Florida—Final Attempts at an Accommodation—The War still inevitable—Address of President Madison to Congress—Preparations for Hostilities—Troubles among the North-western Indians—Appearance of a Prophet—Action with the Savages—Opposition in the British Parliament to the Orders in Council—Declaration of War by the United States against England—Causes of the Quarrel, and unaccommodating Disposition of the Two Powers—Unpopularity of the War in the New England States—Alleged Plan for effecting a Separation of those States from the Union—The Peace Party intimidated—Organisation of the American Army—Invasion of Canada by General Hull—His Inaction and Subsequent Retreat—Detroit surrendered to the British General, Brock—Trial and Condemnation of General Hull—Massacre by Indians at the Head of Lake Michigan—The Army and Navy of the United States—Renewed Attempts on Canada—Discomfiture of the Expedition led by General Van Rensselaer—Postponement of Further Operations—Serious Opposition to the Government in the North-eastern States—Alleged Monarchical Tendencies in New England—Encounters at Sea—Naval Victories of the Americans—Re-election of Madison—Opening of Congress.

Now that the necessity for encountering the British had again arisen, it became a matter of serious importance to determine how the requisite forces were to be found. Jefferson, during his term of office, had reduced the growing navy of the Republic to the most slender dimensions; jealousy of a standing army was a powerful sentiment with the Democrats, who had been the dominant party since the begin-

ning of the century; and now that the nation was on the eve of a deadly struggle, it had scarcely any military resources on which to draw, excepting such as could be improvised under the spur of the occasion. Every one knew that England would strike her hardest; the terrible sufferings of the States during the Revolutionary War were not yet worn out of the popular remembrance; and it was but too likely that these would be repeated, if the country were not prepared beforehand to encounter the shock of a powerful foe, strong in arms, and in the financial means which give to arms their greatest force and widest application. New York and New Orleans were seen to be among the most vulnerable positions in the Federation—especially the latter city; and preparations were made for fortifying both. In connection with New Orleans, it was suggested that lands should be granted to a body of men, on condition of their being trained, and holding themselves in readiness to take up arms directly an enemy should appear off the coast. The plan was similar to that which in 1749 led to the formation of a military colony at Halifax, Nova Scotia. But it was considered that a settlement of this nature would be out of harmony with the institutions of a Democratic Republic, and the proposal was not adopted. It was thought advisable, however, to seize West Florida, as a precaution against Spain. This was a very high-handed proceeding, which cannot be justified by anything in the existing relations between the Government of the United States and the Cabinet of Madrid. The British remonstrated against the act, but of course without effect. In such matters, all nations are but too apt to take their interests for the supreme law.

A last attempt at accommodation was made by the British Government in the course of 1811, when another plenipotentiary, Mr. Foster, was sent out from London. This gentleman was authorised to disavow the attack on the *Chesapeake*, to promise the restoration to that vessel of the surviving sailors taken from it, and to make pecuniary provision for those who were wounded, and for the families of those who were killed. Thus, though tardily, England acknowledged that Admiral Berkeley and his subordinate had acted unjustifiably in firing on the American frigate, and seizing certain of her crew. President Madison accepted the terms now offered, and so far the dispute between the two Powers was at an end. But there were other grounds of discord, and England still refused to give up the general principle of the right of search, or to repeal the Orders in Council. After a great deal of barren discussion, and many vain recriminations, Mr. Foster declared his mission at an end, and departed for Europe. The capture of American vessels went on with redoubled energy, and the patience of the country was exhausted when Congress re-assembled early in November.

The elections in 1810 and 1811 had shown that the Democratic party was still in the majority, taking the Federation altogether, and Madison accordingly met the two Houses with a confident anticipation that his measures would have the support of the greater number in both. In his opening address, the President remarked that, at the close of the previous session, hopes had been entertained of the speedy repeal by Great Britain of the ordinances which had acted so injuriously on American commerce, but that these anticipations had been disappointed. "Notwithstanding," continued the Chief Magistrate, "the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States to substitute for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British Cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce. With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." The President then demanded an increase in the army, the navy, and all the military stores and establishments of the Federation; and the temper of the country was such that there was no room to doubt an enthusiastic response to this appeal. Laws were enacted for increasing the regular army to 35,000 men; for augmenting the naval establishment; and for empowering the President to accept the services of volunteers, to make a detachment from the militia, and to borrow eleven millions of dollars. Some politicians flattered themselves that England, seeing these preparations, would recede from her position of antagonism; but this was a most improbable circumstance, and the opinion showed little discernment in those who formed it.

Among the topics referred to by the President in his Message was the spirit of insubordination which had recently broken out again in the savage tribes of the North-west. This was attributed to British influence, and to a free employment of

British gold. It is not necessary, however, to seek any such recondite cause for the movement which was now taking place. The Indians had obeyed an impulse proceeding from one of their own body, and were, from purely patriotic motives, making a desperate and unavailing endeavour to recover the position they had lost. A Prophet had appeared amongst them, who constantly represented to his fellows that their misfortunes during the previous two hundred years were attributable to their having forsaken the wise and simple habits of their ancestors, and that he had been commissioned by the Great Spirit to warn them against mingling with the whites, — eating hogs and bullocks, instead of game procured by their own skill and courage in hunting,—and drinking intoxicating liquors. The twin-brother of this reformer was a Shawnee chief, named Tecumseh, a man of courage and considerable ability, but deceitful and cruel. His great object was to confederate the tribes of the North-west, and to make a destructive and relentless war on the people of the United States. The tribes over whom he and his brother exercised the greatest control were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas. In 1809, a treaty had been negotiated with the Miamis and other tribes, by which they sold to the United States a large tract of land on both sides of the Wabash. To this agreement, the Prophet, who was present, made no objection; but his brother, who was absent at the time, afterwards expressed great dissatisfaction. So matters went on for more than a year, and Tecumseh and his brother exerted themselves to the utmost to excite a general feeling of discontent. At length, the movements, demeanour, and oratorical displays of these savages became so alarming, that General Harrison, then Governor of the Territory of Indiana, was ordered, in the autumn of 1811, to take measures against them. He marched with a considerable force towards the principal village of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the rivers Tippecanoe and Wabash, in the upper part of the county of Tippecanoe. A conference was proposed by the Prophet, and it was agreed that there should be no hostile proceedings until this had taken place; but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms during the whole of the ensuing night. Just before daybreak on the following morning (November 7th), the Indians burst upon the American troops with great fury, and would probably have inflicted on them a disastrous defeat, had not the latter been prepared to receive their foes. A bloody battle followed, but the savages were at length dispersed. The loss was heavy on both sides, and the Americans had upwards of sixty killed, and more than a hundred wounded. Tecumseh was not present on the occasion, and the Prophet took no part in the engagement. The Indian village was laid waste, and General Harrison then retired, having received almost as much injury as he had inflicted.



INDIAN CHILD IN CRADLE.
(*From Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes."*)

The preparations for war with England continued throughout the winter months, and at London also the probability of an approaching contest was steadily contemplated. The Opposition in Parliament, however, did their utmost to prevent such a misfortune, and in the early months of 1812 several warm debates ensued on the main grounds of quarrel. A committee to take into consideration the Orders in Council was moved for in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and in the Commons by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham. The former argued that if, at the time of the American Revolution, any one could have foreseen that the whole commerce of Continental Europe would have fallen under the dominion of France, such a person would have looked to the establishment of an independent State on the western side of the Atlantic, out of the reach of French power, and calculated to become the carrier of English commerce and the purchaser of English manufactures, as the greatest boon that could be rendered. Such an event, he



VIEW ON THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

remarked, had occurred, as if providentially; yet this inestimable advantage had been destroyed by the Orders in Council. Brougham spoke to the same effect, and a majority in both Houses voted in favour of the committee. The manufacturing towns of England petitioned against the restrictions on American commerce; and by the time the report of the committee was brought up, so strong a feeling had arisen in opposition to the Ministerial policy that the Government felt compelled to give way, and to promise that the Orders should be rescinded. The concession, however, came too late. Popular feeling in America was by this time passionately aroused, and, although it was known that the subject was being debated in the British Parliament, the President, on the 1st of June, 1812, sent a message to Congress, recapitulating the causes of complaint against Great Britain, and recommending a formal declaration of war. The message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations in the House of Representatives, by the majority of whom a manifesto was speedily agreed upon, as the basis of a declaration such as that which Madison desired. On the following day, the 4th of June, a Bill, drawn up by the Attorney-General of the United States, and declaring war to exist between that Government and Great Britain, was presented by Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina. During these proceedings, Congress sat with closed doors. The Bill was agreed to, and on the 17th of June received the signature of the President. "Be it enacted," ran the text of this measure, "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof." The formal declaration of war against Great Britain, contained in a proclamation by the President, was issued on the 19th of June, and the precarious peace which had existed since 1783, and which was constantly on the eve of dissolution, gave way to a state of open antagonism, destined to settle nothing, but to increase in a large degree the feeling of ill-will between two branches of one race. The Federalists in Congress presented a protest, which denied both the necessity and the expediency of the war; but this party had long ceased to have any influence in the conduct of affairs. What afterwards made the war more lamentable was the fact that, on the 23rd of June, the English Government unconditionally suspended the Orders in Council, as far as America was concerned.

The contest now about to commence has sometimes been called the Second War for Independence. Those who give it this title contend that until it broke out America was dependent on the favour of England; that she was injured and insulted by that country; and that, rather than violate the peace which was essential to her well-being, she endured the ill-usage of the oppressor. Franklin, in his latter years, hearing some one allude to the War of Independence, interposed, saying, "Sir, you mean the Revolution; the War of Independence is yet to come. It was a war *for* independence, but not *of* independence." There may have been some amount of truth in this; but the truth was overstated. Had there been a more temperate assertion of her own rights on the part of America—had there not been so obvious a tendency, after the Democrats came into power, to uphold France against England—had there been a greater disposition to evince a friendly and conciliatory feeling towards the old country—these disagreements might never have reached the bitter end which throws so sanguine a stain over this period of history. It is equally true, however, that England was too exclusively regardful of her own interests, and asserted her power with the arrogance of a country accustomed to conquer, and disinclined to submit. The identity of race between Englishmen and Americans is seen as much in their faults as in their virtues; and, looking back from the vantage-ground of wiser and happier times, it is impossible not to lament that so much noble blood was cast away, because neither country had at that date learned the art of maintaining its rights without injuring the rights of others, or wounding their self-esteem. The British claim to board American vessels, and remove all who were suspected of being English subjects, was certainly a monstrous excess of power; but if the Democrats, on acceding to office, had exhibited as much willingness as their predecessors to give up deserters from the British flag, it is probable that the alleged right of search would have led to no more difficulty under the rule of Jefferson and Madison than under that of Washington and Adams. England took the law into her own hands in far too dictatorial a manner; but she had a real grievance. The Democrats were

always opposed to the surrender of fugitive English seamen.* They saw that the loss of her sailors was weakening England, and in an equal degree strengthening America; and they desired to promote both results by every means in their power. Thus, out of a conflict of interests, arose the war of 1812 [illegible].

Not only the minority in Congress, but the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, together with several of the commercial cities, protested against the war in public addresses. Their action, however, was without any result. The people of the United States, for the most part, were so enthusiastically in favour of the war that the Proclamation declaring it was in several places received with illuminations and rejoicings, and the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore passed resolutions approving of the conduct of Government, and pledging themselves to support it. At Baltimore, the printing-office of a newspaper which had ventured to oppose the popular fury was destroyed by the mob, and the conductor of the journal, on attempting to produce it in a neighbouring town, was seriously maltreated. He and a party of his friends defended the office with much spirit, but were at length taken to prison as a measure of protection. The gaol was broken open next day, and several Federalists, amongst whom was General Lingan, an officer who had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, were massacred by the rioters. These violent manifestations had the effect of increasing the discontent prevalent in the Northern States, and the injury to the commerce of New England, which the re-issue of an embargo in April had for the time suspended, occasioned severe distress, and a feeling of the utmost exasperation against the Federal Government. It was asserted that for some time there had been a disposition in that part of America to separate from the other States, if not, indeed, to return to the old colonial allegiance. In February, 1812, Captain John Henry, formerly of the United States army, and afterwards a resident in Canada, informed the President that in 1809 he had been employed by Sir James Craig, one of the Governors of Canada, upon a secret mission to New England, for the purpose of gaining information as to the position of parties, and of inducing those who were opposed to the Democratic policy to create a separate league of the Northern States, which should afterwards form a connection of some sort with Great Britain. Henry was paid 50,000 dollars by the American Government for his information, and the papers which he produced were laid before Congress, in order to increase the animosity of the country against England. This was the plot of which John Quincy Adams gave some intimation to President Jefferson, but, to whatever extent the project may have existed in idea, it proved wholly inoperative in fact. It was admitted by Henry that his mission had entirely failed, and that his motive for the disclosure was because he had been unable to obtain from his employers any compensation for the services he had rendered.

The truth appears to be, that the New Englanders desired, without dissolving the Union, to preserve a state of neutrality in the coming war—an arrangement which was certainly impracticable, unless by a complete violation of the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, but which, nevertheless, they may have sincerely believed to be possible. The movement was foolish rather than criminal; but the interference of the Governor of Canada was certainly in the highest degree blamable. Madison, however, acted in a way which was fatal to conciliation. Instead of laying the statements of Henry before the British Government, and requiring an explanation, he at once communicated them to Congress, as, indeed, he was ultimately bound to do, and this act had the result of inflaming his countrymen still more against the British Government. The party opposed to war was intimidated; and although at Boston the flags of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, in token of mourning, the general sentiment in favour of hostilities was so strongly expressed throughout the greater part of the Union that several waverers among the Federalists went over to the side of the Administration. It was in fact a dangerous matter to utter a word in favour of peace, as the incident at Baltimore had shown. The Government had no opposition to encounter but what it could readily overcome, and the country was speedily put in a state of partial defence against the attacks of the British.

The selection of efficient officers was not a very easy matter. The greater number of the Revolutionary commanders had departed, and, as there had been no war since 1783, except a few comparatively trivial encounters with the Indians, the country suffered from a want of officers with a

* Great indignation had been expressed in 1800 at the surrender of one Jonathan Robbins to a British man-of-war. He had been claimed by the British consul under an article of the treaty of 1794; but the Democrats alleged that sufficient precautions had not been taken to ascertain whether his claim to citizenship was well-founded, and they very nearly carried a vote of censure. (Tucker's Life of Jefferson, Vol. II., pp. 67–8.) Such was the invariable policy of the Democrats towards England.

practical knowledge of their profession. Nevertheless, sufficient old soldiers were found for the chief posts. The Commander-in-Chief was Henry Dearborn, a native of New Hampshire, who accompanied Arnold to Quebec in 1775, and who had served in the campaign which resulted in the capitulation of Burgoyne. Thomas Pinckney was appointed Major-General, and the principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, William Hull, and Joseph Bloomfield—all of whom, like Dearborn, had been employed during the War of Independence. General Hull was Governor of the Michigan (which had been organised as a Territory in 1805), and, when war was declared, was marching with about two thousand troops from Ohio for the subjugation of the hostile Indians. To this officer were confided discretionary powers for invading Canada, and, thinking he could acquire a great name by that exploit, he determined on attempting it. Crossing the border of the British possessions on the 12th of July, he issued a boastful proclamation; but the progress of events soon showed that he was not equal to the task. Canada was at that time divided into two provinces—Upper and Lower Canada; and the population of the former, amounting to about 100,000, consisted principally of American loyalists who had left the Union at the close of the late war. Each of these provinces had its own Governor and its own Legislature; and, although the regular military force was so small as not to exceed two thousand men, scattered over a space of more than one thousand miles, the country did not present a good object of attack, because it was certain that the loyalists would do their utmost to resist invasion and avenge old wrongs. The English commanders at once called for volunteers, and made overtures to the Indians to act in alliance with them. A respectable force was presently in the field against General Hull; and if that officer had ever had the least chance of success, it was now at an end. Supposing the attempt to have been advisable at all, it should have been pushed forward with the utmost expedition; instead of which, Hull, after his sudden raid into British territory, came to a full pause, and awaited the action of his adversaries. His first proceeding was to have been an attack on Fort Malden, a British post near the present village of Amherstburg; but he encamped himself at Sandwich, on the Canadian side of the river Detroit, and did literally nothing. He had stated in his proclamation that he commanded an army sufficient to "look down all opposition," and that this was but the van of a much greater force. He had offered peace and protection to all Canadians who should remain at home, and had threatened the extermination of such as should be found in arms associated with the Indians. These statements and menaces had so far produced an effect that some hundreds of the Canadian militia joined the Americans, or returned to their homes under General Hull's protection; but this did little towards securing the success of the expedition.

The invader seems to have supposed that he could subdue Canada by the mere issue of proclamations: at any rate, it is only thus that his entire inaction can be accounted for. While he was lying still, the British forces were increasing in number, and even as early as the 17th of July had carried the war into the enemy's territory. On that day, Fort Mackinaw, one of the strongest posts in the North-western part of the United States, situated on an island near the Straits of Mackinaw, was surprised and captured by an allied force of British and Indians; and on the 5th of August a detachment of the American forces, sent by Hull to escort an approaching supply-party to camp, was defeated near Brownstown, on the Huron River. The garrison at Malden had now been reinforced by General Brock, the British Commander-in-Chief in Canada, and Hull thought it prudent to abandon the expedition which he had begun in so high-flown a spirit. He re-crossed the river on the 7th of August, and retired to Detroit, followed, two days later, by General Brock, who appeared before the town at the head of seven hundred English soldiers and six hundred Indians, and demanded the instant surrender of the place. Hull's position was now one of extreme difficulty. His forces were probably not strong enough to defend so advanced a station, and, in the event of defeat, he was threatened with all the horrors of Indian vengeance. He is perhaps not to be blamed for giving up the town; but he is certainly liable to censure for commencing such an expedition with insufficient means and in a vaunting mood, and then remaining inactive when his only chance of safety—not a very good one at the best—lay in the most rapid and vigorous movements.

The fort of Detroit was held by the 4th Regiment, by the Ohio Volunteers, and by a part of the Michigan militia, placed behind the pickets in such a position that the whole flank of the British force was exposed to their fire. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the town, and two four-pounders, loaded with grape, were planted on an eminence, from which they could have acted with great effect on the attacking

parties. Colonels Cass and McArthur, who had been detached with four hundred men on a separate expedition, were now returning to Detroit, and had by this time got sufficiently close to be able to attack the enemy in the rear. The position, therefore, was in some respects not unfavourable to the Americans; but Hull dreaded the Indian ferocity, and resolved to make terms with the enemy. His men had for several days been so dissatisfied with his conduct that the field-officers determined to arrest him, but were prevented by the absence of Colonels Cass and McArthur. Hull consequently pursued his own course. On the British columns arriving within five hundred yards of the American line, he ordered the troops to withdraw into the fort, and the artillery not to fire. A white flag was then displayed, and, negotiations being opened with the English, a capitulation was agreed upon, by which, on the 16th of August, the army, fort, stores, and garrison, together with the territory of Michigan, were surrendered to the British, much to their surprise. The detachment under Cass and McArthur, and the troops at the river Raisin, thirty-six miles below Detroit, were included in the capitulation; but Captain Brush, who had the command at Raisin, refused to consider himself bound by Hull's engagement, and, on being summoned to surrender, broke up his camp, and retreated towards Ohio.

The indignation of the American people at this surrender was unbounded, and certainly not surprising. The army directed by Hull amounted to 2,500 men (of whom, however, only eight hundred were effectives), while Brock had under his orders no more than three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians. The American commander acted entirely on his own sense of what was right. He did not call any council of his officers, and came to his determination, it would appear, solely out of app e-hension of the Indians. In 1814 he was brought to trial by court-martial, on charges of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. On the two latter accusations he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but, in consideration of his services during the Revolutionary War, his life was spared. For the remainder of his days, Hull lay under the contempt and detestation of his countrymen; but in 1824, the year before his death, he published a vindication of his conduct, and in 1848 his grandson printed a large octavo volume, giving, from official records, an account of the business which placed the action of his progenitor in a more favourable light than that in which it had previously been seen.

A lamentable event occurring near the head of Lake Michigan contributed another element of a disheartening nature to the circumstances of the period. Hull had sent orders to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago—a position which he occupied with fifty regulars. At the command of his superior officer, he quitted that post, and proceeded to Detroit, leaving the public property in charge of a body of friendly Indians. While moving along the shore of Lake Michigan, not far from the fort, he was attacked by a number of savages, belonging to a hostile tribe. Twenty-six of the regular troops, and all of the militia, were killed, and a number of women and children were murdered and scalped. Captain Heald succeeded in escaping with his wife to Mackinaw; but the lady was severely, though not mortally, wounded. This event occurred the day before Hull's surrender, and so disastrous a commencement of the campaign emboldened the opponents of the war in the expression of their dissatisfaction. They lost no opportunity of prophesying evil, and for awhile exercised some influence over those who were inclined to hesitate. But the nation generally was determined to carry on the campaign with spirit, and, the war being once begun, this no doubt was the wisest course. The whole North-western frontier was exposed to the inroads of the British and their red allies, and self-preservation alone dictated a vigorous policy.

The resources of the United States were not well adapted to cope with so strong a Power as Great Britain. England had at that time more than a thousand vessels, manned by 144,000 sailors, the best in the world, long accustomed to victory, and now animated by recent memories of Cape St. Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, and many other illustrious combats. The Americans had barely twenty vessels of war of large size, with an aggregate of guns not exceeding three hundred. A number of gun-boats had recently been built, but they were required for defending the coast, and could not be counted on for service at any great distance. The British army was certainly much less than the British fleet; but it consisted of well-disciplined regulars, whereas the United States had scarcely any professional army at all, and were obliged to create regiments on the spur of the moment, with all the necessary imperfection of raw levies. The regular troops did not number more than 6,000; in 1808 they had been only 3,000; and the bulk of the forces on which the country was now to depend, had been raised since January of the current year. It was expected,

however, that by Midsummer more than 35,000 men would be under arms. These were divided into seventeen regiments of infantry; three of heavy artillery; one of light artillery; two of dragoons; and one of riflemen. The President was also authorised to accept the services of any number of volunteers not exceeding 50,000, who were to be armed and equipped by the United States; and a similar authority was given him to call upon the Governors of States for detachments of militia—the whole not to exceed 100,000 men. The total population of the United States at the latest Census—that of 1810—was 7,239,814, including all races and colours. The population of Great Britain in 1811 was about 12,950,000, exclusive of Ireland. England had therefore several millions more to draw upon than the United States. The difference between the money resources of the two countries was even more disproportionate; so that the chances of the struggle, on a consideration simply of these points, appeared much greater on the side of the old country than on that of the new. On the other hand, it must be remembered that England was at that time engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the gigantic military power of France; that her armies had already enough to do in coping with the extraordinary military genius of Napoleon; and that her ships had interests to protect wherever an English colony existed, or an English merchant-vessel sailed the ocean. The Ministers of the United States were astute and wary politicians; and, taking the whole body of facts into review, they determined to risk the issue, for the sake of the great ends which they believed to be involved.



ATTACK OF INDIANS AT FORT DEARBORN.

Strong in numbers, the army of the United States, being hastily improvised, was weak in discipline, and in every other requisite of a military force. Of the men raised by order of Congress, scarcely a fourth part was enlisted at the time the conflict began. These were ill-trained, unaccustomed to war, and liable to panic at the first sight of an enemy. The volunteers and militia had borne but a poor character during the War of Independence, and it was not likely that they would distinguish themselves more under existing circumstances. The chief dependence of the country

was on its naval force; for, although the number of ships was few, as we have already indicated, the elements of a future navy were to be found in the commercial vessels of the United States, and in that hardy race of fishermen who had always formed one of the best portions of the population. Subsequent events proved that the Republic was stronger on the sea than on the land; but the first plans of the campaign contemplated military rather than naval operations, and these were to be more



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defensive than offensive. It was proposed to garrison the sea-board, principally by occasional calls on the militia, aided by a few of the regular troops; and the total forces of the Federation were divided into three armies—that of the North-west, that of the Centre, and that of the North. But one feature of the design was the invasion of Canada, destined, as we have just seen, to a disastrous commencement. The ill-success of that first attempt had no other result than to stimulate the people to fresh endeavours. Immediately after the capitulation at Detroit, 10,000 volunteers offered their services to Government, and were marched towards the territory of Michigan under the direction of General Harrison, who had command of the Army of the North-west, including the detachments that had been Hull's. Their strength was not sufficient, considering the imperfection of their discipline, to effect more than a few incursions into the lands of hostile Indians; and the early winter of those Northern regions surprised them before they had obtained any success. Another expedition into Canada was at the same time undertaken by General Van Rensselaer, of the New York Militia, who commanded the Army of the Centre. His force consisted of regulars and militia, whom he drew up at Lewistown, on the Niagara, opposite a fortified British post on the heights of Queenstown. Colonel Van Rensselaer, a relative of the General, and a man of courage and determination, crossed the stream on the 13th of October, with a small detachment, who effected their landing under a heavy fire from the British. The colonel himself was wounded at the very outset of the operations; but Captains Ogilvie and Wool led on their troops to the assault. The fortress was captured, and the Americans now established themselves in so strong a position that when General Brock

brought up a reinforcement of six hundred men, they were repulsed with heavy loss, and amongst the killed was the commander himself. Here, however, the success of the attempt came to an end. A fresh detachment of Americans was conveyed over to the British side of the river; but the troops refused to obey their orders, and the British, being again reinforced, wrested the position from their adversaries, after a severe engagement, in which the Americans were almost destroyed, and the remainder driven across the stream. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency, and in some instances the cowardice, of his men, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia. That officer commenced operations by issuing an address similar to the proclamation of General Hull, and on the 28th of November embarked 4,500 men, with a view to crossing the Niagara. The appearance of the enemy on the opposite shore, however, was so menacing that the invasion was postponed until the 1st of December, when it was finally determined by a council of war not to proceed any further with the enterprise. Almost equally unsuccessful was General Dearborn, of the Army of the North, who felt it expedient to retire after a few unimportant operations. Winter had now arrived—the long and terrible winter of Canada; and the period for active service had passed.

During the battle of October 13th, a detachment of American troops, amounting to fifteen hundred, refused to cross the river, in aid of their comrades who were being cut to pieces before Queenstown Heights, on the plea that the war was properly only a defensive one, and that therefore it was not right to invade the enemy's dominions. Many of the Federal party applauded them for this determination, and in the North-east the feeling against the war gathered force with every day. Adams did not share in this view, believing, on the contrary, that the struggle had been rendered necessary by the action of the English Government; but several of the New Englanders regarded the policy of President Madison and his Administration as unnecessary, unjust, and likely to prove highly injurious to the best interests of the country. The Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut refused to allow the militia of those States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President, alleging that such a requisition was unconstitutional. The Ministerialists denounced this opposition as treason; but the President felt compelled to act with caution, lest he should alienate the North-eastern States altogether. A menacing condition of opinion was noticeable over the whole of that quarter. The agitators met in convention, passed resolutions condemnatory of the Federal Government, denounced the war with England, proclaimed their preference for one with France, protested against any alliance with Bonaparte (which, however, does not seem to have been contemplated), affirmed that the revocation of the Orders in Council should have been considered sufficient reason for maintaining peace, and laid it down as a rule that the employment of the militia in offensive warfare was a violation of the Federal compact. The body upholding these views was called the Essex Junto, from the locality where its members assembled. Jefferson believed that the object of the malcontents was not separation from the Union, unless as a temporary expedient, but the establishment in New England of a monarchical form of government, which should gradually extend by contagion to the other parts of the country. This astute observer seems herein to have been misled by his local and political prejudices. There may have been a few individuals in all the States who inclined to monarchy; but that New England in the main was desirous of setting up kingly rule, appears in the highest degree improbable. The Republican sentiment had always been stronger in that region of America than in most others. It was a derivative, in those parts, from the old Puritanical principles of magisterial government, brought out by the first settlers, perpetuated by their descendants, and confirmed by the whole internal polity, religious and social, of the States in question. Nothing had occurred to change that predilection, and there is no sufficient evidence to show that it *had* been changed. The tendency to an English rather than a French alliance was the result of natural affinities of race and faith, and perhaps still more of self-interest, which pointed to England as the best country with which to carry on commercial intercourse. We may, then, pretty safely assume that the difference between the North and South in 1812 was due, not to any heresies as to the form of government, but to a divergence of interests on questions of foreign policy.

The British Government had by this time declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, with the exception of the New England States—an exception dictated, no doubt, by the hope that those States might thus be won over to the British cause. Such an expectation was doomed to disappointment, as the general feeling of the country held in check whatever tendency to a disloyal course may have existed in particular circles. The reverses which had been experienced on land

were in some degree counterbalanced by successes at sea. It had been supposed, and not without reason, that Great Britain would prove especially formidable on that element; yet it was precisely here that she had to suffer the greatest number of discomfitures during the war, and that the Americans were most fortunate. The success, however, did not come at once. On the outbreak of hostilities, Commodore Rogers (who in the previous year had been concerned in the encounter with Captain Bingham) was at Sandy Hook, New York, with a small squadron, consisting of the frigates *President*, *Congress*, and *United States*, and the sloop-of-war *Hornet*. On the 21st of June he put to sea, in pursuit of a British squadron which had sailed as a convoy to the West India fleet; but, after a slight engagement, the enterprise was abandoned. The first naval triumph of the Americans over the English occurred on the 9th of August, 1812, when the United States frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Hull, attacked the British frigate *Guerrière*, Captain Dacres, off the American coast. The crew of the American vessel requested to be placed alongside the enemy's ship, and for three-quarters of an hour the two manœuvred to obtain the advantage of position. At length, the *Guerrière*, unable to accomplish her object, advanced towards the *Constitution*, firing broadsides at intervals; but, on approaching within half-pistol-shot of her adversary, a tremendous fire burst upon her from the United States frigate. The fight was unequal, for the English vessel (besides being of smaller tonnage than her opponent) had only thirty-eight guns, whereas the American had nominally forty-four, and is suspected to have really carried nearly seventy-four. In rather more than thirty minutes, every mast of the former, and almost every spar, was shot away, and she had no choice but to strike her flag. Fifty of her crew were killed, and sixty-four wounded, while the loss on board the *Constitution* was but small. It was found necessary to burn the captured ship, as so complete a wreck was simply an encumbrance; but her antagonist was ready for action again next day. By a singular coincidence, this brilliant success, achieved by Commodore Hull, took place about the same time that General Hull was being so disastrously defeated by the British.

Before the end of the year, three other equally striking triumphs had been achieved by American over English vessels. In one instance, the United States ship, the *Wasp*, is said to have had four guns fewer than her opponent; in the other two cases, in which the American commanders were Captain Decatur and Captain Bainbridge, it is admitted by American writers that there was a superiority of a few guns on their side. The enormous loss on board the English ships, and the frightful damage sustained by them, while their adversaries got off with comparatively trivial punishment, are facts which seem to favour the British contention that the American vessels were in truth much more heavily armed than they professed to be; and it is worthy of note that the *Wasp*, falling in with a British seventy-four on the very day of her victory, was captured, together with her prize. There is also reason to believe that many of the sailors on board the American frigates were English fugitives from the navy which had humbled the power of Bonaparte at sea; and, if so, it is certain that they fought all the more desperately from knowing that they fought with a rope about their necks. An American writer has left it on record that not less than half the crews of American ships were British seamen having false protections, and that the English authorities had exercised their asserted right of impressment very sparingly.* Still, after all allowances have been made, the Americans had abundant cause to be elated, and the English to be mortified. More than five hundred British merchant-men were captured by the small navy of the Federation in the space of a few months.

In course of the autumn, Madison was re-elected to the Presidency, though not without some opposition, and Elbridge Gerry became Vice-President in the place of George Clinton, who had died a short time before. Amongst the members of Congress elected at the same time were numerous Democrats; yet the Federals were increasing in strength also. Still, the Ministry had an efficient majority, and Madison met the two representative bodies without much misgiving. In his Message he stated that during the recess the British had offered an armistice, alleging the repeal of the Orders in Council as a reason for coming to terms; but that, as they refused to make any effectual provisions against the impressment of American seamen, the offer had been refused. Congress, in spite of some opposition, passed resolutions approving of this course; measures were taken for enlarging and more efficiently organising the army; and thus the year 1812 came to an end, in the midst of mingled disasters and successes.

* Simond's Tour in Great Britain, Vol. I.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Expeditions against the Indians—The Military Position at the Approach of Winter—Fighting at Frenchtown—Massacre by the Savages—Operations at Fort Meigs—Policy of the Prince Regent—Russian Attempt at Mediation—Debates in the British Parliament—Gallant Defence of Fort Stephenson by the Americans—Creation of an American Squadron—Capture of York, Upper Canada—Alternating Successes of the Americans and the British—Actions on Lakes Ontario and Champlain—The Chief Command transferred from General Dearborn to General Wilkinson—Plan for attacking Montreal—Failure of the Expedition—Mutual Barbarities and Sacking of Towns—The Naval Duel between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*—Defeat of the Latter, and Death of Captain Lawrence—Honours paid to his Memory—Action on Lake Erie—The British Squadron defeated by Commodore Perry—Effects of the Victory—Retreat of Colonel Procter—Rout of the British—Death of the Indian Chief, Tecumseh—Operations against the Indians on the Georgian Frontier—Proceedings in Congress—Results of the War up to the Close of 1813.

So eager were the Americans to continue the war that they did not suffer the approach of winter to suspend the operations of their armies. The recovery of Michigan was resolved on; companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and ready to march the next. Of course such hasty levies were not well fitted for regular warfare; but in the first instance they were employed in driving back the hostile Indians on the frontiers. The villages of the red men were laid waste; acts of great cruelty were committed, on the ever-ready and too-facile plea of self-defence; and the savages, exasperated by their wrongs, were all the more disposed to attack the Americans with ferocity, and to offer their services to the British. General Harrison, in command of the Army of the North-west, which was concentrated at the head of Lake Erie, took steps to relieve the frontier posts early in the autumn, and Isaac Shelby, a native of Maryland, but now Governor of Kentucky, led a strong force of youthful volunteers from the latter State towards the boundary lines of the Federation and of Canada. At this time, the Army of the Centre, which had recently been placed under Dearborn, was stationed on the banks of the Niagara, while that of the North, where Dearborn had been succeeded in the command by General Hampton, was planted on the borders of Lake Champlain. The chief officer of the English army, now that Brock was slain, was Sir George Prevost, son of the Augustine Prevost (a native of Geneva) who commanded some of the British forces in the Southern States in the year 1779. For his assistants, he had Colonel Procter in the direction of Detroit, and General Sheaffe in the vicinity of Montreal and the lower portions of Lake Champlain.

Madison's determination to prosecute the war with vigour was cordially seconded by Congress. The bounty and the wages of the soldiers were increased. The President was authorised to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, to issue Treasury notes, and to borrow money; and provision was made for building four ships of the line, six frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require. Thus fortified, General Harrison resolved on a winter campaign for the rescue of Michigan, and General Winchester was ordered to proceed in advance to Frenchtown, a village on the river Raisin, twenty-five miles south of Detroit. With eight hundred young volunteers, chiefly from Kentucky, the latter officer arrived, on the 10th of January, 1813, at Maumee Rapids; and three days later he despatched against the British and Indians, concentrated at Frenchtown, a small body of troops under Colonels Allen and Lewis. The position was attacked and taken on the 18th of January, and Winchester arrived with reinforcements on the 20th. The success of the Americans, however, was very short-lived. Colonel Procter, who was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, at once started for Frenchtown, at the head of fifteen hundred British and Indians. Winchester's men had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village, but had taken only slight precautions against a surprise. Early on the morning of the 22nd of January, they were assailed by the enemy, and completely routed. Winchester, who was made prisoner by the Indians, offered to surrender his whole force, on condition that they should be protected from the violence of the savages. Procter replied that he would grant such protection if the surrender took place immediately, but that otherwise he would set fire to the village, and could not be responsible for the conduct of the red men. On the Americans submitting, Colonel Procter, leaving the wounded without a guard, withdrew to Malden, fearing the approach of Harrison, who was then on the Lower Sandusky. The Indians accompanied their English comrades some miles on the road, but next morning turned back, set fire to the houses in Frenchtown, and, falling on the injured Americans, committed a shocking massacre, attended by circumstances of great atrocity. It does not appear that Procter knew anything of this tragedy until after it was enacted; but he was loudly denounced by the

Americans for supposed complicity. The action of the Indian tribes, in making war on the Americans independently of the British, had been discouraged by the military authorities of England, but the enthusiasm of the savages was beyond control. General Brock, in a despatch written a little before his death to Sir George Prevost, Governor-in-Chief of the British provinces of North America, spoke in high terms of the order and steadiness of the Indians who joined in the attack on General Hull at Detroit, and stated that their forbearance and humanity were remarkable. It is but too evident that this was not generally the case; but there is nothing to show that Procter was accountable for the massacre at Frenchtown.

On reaching the Maumee Rapids, Harrison learned the defeat of his countrymen at Frenchtown. Being under the impression that Procter would speedily attack him, he retreated on the 23rd of January; but, on the 1st of February, hearing that the English had gone towards Malden, he again advanced to the Rapids, with twelve hundred men, and established there a fortified camp, which he called Fort Meigs, after the Governor of Ohio. This fort was erected on the south side of the Maumee, nearly opposite a post which had formerly been occupied by the British, and a short distance from the present village of Perrysburg. The position was selected as a convenient point for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Ohio and Kentucky, for protecting the borders of Lake Erie, and for facilitating the proposed operations for the re-capture of Detroit and the invasion of Canada. For some weeks Harrison remained unmolested at this spot, but, on the 26th of April, Colonel Procter, with two thousand regulars, militia, and Indians, from Malden, appeared on the bank of the river opposite the fort, erected batteries on some high ground, and began a siege. The Indians crossed the river on the 27th, and took up a position in the rear of the American lines, which by the 3rd of May were severely galled by a battery erected on the left bank. The American General was summoned to surrender, but refused, and, on the 5th of May, General Clay, with twelve hundred Kentuckians, arrived to the relief of Fort Meigs, and ultimately succeeded in driving the besiegers from their works. Shortly afterwards, several of the American troops, with the rashness of volunteers, dispersed themselves through the woods in pursuit of the Indians, though ordered by their commander not to expose themselves to so great a peril. In a little while they were drawn into an ambuscade; the enemy rallied, and forced the Americans to lay down their arms; and the latter would probably have been massacred to a man, had not the Indian chief Tecumseh restrained his followers from indulging their vengeance. As it was, several were slain, and many more captured; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements, or escaped into the fort, which was still defended with much obstinacy. This determination soon wearied out the Indians, who on the 8th of May deserted the camp, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief. The British raised the siege on the following day, when General Harrison, leaving Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements. All operations in this quarter were now suspended, and did not re-commence until a naval force was ready for action on Lake Erie.

The head of affairs in England at this time was the Prince Regent, who, in February, 1811, had become virtual Sovereign of the country, on the final attack of mental incapacity by which his father's latest years were clouded. The Prince, while forsaking his former Liberal associates, and adopting the Tory Administration which he found, appears to have considered himself free to act on his own judgment with regard to America, and to have been less committed than the King to a policy of extreme resistance to American demands. It was after his accession to power that the Orders in Council were withdrawn, and in 1812 he twice proposed an armistice, but without success. Early in the spring of 1813, the Emperor Alexander of Russia offered his mediation, which was accepted by the Government of the United States, and declined by that of Great Britain. President Madison appointed, as his commissioners for conducting the negotiations, in the event of their being brought to bear, Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams (at that time American Minister at the Russian Court), and James A. Bayard. But the Emperor Alexander had exhibited so decided a leaning towards the United States that the British Government may well have doubted whether his arbitration, however honourable the feeling by which it was prompted, would have been altogether free from bias. England suggested a direct negotiation instead, and it was ultimately agreed that this should take place at Ghent; but the proposal at that time came to nothing, and the fratricidal contest pursued its course. Its incidents were not such as to flatter the pride of England, and in the Parliamentary session of 1813 several stormy debates took place on the progress of events in the New World. The Opposition fiercely denounced the conduct of Government, but, on the 18th of February, Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, moved an address to the Prince

Regent, expressing approbation of the war. To this motion, no amendment was proposed, and it passed without a dissenting voice, together with a similar address in the Lords.

Opinion as to the merits of the war was more divided in America than in England. The Prince Regent, in his declaration to Parliament, had with which Great Britain hastened to repeal her Orders before the declaration of war by the United States was made known to her, and the restoration of an immense amount of property then within her power, can leave but little doubt that the war on our part was premature, and still less that the perseverance in it after that repeal was known was



CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS SIR PHILIP) BROKE. (*From a Portrait published in* 1815.)

maintained (whether justly or not) that the complete subserviency of the United States to France was the real cause of hostilities, and that, "from their common origin, from their common interests, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last Power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The remonstrance of the Legislature of Massachusetts, addressed to Congress on the 14th of June, 1813, took a precisely similar view. The authors of this remonstrance argued that "the promptness improper, impolitic, and unjust." They added:—"If war must have been the portion of these United States—if they were destined by Providence to march the downward road to slavery through foreign conquest and military usurpation,—your remonstrants regret that such a moment and such an occasion should have been chosen for the experiment; that while the oppressed nations of Europe are making a magnanimous and glorious effort against the common enemy of free States, we alone, the descendants of the Pilgrims, sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-



FIGHT BETWEEN THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND THE "SHANNON."

operate with the oppressor to bind other nations in his chains." It was alleged in the same remonstrance that the United States had never induced Great Britain to believe that the impressment of her own seamen on board American ships was a reasonable ground of war; that the evil of impressment had been grossly exaggerated; and that had a proposal been made to exclude English subjects from the American service, an honourable and advantageous arrangement of the whole question would have been sure to follow.* Such were the views of the most intelligent section of the American population. They were overborne by the numerical preponderance of the Democratic party; but they are necessary to a complete understanding of the perplexed and irritating questions of that day.

After the raising of the siege of Fort Meigs, nothing occurred in that locality until the 21st of July, when about four thousand British and Indians, under Procter and Tecumseh, again appeared before that stronghold. A week later, Procter left Tecumseh to watch the fort, while he himself marched with five hundred regulars and eight hundred Indians to attack Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, situated on the west bank of the Sandusky River, about fifteen miles south of the Bay called by the same name. The fort consisted of embankments of earth, bastions and blockhouses, a ditch, and some rude log buildings within. The garrison amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty soldiers, commanded by Major Croghan, then only twenty-one years of age. Although the strength of the place was not great, Croghan resisted the attacks of his adversary with much spirit. A breach in the walls, however, was soon effected by the British guns, when, on the 2nd of August, five hundred of the besiegers endeavoured to take the position by assault. Croghan had only one cannon, but this was so effectively worked that the assailants recoiled, and, leaving one hundred and fifty of their number killed or wounded on the ground, abandoned the attempt. The Americans had only one man killed and seven wounded; and Procter, with his Indian ally, left for Detroit, despairing of success at Fort Meigs. The triumph of the Americans in this quarter put them in heart as to the general conduct of the war, and greatly discouraged the Indians in their hostile designs. Nevertheless, the people of the United States were not slow in perceiving that their strength was less on land than at sea, although as yet they had but a few ships, and nothing that could by any pretence be called a fleet. The necessity of augmenting this arm of the national service became obvious to all, and it was resolved to fit out a squadron upon Lake Ontario, which should be supreme in those waters, and be capable of conveying to various points such forces as might appear indispensable for coping with the English. The chief American port upon that inland sea was Sackett's Harbour, situated near the outlet of the lake. This was selected as a naval depôt, and for several months, beginning with October, 1812, Commodore Chauncey was engaged in building and equipping a squadron of respectable dimensions.

By the 25th of April, 1813, these naval preparations were sufficiently advanced to permit of a forward movement. At the head of one thousand seven hundred men, General Dearborn crossed the lake, and prepared to attack York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, and the principal depository of British military stores for the supply of the western garrisons. The American troops landed on the beach before York on the 27th of April. They were then about two miles west from the defensive works, and were galled by a constant fire from the forces of the British, who, under the command of General Sheaffe, were stationed some way in advance of the fortifications. The American attack was entrusted to General Pike, who landed, and after a severe action drove back the adversary to his works. The rest of the forces were disembarked, and the whole army moved up to the assault. There could be little doubt as to the issue, for the Americans were in much greater force than the British. The latter had only a garrison of six hundred, with which to oppose the seventeen hundred soldiers now directed against the position. Two redoubts were captured, and the assailants were pushing forward towards the main work, when the magazine of the fort blew up, owing, it is said, to the British having laid a train of powder communicating with the chief stores, for the purpose of firing the latter, in case the defenders should be driven back. Amongst the persons killed by this explosion was General Pike himself, who was struck in the breast by a large stone. He was conveyed on board the Commodore's ship, where he soon afterwards expired, but not before the fort was carried, nor before the flag which had waved above it had been placed beneath his head. The loss of life was great, both on the American and English sides, and the majority of the casualties were due to the blowing up of the magazine. Dearborn, who had remained on board the fleet during the earlier part of the action, landed soon after the fall of Pike, though he did not assume the

* Charles Knight's History of England, Vol. VIII., chap. 1.

immediate command until after the surrender of the town, which was sacked by the Americans. General Sheaffe escaped with the principal part of his troops, but lost all his baggage, books, and papers.

The American fleet now proceeded to Niagara, landed troops there, and returned to Sackett's Harbour. The next object of attack on the part of the army was Fort George, situated on the western shore of the river Niagara, near its mouth. The garrison, on the 27th of May, fled to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, pursued by a much larger force of Americans, under Generals Chandler and Winder. The detached British garrisons in that direction being afterwards concentrated in a favourable position, forty miles west of Fort George, a more vigorous resistance was opposed to the enemy's advance. The two American Generals, with a corps of one thousand men, were so successfully attacked at Stony Creek that both officers were captured; and the arrival of the British fleet, under Sir James Yeo, compelled the Americans to return to the main body of their army, with a serious loss of artillery and baggage. Soon afterwards, nearly eight hundred Americans, who had been sent to make an attack on Beaver Dams, were surrounded and captured. The British, however, were unsuccessful in an attack on Sackett's Harbour by a combined land and naval force. After a sanguinary encounter, they were driven back to their boats; yet in one respect the day was unfortunate for the Americans. Lieutenant Chauncey had been ordered to set fire to the store-houses and barracks in case of defeat, and this order he carried out with too much precipitation. Although in the result his countrymen were successful, he seems to have anticipated their discomfiture, and under that impression destroyed the supplies which had been laid up in the harbour, and which the Americans could ill afford to lose. His apprehensions were not entirely without reason; for a little before General Brown, the American commander at that station, made a flanking movement which alarmed the British for their rear, and caused them to re-embark, the American militia had been so panic-stricken that they dispersed, and began making their way to places of safety in the surrounding country. This action was fought on the 29th of May, and the American success was due to the energy and skill of General Brown.

Several other small actions took place about the same period, and York was captured and plundered a second time; but, as autumn advanced, the British, who had been preparing a flotilla on Lake Ontario, found themselves in a position superior to that of the Americans. On the 7th of October, Sir James Yeo appeared with his fleet before Fort George; Commodore Chauncey went out to meet him with his squadron, and, in a gale which happened on the night of the 8th, lost two of his schooners, with the greater part of their crews. An action was fought on the 10th, when the Americans lost two more schooners; but the fleets afterwards separated, without any decided success on either side. On Lake Champlain, the British destroyed the American establishment of Plattsburg, and, on the whole, the balance of advantage now inclined towards their side. The Americans had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with General Dearborn. He had been a constant invalid, had never once led his troops in person, had sustained many heavy losses, and had let slip the most favourable opportunity for a descent on Montreal. He was accordingly relieved from his functions in June, and General Wilkinson was called from the South to take his place. This officer, like his predecessor, had seen service during the War of Independence, but was still less than sixty years of age. He arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 1st of August, and the War Department, now under the direction of General Armstrong, was for a time removed to the same place. It was determined to attack Montreal with an army of eight thousand men, as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed; but it took three months to get all things in readiness for so important an expedition. The delay gave the British authorities time to fortify every important point on the St. Lawrence; so that when the flotilla set sail, on the 5th of November, it was found impossible to proceed far without encountering the most serious resistance. A body of troops, under the command of General Brown, was therefore set on shore, and these men, marching in advance of the boats, endeavoured to dislodge the enemy from his posts on the river. At Chrystler's Fields, near Williamsburg, the rear division, under General Boyd, encountered a large British force on the 10th of November. An obstinate engagement terminated in favour of the Americans, who, though at a considerable loss of men, succeeded in re-opening the stream for the passage of the flotilla. General Wilkinson arrived on the following day at St. Regis, where General Hampton was to have co-operated with him. That officer, however, had neglected to obey his orders, alleging that the sickly condition of his troops, and a lack of provisions, had induced him to fall back on his main depôt at Plattsburg, in the hope of maintaining his

communications with the St. Lawrence, and thus contributing to the success of the expedition. He had in truth been foiled by a body of Canadian militia. The failure of General Hampton to effect his junction with the Commander-in-Chief proved fatal to the entire enterprise. Wilkinson at once retreated, and, establishing himself at French Mills, put his army into winter quarters. Hampton was deprived of his command; but by many the blame was rather imputed to General Armstrong, and by some to Wilkinson. The three officers found it impossible to agree, and their bickerings as to precedence had much to do with the collapse of the expedition.

The war acquired a more ruthless character with time, as such wars generally do. A British squadron stationed in Delaware Bay captured and burned every merchant-vessel it encountered, and the village of Lewiston, in the State of Delaware, was bombarded and seriously injured, because the inhabitants refused to sell provisions to the enemy. In Chesapeake Bay, Admiral Cockburn plundered private houses near the shore, and drove away cattle for the sustenance of his men. Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredericktown, Georgetown, and other places, were sacked and burned; Hampton was captured, after a determined resistance, which drew down on the unfortunate people many acts of barbarous vengeance; Norfolk was attacked with great fury, but saved by the courage of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbour; and much open country was laid waste. The Americans, on their side, were not slow to adopt a spirit of savage animosity; indeed, they seem to have been the aggressors in this respect, and to have acted on the direct orders of their Government;* though the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, afterwards denounced the substitution of the torch for the bayonet, as furnishing the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation. The British towns of York and Newcastle, on the Canadian side of the border, were destroyed by fire, and many hundreds of non-combatants were thrown houseless on the world in the midst of a northern winter. Each side accused the other of provoking these outrages by the commission of similar acts; but both were only too well-disposed to find any excuse for wreaking the pent-up feelings of national hatred. American historians, however, mention, in strong contrast with the reckless violence of Admiral Cockburn, the high-minded and generous forbearance of Commodore Hardy, whose squadron was employed on the New England coast. The New Englanders, being opposed to the war, had been excepted from the full operation of the blockade instituted by the English; and this may have had something to do with the amenities of Commodore Hardy.

The Americans continued to gain remarkable successes over the single vessels of their enemy. Captain Lawrence, of the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, fell in with the English brig-of-war *Peacock* on the 24th of February, and in fifteen minutes compelled her to strike her colours, and hoist a signal of distress, the vessel being by that time in a sinking state. The *Peacock* shortly afterwards went down, and thirteen of the English sailors, together with four of the *Hornet's* crew, who were rendering assistance, perished with her. In consequence of this action, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in the harbour of Boston. The British frigate *Shannon*, commanded by Captain Broke, had been cruising before that port for several weeks, and Broke sent a challenge to Lawrence to meet him ship to ship, and thus determine the relative value of the two vessels. It is remarkable that popular opinion in England had for some time pointed to the *Shannon* and her captain as the most likely instruments for avenging the reverses which British ships had previously experienced at the hands of the Americans. Broke was not only a gallant but a careful officer. He had long paid great attention to the discipline and exercise of his crew, and knew he could depend on them for doing everything which English sailors had been in the habit of doing from the days of Drake to those of Nelson. In Captain Lawrence and the *Chesapeake* he had no mean opponents. Lawrence had but recently exhibited his skill and daring; his vessel was a little superior in size to the *Shannon*, and he had a rather larger complement of men; but it is alleged that his crew were not well trained. The American officer set sail on the 1st of June in pursuit of the *Shannon*, and was followed by many barges and pleasure-boats, from which the citizens of Boston hoped to see the triumph of their countryman over his adversary. Broke had engaged that the *Tenedos*, which was then blockading Boston in company with his own vessel, should be kept out of the way during the action; and every arrangement seems to have been made which would give to the approaching combat a character of perfect fairness. Towards evening of the 1st of June (the anniversary of Lord Howe's

* General Hull, in 1813, was instructed to burn such of the Canadian villages on the frontier as might shelter the British during the winter.

great victory), the two vessels met, and instantly engaged. Coming to close quarters after a furious combat of about a quarter of an hour, during which the rigging of the American vessel, cut to pieces with shot, fell on board her adversary, and the chest of arms blew up, the English boarded the *Chesapeake*, and hoisted the Union Jack. In the brief space of time during which the battle had raged, the *Chesapeake* had forty eight men killed, and ninety eight wounded; the *Shannon*, twenty three killed, and fifty-six wounded. Amongst the Americans who lost their lives on that occasion were the gallant Captain Lawrence himself, and Lieutenant Ludlow, his second in command. Lawrence was twice wounded early in the action, and, when carried below, was asked if the colours should be struck. He replied, "No; they shall wave while I live." He afterwards became delirious with mental and bodily suffering, and, whenever able to speak during the remaining four days of his life, would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!" But the ship was already in the hands of the enemy. The bodies of Lawrence and of Ludlow were carried to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and there buried with the honours of war. Some of the oldest captains of the British navy carried the pall of Lawrence, and it was universally felt that he was worthy of every honour that could be paid to his memory. When victorious over the *Peacock*, he had behaved with so much kindness to the officers and crew, that the former, on arriving at New York, sent him a letter of thanks. Although his mortal remains were now deposited in alien earth, the spirit which he embodied went forth as an animating influence through the whole mass of his countrymen, and his dying words, "Don't give up the ship!" have become classical, as they deserve to be, in the American navy.

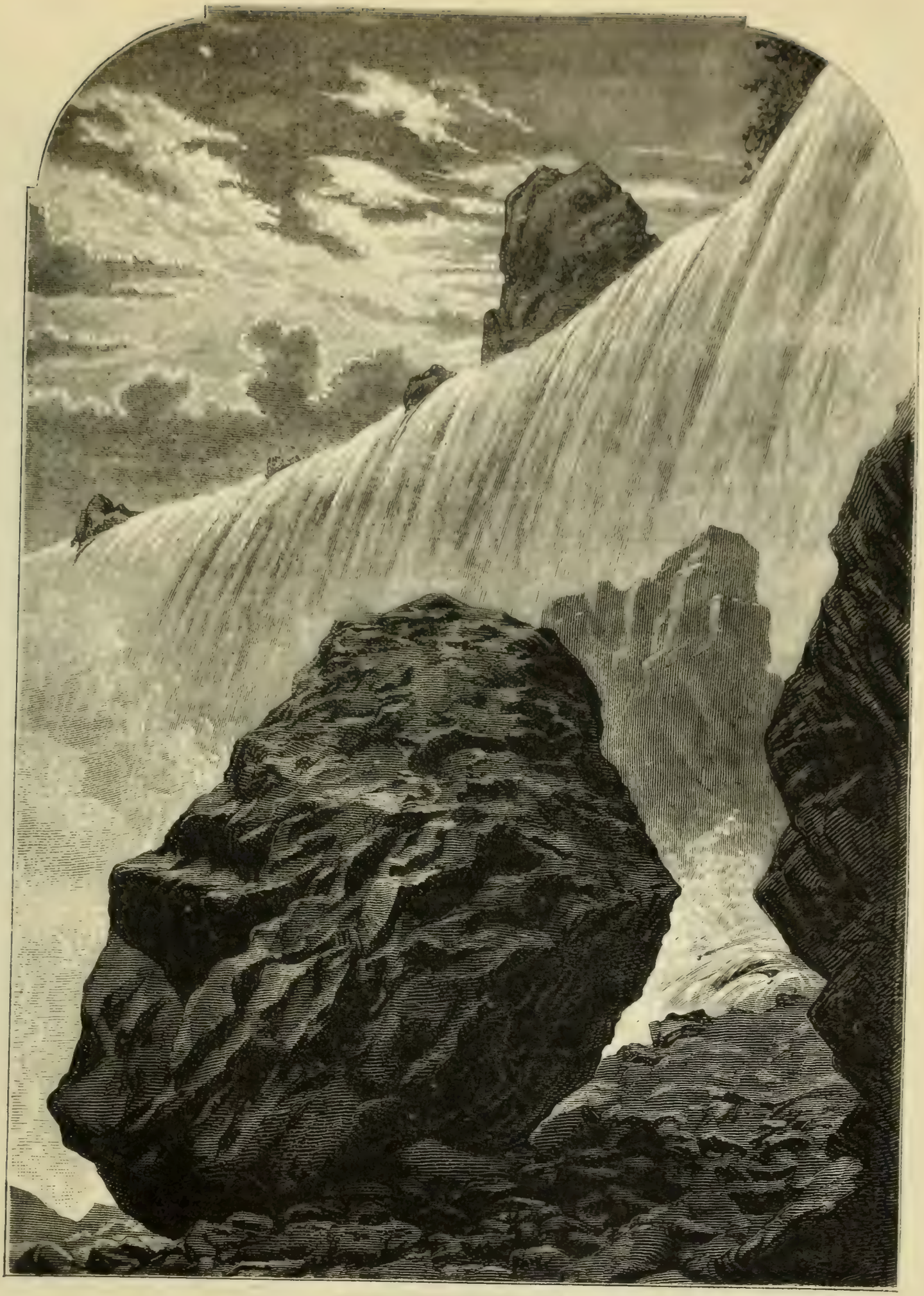
The people of the United States were much disheartened at this unexpected calamity. They endeavoured to mitigate its sting by the consideration of various circumstances, such as the bad discipline of the *Chesapeake's* crew, and the fact that several of the men, having just left port, were in a state of intoxication. But the main fact could not be explained away, and it showed that the ancient reputation of the English at sea was still capable of being maintained, when two vessels met on anything like terms of equality. The satisfaction felt in England was in proportion to the mortification experienced in America. Honours and rewards were bestowed upon Captain Broke, to an extent which is unusual in the case of single actions; and the Americans found some relief to their wounded pride in this implied confession that it was considered no small matter to vanquish a frigate of the United States.

Shortly afterwards the Americans had to lament another misfortune at sea. The brig *Argus*, commanded by Captain Allen, had for two months been causing great annoyance to British shipping in the English Channel. Several vessels were sent out to capture her, and on the 14th of August she was defeated by the sloop of war *Pelican*, after a brief but severe action. Success, however, had not deserted the American flag; for shortly afterwards, on the coast of Maine, the brig *Enterprise* captured a British brig called the *Boxer*. Both commanders were killed in the action, and, although the two vessels were of equal size, the greater strength of the American fire sufficed to ensure victory to the *Enterprise*. A much grander triumph occurred a few days later. The American Commodore, Perry, was now in command of a squadron on Lake Erie, which, hastily constructed of timber hewn from the surrounding forests, consisted of nine small vessels, carrying altogether fifty-four guns. A British squadron had at the same time been built and equipped under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. This numbered six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns in all; so that the superiority in weight of metal was on the side of the English. Barclay had also a larger complement of men than Perry; but the greater number of vessels at the command of the latter officer may in some respects have placed him in a more favourable position. Perry's ships were ready by the 2nd of August, but, owing to delays in sailing, did not encounter the enemy until the morning of the 10th of September. The place of meeting was the western extremity of Lake Erie. At the commencement of the action, the American flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, got detached from the remainder of the squadron, and, being attacked by the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, sustained a furious cannonade for two hours, when she was reduced to a sinking condition. Perry then committed her to the charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, and, taking to a boat, passed through a heavy fire to the *Niagara*, where he hoisted his flag. He then sailed through the enemy's line, pouring in broadsides at half-pistol-shot distance; and, the remainder of the squadron having now come up with the aid of a fair wind, the contest was soon determined in favour of the Americans. By four o'clock in the afternoon, every one of the British vessels had surrendered. On the side of the Americans, twenty-seven were killed and ninety-six wounded; on that of the British, two hundred were killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Most of the

British officers were slain, and Barclay, who had already lost one arm, now lost the other. He afterwards, however, testified to the humane conduct of Perry in the treatment of his prisoners, and altogether the character of that officer stands high in the records of valour and nobility of soul. When he was forming his line of battle, he hoisted a flag bearing the heroic words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" In communicating intelligence of the victory to General Harrison, he expressed himself pithily, though not with the most exquisite regard to grammar. "We have met the enemy," he said, "and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

This signal victory caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the Union. It was the first time that American vessels had obtained any advantage over a squadron, and the action soon produced very important effects on the military policy of the enemy. It placed Colonel Procter and his Indian allies in a dangerous position, and enabled the Americans to make a movement towards the recovery of the ground which they had lost by the mismanagement of General Hull. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and a reinforcement of four thousand Kentucky volunteers under Governor Shelby arrived on the 17th of September in the neighbourhood of the lake. General Harrison thereupon proceeded by water to Malden, now abandoned by the British under Procter, who, a few days before, had ascended the river Thames as far as the Moravian villages on that stream. At this spot they were overtaken by General Harrison on the 5th of October, and completely routed. Six hundred of the British were made prisoners, and Colonel Procter, who narrowly escaped, left his camp-equipage and all his papers behind him. The slaughter of the Indians was very great, and their chief Tecumseh, the brother of the Prophet, was among the killed. He was at that time about forty years of age—a man of courage and of some intellectual power, possessing all that melancholy dignity which is characteristic of the Indian race. It is related of him that on one occasion, when attending a conference with Harrison, he found no seat reserved for himself, Harrison's aide-de-camp having taken one which had been intended for the barbarian; and that, being invited to occupy a position next to the General, he replied, "The Great Spirit is my father, and I will repose on the bosom of my mother," and then sat down upon the ground. Among the trophies of the victory near the Moravian villages were six brass field-pieces recently given up by General Hull, on two of which were inscribed the words, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." Detroit and all the other posts in that direction were now once more in the hands of the Americans; the war in the North-west was brought to an end; and the Indian confederacy was completely broken up by the submission of four important tribes, who sent deputies to General Harrison, and entered into treaties of alliance.

It was not merely, however, on the borders of Canada that the Americans had been threatened with Indian ferocity, and it was not only there that the danger was now extinguished. At the commencement of the war, Tecumseh had visited the Creeks and Seminoles on the frontiers of Georgia, and excited their fanaticism against the white inhabitants of that region. About the end of August, they surprised a fort in an exposed situation, and massacred all within, including women and children. General Jackson, of Tennessee, thereupon led a large body of militia into the wilds, to punish the offenders. The Indians were hunted down, brought to bay in a series of bloody encounters, and decimated by continual slaughter. Their last stand was made in a fortified camp at the Great Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River, in what is now the State of Alabama, where a thousand warriors, with their women and children, determined to brave the worst. They were surrounded by the American force, and Jackson made his assault on the 27th of March, 1814. Driven backwards and forwards by the troops in their front and the troops in their rear, and seeing no possibility of escape, the savages fought with desperate tenacity. The battle lasted until night; but the issue was never doubtful. Disdaining to surrender, almost six hundred of the Indians fell dead upon the field; three hundred escaped; and the Americans, with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, remained masters of the ground. This action so completely crushed the spirit of the Creeks, and went so near towards annihilating them as a nation, that the remainder soon after signified their submission. Their great leader, Wetherford, a half-blood, was amongst those who thus humbled themselves. He appeared suddenly before Jackson in his tent, when that commander was about to attack his tribe, and, with a proud and erect demeanour, said, "I am in your power; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice: I have none now—even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there



NIAGARA FALLS (WESTERN SIDE).

was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was soon afterwards concluded, but of course upon terms which granted little to the red man.

During the session of 1813, Congress passed laws imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars, authorising the collection of various internal duties, providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars, and prohibiting the merchant-vessels of the United States from sailing under British licences. The last-named statute was intended as a counteraction to that measure of the British Government by which, with a view chiefly to encourage the friendly feeling of the New Englanders, certain ships, by adopting these licences, were enabled to trade with the West Indies. Congress also appointed a committee to report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the enemy; and the upshot of the inquiry was to charge the naval and military authorities of Great Britain with many shameful departures from the rules of warfare observed by civilised nations. It is certain, however, that these matters were not all on one side. Congress itself had passed an Act offering a reward of half their value for the destruction of British ships by means other than those of the armed vessels of the United States. The object was to encourage the use of torpedos, and several of those terrible machines were employed against Commodore Hardy's squadron on the coast of New England. Hardy protested against such attacks as unmanly, but they were held to be justified by the irregular proceedings of the British.

At the close of 1813, the Americans were in a more favourable position than they had occupied a year before. They had had some important triumphs at sea; they had not always been vanquished on land; and the nation was fully determined to spare no exertion in the further prosecution of hostilities.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Financial Measures of the American Government—Increase of the Army and Navy—The British Government enabled by the European Peace of 1814, to concentrate its Military Resources in America—Attack on Oswego—Actions at Chippewa and at Burlington Heights—Siege of Fort Erie—Operations on Lake Champlain—Advance of General Ross upon Washington—Burning of that City by the British—Attack on Baltimore, and Death of General Ross—The Coasts of New England annoyed by the British—Increased Unpopularity of the War in the North-eastern States—Assembling of a Convention for the Redress of Grievances—State of the extreme South—Troubles with the Indians—Bad Faith of the Spanish Governor of Florida—New Orleans threatened by the English—General Jackson summoned to its Defence—Disaffection in the City—Fortifications hastily erected—Arrival of the British Fleet—Desperate Action in Front of the American Entrenchments—Death of Sir Edward Pakenham, and Defeat of the British—Minor Actions on Land and at Sea—Peace concluded at Ghent—Terms of the Treaty—Collision of General Jackson with the Civil Authorities at New Orleans—Consequences of the War.

War cannot be waged with a great Power except at a vast expense. The United States now found that they had entered on a struggle which would try their resources to the utmost. The old difficulty with respect to funds, which had led to so many questionable expedients in the days of the Revolution, arose once more, and the popular impatience of taxation was again a source of perplexity to financiers and politicians. Commerce being almost extinguished, it was found necessary to derive some amount of revenue from articles of consumption, such as spirits, sugar, and salt; but these duties were irksome to the American people, and it was considered advisable, as in the time of the old Continental Congress, to depend much on loans and on large issues of paper. In the winter of 1813–14, the President was authorised to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, and to issue Treasury notes to the amount of five millions. The credit of the Government was so bad that these Treasury notes fell seventeen per cent. below par; but, as at the earlier date, they helped with other resources to give the Administration power to engage in vast expenses which could not have been more immediately defrayed. To add to the numbers of the army, and to secure a better class of soldiers, the enormous bounty of a hundred and twenty-four dollars was offered for each recruit. The pay, rations, and clothing of the troops were also settled on a liberal scale, and provision was made for the increase and better organisation of the navy, and for the defence of the sea-board. An embargo instituted with a view to preventing the trade under British licences was repealed in

April, 1814, and the further attacks of the enemy were awaited with some composure.

As the year progressed, however, it became evident that the war would assume a much more serious character. The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, in April, and his banishment to Elba, with the empty sovereignty of that small realm, had put an end to the long war with revolutionary France; and England, being now at peace on the Continent of Europe, was free to direct her whole strength against the United States. Louis XVIII. had been established on the throne of his ancestors; the great disturber of the old systems and dynasties was apparently securely disposed of in a Mediterranean island; and the Government of Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, delivered from the fear of change near home, could concentrate the immense resources of the Empire on the distant fields of America. Before the occurrence of these great events, the war in that country had fallen into a somewhat languid condition. Towards the close of March, General Wilkinson entered Canada, and attacked a number of English troops stationed in a large stone mill on the river La Colle, but was soon repulsed with heavy loss, and, having for some time sunk much in popular esteem, was shortly afterwards removed from the chief command, to which General Izard succeeded. A court-martial subsequently inquired into the conduct of Wilkinson, when he was acquitted of blame, but did not recover his former position. The Republic at this period was not very fortunate in its land-commanders.

Some operations for obtaining predominance on Lake Ontario took place in the spring of 1814. On the 5th of May, Sir James Yeo, who was in command of a small English squadron, appeared before Oswego, with three thousand troops and marines. The fort on the east side of the river was in a very dilapidated state, and defended by no more than three hundred men, under Colonel Mitchell, and a flotilla, under Captain Woolsey. A large quantity of naval and military stores had been deposited at Oswego Falls, some miles off, and one object of Yeo's expedition was to capture these, or, failing that, to destroy them. But although, after a resistance of nearly two days, the fort yielded to a combined attack by land and water, the British did not care to penetrate farther into the country, and accordingly withdrew on the morning of the 7th, with a loss of two hundred and thirty-five men in killed and wounded. The Americans had lost only sixty-nine; but this is to be accounted for by the fact that they had fought behind walls. Early in July, an American force under General Brown crossed the Niagara River, and invested Fort Erie, which surrendered without opposition. The garrison retired to the entrenched camp of General Riall, situated at Chippewa, about two miles above the Falls of Niagara, on the Canada side of the river; and here the Americans determined on attacking their adversaries a second time. On the 4th of July, they advanced against the position, and next day a sanguinary battle was fought in the open fields, ending in the defeat of the British, who fell back to Fort George, and subsequently to the heights of Burlington. The English army in America had by this time been reinforced by veteran regiments, accustomed to frequent triumphs in the Spanish Peninsula and on other European fields, where they had successfully encountered the best troops of France. The Americans therefore found themselves opposed by large and formidable hosts — by men who had fought and conquered under the lead of Wellington, Hill, Anglesey, and the other heroes of that prolonged struggle which for more than twenty years had tasked the resources of Great Britain. Nothing could be said against the material force now employed in the United States; it seems, indeed, to have been in every way equal to what was required of it; but the commanders were not men of first-rate ability. With Generals of more decided genius, the issue of the war might in some respects have been different.

Soon after arriving at Burlington Heights, General Riall was joined by Lieutenant-General Drummond, with a large number of additional troops. The Americans also expected reinforcements, but these were blockaded by a British fleet off Sackett's Harbour, and could not reach their comrades. They were therefore compelled to do the best they could with a force inferior to the enemy; but the events of July 25th showed that they had not altogether miscalculated their strength. The attack was commenced by the British under General Drummond, and the battle raged for some hours with unabated violence. During the pauses of the fight, the roar of the great cataract near at hand was heard with solemn monotone, which, when the fire of the opposing armies was resumed, mingled with the crash of artillery and the rattle of small-arms, and lost its separate existence in the mightier noise of conflict. Night had fallen before the action reached its close, and a cloudy sky gave intermitting glimpses of moonlight, by which the antagonists sought out each other's positions, and wrestled long and bloodily for the advantage. For a considerable time, the Americans were much annoyed by a British battery planted on a com-

manding eminence. "Can you capture those guns?" asked General Ripley of Colonel Miller. "I will try, sir," replied that officer; and the modest words have since become the motto of his regiment. The attempt was gallantly made. Again and again, Miller led his men to the assault, sometimes momentarily seizing the position, and then losing it. Cannon were brought up by the Americans to support the attack, and gun charged gun with obstinate determination. The confusion was so great that the guns were at one time interchanged; but no decided result attended the heroic effort. The close of the day has been variously described. American historians allege that the victory was with them; but it seems more probable that the balance of advantages lay with the English. Immediately after the battle, the Americans retreated to Fort Erie, where they shut themselves up, and were besieged by the enemy. The losses on both sides were serious. General Riall was severely wounded and taken prisoner; and the American Generals Brown and Scott were compelled by their injuries to quit the field.

On the 4th of August, Drummond, who had also been wounded, appeared before Fort Erie, and commenced preparations for a siege. The English General was in command of five thousand troops; his works were speedily advanced to within four hundred yards of the American lines; and, on the night between the 14th and 15th of August, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was gallantly repulsed. On the 2nd of September, General Brown, who had by that time recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison, which, being strengthened by five thousand men from Plattsburg, felt equal to offensive operations. The 17th of September was signalised by a sortie from the besieged, who endeavoured to cut off the British advanced posts from the main body. The enemy's entrenchments were for a time seized by the Americans, and the works destroyed; but, on General Drummond hurrying up reinforcements, the assailants were obliged to retreat. The besiegers, however, were now so much discouraged that, on the night of the 21st, after having remained on the ground forty-nine days, they retired to their entrenchments behind the Chippewa. General Izard arrived on the 9th of October, and took the command; but, considering it inexpedient to attempt any further operations in that quarter, he demolished the works at Fort Erie, and removed his troops to Buffalo. Thus the American attempt on Canada was once more abandoned.

Plattsburg being now left almost defenceless, the British determined to attack it by land, and at the same time to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on Lake Champlain. At the head of 14,000 men, most of whom were veterans of the European wars, Sir George Prevost entered the United States on the 3rd of September. Three days later, he arrived at Plattsburg, which is situated near the lake, on the northern bank of the river Saranac. The garrison of the town consisted mainly of the militia of New York and Vermont, hastily drawn together by General Macomb on the first alarm of invasion. Retiring to the south side of the Saranac, they prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. With the planks of the bridges, which they had torn up, they formed slight breastworks, and, thus aided, were able to defeat all endeavours to follow them. For some days the invaders were employed in erecting batteries, and early on the morning of the 11th the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburg, where that of the United States, under Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor. The former carried ninety-five guns, with a complement of upwards of a thousand men; the latter had eighty-six guns, and eight hundred and twenty men. A naval battle between these forces commenced at nine o'clock; and at the same time the British army began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted at different places to cross the Saranac. The opposition to those attempts was so determined, and the loss of life so serious, that the English forces were unable to gain the other side, except at one point, where the ford was weakly guarded by militia. Here the assailants managed to get into the woods, but were severely handled, and compelled, after awhile, to recross the river. At six o'clock in the evening, all the British batteries were silenced, and long before that time a great naval success had been obtained upon the lake. After an engagement of two hours and twenty minutes, the English squadron was completely defeated; nearly all the ships composing it were sunk or taken; Commodore Downie was killed, and his ship was compelled to strike her colours, amidst the triumphant cheers of the Americans. So hard had been the fighting on both sides, that at the close of the action not a mast was standing uninjured in either squadron. Seeing the complete defeat of their vessels, the British land-commanders determined to withdraw, and during the ensuing night the whole army moved off with precipitation, leaving behind them their sick and wounded, most of their camp-equipage, and their intrenching tools and provisions. Considering the excellent material

of which the army was composed, and that these seasoned troops were beaten by a force consisting for the most part of militia, it is not easy to resist the conclusion that the English must have been feebly commanded. Ever since the commencement of the war, Sir George Prevost had exhibited a want of vigour and capacity, and this last failure was considered too serious to be passed over, though it was the opinion of Wellington that he was right in retiring after the discomfiture of the fleet. He was dismissed by his Government, and would have been tried by court martial had he not died soon afterwards.

During the year 1814, great indignation was excited in America by the English seducing from their masters' plantations a large number of slaves, whom they armed and placed among their ranks; on account of which they had afterwards to pay, on the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, £250,000 in compensation to the slave-owners. Scattered actions with individual frigates continued to occur on the ocean, with varying success. But the principal seat of war was now transferred to the Southern and Middle States. A squadron under Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board an army under General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake in the month of August. An American flotilla, commanded by Commodore Barney, had taken shelter in the Patuxent, and thither Cochrane's fleet sailed, apparently in search of the enemy. The English ships, however, were too large to proceed any great way up the river, and moreover Ross had plans of a very different nature, to which the temporary pursuit of Barney served as a convenient blind. The army, consisting of nearly five thousand men, was disembarked at St. Benedict's, that they might march upon the Federal capital, and compel its surrender. Washington was defended by a force which, including militia, numbered rather more than seven thousand troops. No attempt was made to oppose the British advance, for Armstrong, the American Secretary for War, could not persuade himself that the attack was seriously intended, and was in doubt as to the real destination of the English forces. The actual command was in the hands of General Winder, who showed great indecision of purpose, but at length resolved to make a stand against the invaders. With this view he selected a strong position at Bladensburg, covered by a branch of the Potomac. In the meanwhile, the English were pushing forward without the slightest opposition, and, by the time they had reached Marlborough, Commodore Barney thought it prudent to destroy his flotilla, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. The English commander cared little about the flotilla. His object was Washington, and thither he pursued his march, arriving in its neighbourhood on the 24th of August.

It was necessary in the first instance to carry the position at Bladensburg. The Americans numbered many more than the British; but the former were raw militia, the latter, experienced and highly disciplined troops. The approach to the town was over a bridge, which was defended by artillery taken from Barney's flotilla and served by Barney's sailors. The resistance at this point was prolonged and courageous. For a time, the British were checked, and even compelled to give way; but they speedily rallied, out-flanked the defenders of the bridge, and finally overpowered them. The commander of the gallant band, being wounded, was captured, and paroled for his courage by General Ross. The militia acted as militia generally do. They abandoned their positions with the utmost haste, and Bladensburg was presently in the hands of General Ross. The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capital, and at this spot were joined by a body of Virginian militia. But General Winder had no reliance on his army. He considered it quite incapable of opposing so well-trained an enemy, and accordingly withdrew to Georgetown. Washington was at the same time abandoned by the President, the heads of departments, and most of the citizens, and was shortly afterwards entered by the victors. It was at eight o'clock in the evening when General Ross, with an advanced guard of eight hundred men, penetrated into the Federal capital. Having arrived at the seat of Government, he offered terms of capitulation, and promised that, on receiving a sum of money nearly equal to the value of the public and private property which the place contained, the city should be ransomed, and the British troops drawn off. There was no civil or military authority on the spot, however, competent to enter into any such arrangement. Ross found himself in a difficult position, and had to consider what next he should do. It is said that his flag of truce was fired on, and, probably in a moment of exasperation, he determined on an act for which there can be no defence. Washington was doomed to the flames, and, in the immense conflagration which was kindled, the President's house, the offices of the several departments, a considerable number of private dwellings, the libraries and public archives, the works of art contained in the public buildings, the navy-yard and its contents, a frigate on the stocks, and several smaller vessels, were involved in one common doom. The British remained close to the burning city (the light of which was seen at

Baltimore, forty miles off) till the evening of the 25th, when they retreated. On the 30th they re-embarked at St. Benedict's, and sailed for other quarters. The bombarding of fortified towns, however dreadful, is among the permitted, and even necessary, operations of warfare; but the destruction of undefended cities, with the firing of private buildings and civic offices, is an act which no exigency can palliate. General Ross's proceedings at Washington produced the very natural effect of exciting in the Americans the most vehement desire for revenge. The war became all the more popular on account of this disaster; and some even of those who had hitherto refrained from giving it their full support, now resolved to strain every nerve for repelling the invaders of their country. In England itself the act was denounced by many, and was made the subject of comments in the Houses of Parliament, which Ministers could do little to repel.

Ross paid heavily for his success at Washington. The losses of his regiments, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, besides those who were killed or wounded in action, were between eight hundred and a thousand men—a very large proportion of the small army with which the expedition had been commenced. The General, however, was speedily reinforced, and at once turned his attention towards other enterprises. He proceeded to attack Baltimore, and on the 12th of September landed with nearly eight thousand troops at North Point, fourteen miles from the city, while a portion of the fleet went up the Patapsco, to bombard Fort McHenry. Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter quarters, and that with the force at his command he could march all over Maryland. Preparations had been hurried forward for resisting the threatened attack, and an action was fought some way in advance of the capital. At the head of a small reconnoitring party, Ross pushed on towards the city, but, shortly afterwards receiving a ball from a rifleman, died in a few minutes in the arms of his aide-de-camp. Colonel Brooke then took the command, and ultimately succeeded in driving the Americans back on their main body. The British bivouacked for the night on ground beyond the battle-field, and on the 13th re-commenced their march. In the meanwhile, Fort McHenry and Fort Covington, which defend the narrow passage from the Patapsco into the harbour of Baltimore, were being bombarded by a British squadron of sixteen ships, drawn up in line-of-battle within two miles and a half of the forts. On the night following the 13th, an attempt was made to storm these works; but it was successfully resisted. The squadron thereupon sailed down the river, and Colonel Brooke considered it prudent to withdraw his men. Admiral Cochrane had found himself much incommoded by the shallowness of the harbour, and by the vessels sunk at its mouth; and his inability to carry out with completeness one feature of the programme, caused the failure of the entire design. The whole fleet soon afterwards left Chesapeake Bay, and a portion turned southward, with a view to fresh operations.

A few weeks before—viz., on the 29th of August—the city of Alexandria, on the Potomac, had surrendered to a British squadron. The shipping, naval stores, and merchandise, were delivered up to the attacking force; the vessels in the harbour were seized, and loaded with a large amount of produce, of which Alexandria was the depôt; but the town was spared from destruction. The coasts of New England, which had hitherto been treated with great tenderness, now felt the stress of war. Villages were bombarded and destroyed; vessels moored in the rivers were burned; and in many ways the inhabitants were made to feel that they were part of that Confederation which was the enemy of England. Commodore Hardy, in command of a squadron, and of one thousand two hundred troops, took possession of East Port, on Moose Island, Maine, on the 11th of July, and, after erecting fortifications there, required the people to take the oath of allegiance to the English Sovereign, or to quit the island. Having accomplished this object, he retired; but similar conquests, if such they can be called, were effected in other parts of the same territory. All the strongholds on the Penobscot were reduced. A frigate, called the *John Adams*, was captured, though not without a gallant fight. Some islands in Passamaquoddy Bay were seized. Half the province of Maine was obliged to capitulate; and Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor of Nova Scotia, took possession of it in the name of George III. The British operations extended even to the coast of Massachusetts. The people of Cape Cod were prohibited from fishing on the banks, and, in consequence of this deprivation of their chief industry, were reduced to great distress. The inhabitants of Nantucket were forced to promise neutrality during the remainder of the war; and at various points in the same direction the British naval commanders imposed their own terms on a people who were left without adequate protection, and were themselves not very well inclined towards the prosecution of hostilities.

The war was in fact becoming every day more unpopular in the New England States. The prevalent feeling was a desire to isolate those States



PAKENHAM LEADING THE ATTACK ON NEW ORLEANS.

from the rest of the Federation, and striking advances were made in that direction. In Massachusetts, it was even proposed to withhold the State revenue from the national treasury, and to apply it to purposes of local defence. A convention of delegates assembled at Hartford, with a view to considering the alleged grievances of Massachusetts, and the steps necessary for redress. To this convention the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, sent delegates, and on the 15th of December a session was opened, which lasted three weeks. The debates were carried on with closed doors, and the result of these deliberations was an address, charging the Federal Government with pursuing a system of measures injurious to the interests of New England. Amendments to the Federal constitution were suggested, and a committee was despatched to Washington to confer with the Government on the subject of applying the revenues of New England entirely to its own defence. By that date, however, the war was nearly over, and it was found unnecessary to consider these proposals; but the Hartford convention has always in succeeding times been referred to with great reprobation by the Southern and Western States, as showing that, during the crisis of a foreign war, New England was disposed to separate herself from the rest of the Union.

We must now turn our attention to the extreme South, which had for some little while been in a state of peace, but which was shortly to be the scene of important operations. The Creeks, as we have seen, had been reduced by General Jackson, and in the summer of 1814 those savages agreed, by treaty, to surrender a large portion of their country as indemnity for the expenses of the war, to allow the United States to construct roads through the remainder, and not to hold intercourse with any British or Spanish posts. Such concessions were of course very unwillingly made, and the Creeks looked eagerly for any chance of violating their engagements. An opportunity was soon found in the presence of a British squadron cruising in the Gulf of Mexico. These vessels took possession of the forts at Pensacola, by permission of the Spanish authorities, and there fitted out an expedition against Fort Bower, at the entrance to Mobile Bay. An attack on Mobile Point was made on the 15th of September; but in the end the British were repulsed, with the loss of a ship of war and several men. The attack had been directed from the land as well as from the sea, and among the forces on shore were two hundred Creek warriors. The movement among these tribes, however, was a matter of small importance. The really serious features were the British attack, and the complicity of the Spanish authorities at Pensacola in the operations of the enemy. Jackson, who was now a Major-General in the army, and Commander of the South-western military district, held the Governor of Florida responsible for this piece of bad faith, and, being unable to obtain satisfaction, marched from Mobile with about two thousand Tennessee militia, and some Choctaw warriors. Pensacola was stormed on the 7th of November; the British were compelled to retreat to their shipping, and finally to leave the harbour; and the Spanish Governor surrendered Pensacola and all its military works, without requiring any conditions.

On returning to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans awaiting him, from which it appeared that the British in the Gulf of Mexico, strongly reinforced by fresh troops from England, were about to invade Louisiana. This expedition had been in contemplation for a considerable time. The fleet lately employed in the Chesapeake, and many other squadrons on the Atlantic coast, had been concentrated at Jamaica and the Bermudas with a view to this great object. The reinforcements under General Pakenham (a Peninsular officer of great reputation) were furnished with printing-presses, custom-house and civil officers, and everything which could indicate an intention of permanent conquest. The authorities at New Orleans, hearing rumours of these preparations, begged Jackson to hurry to their assistance. He lost not a moment in answering the appeal, and on the 2nd of December arrived with his troops from the Mobile and Mississippi Territories. By prompt and vigorous action, he restored confidence to the city authorities; but it was found necessary to declare martial law, as not a little disaffection existed in the capital of Louisiana, which was a recent acquisition, peopled to a great extent by foreigners, and in many respects out of harmony with the general character of the United States. Before he reached New Orleans, General Jackson had been informed by Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, that the city corps had for the most part refused to turn out on the requisition of General Flournoy; that the Legislature of the State, then in session, had encouraged them in their disobedience; and that several of the citizens had shown a friendly inclination towards the English. Jackson depended in the main on the troops he brought with him; but, having weeded the city of the traitorously disposed, he found an element of strength in those who remained. The English commanders had hoped to arrive at the point of

attack before any intelligence of their plans had reached it. Under ordinary conditions, New Orleans was vulnerable to a spirited assault; but Jackson had time to increase its defences, which, in addition to the swampy nature of the soil where the mouths of the Mississippi empty themselves into the Gulf, enabled the American forces to offer a determined and ultimately a successful resistance when the foe at length appeared. Every man who could bear arms was required to take part in the military operations. Fort St. Philip, which guarded the passage of the Mississippi at Détour la Plaquemine, was strengthened by new works. An extensive line of fortifications was erected four miles below the city on the left bank of the river, from the edge of which it ran eastward towards an impenetrable cypress-swamp. A ditch already existing between the river and the swamp was turned to military uses by throwing up entrenchments, and accumulating cotton-bales until they reached a height calculated to afford protection to troops in the rear. Cannon were mounted at every available point, and the west bank of the river was held by General Morgan, with a body of militia, and by Commodore Paterson, with the crews and guns of part of his squadron. The approach of the enemy towards the principal works was thus enfiladed. Above the town, the pass of the Bayou St. John was guarded by a detachment stationed there for that purpose; and a small squadron of gun-boats was kept in readiness to dispute the passage of the river between Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne.

On the 14th of December, the English fleet appeared at the entrance to this channel, and was met by the flotilla of gun-boats, which commenced a spirited action. In the first instance, the attacking force sent forward forty launches, which, after some severe fighting, captured and destroyed the American vessels. This success was obtained at a considerable cost in killed and wounded; but it enabled the British to choose their point of attack. On the 22nd of December, they despatched a body of troops in flat-bottomed boats, which were rowed up to the extremity of the lake, and there landed the several divisions in a reedy swamp, some miles from the city. Here, on the night of the 23rd, they were attacked by General Jackson. A considerable loss was inflicted on the British, but they were not dislodged from their position, and Jackson fell back towards the town. By the 28th of December, the English forces (taking several field-works by the way) had arrived within half a mile of the American lines, from which point they opened a fire of shells and rockets, but were repulsed by the American artillery. Jackson's army at that time numbered about three thousand, consisting for the most part of militia. These troops were stationed within a line of entrenchments, a mile in length, thrown up about four miles from New Orleans, guarded by a canal in front, and flanked by the batteries on the west or opposite bank of the river, in addition to eight others in the main position. The assailants continued to advance, and on the night of the 31st of December were within three or four hundred yards of the works. Having taken up a position, protected by walls made out of hogsheads of sugar and molasses, they erected three batteries, under cover of which they three times endeavoured to storm the enemy's entrenchments, but were driven back with great loss, and compelled to return to the starting place, while their batteries were silenced by those of the Americans. The main assault was postponed for a few days, and in the meantime Sir Edward Pakenham, by an extraordinary expenditure of labour, dug a canal for connecting a creek which emptied into Lake Borgne with the main channel of the Mississippi, in order that he might convey a part of his boats and artillery into the river, and thus silence the enemy's batteries on the western bank. The work was executed in an amazingly short space of time, and evinced great energy on the part of the English commander; but it had no effect on the result.

Early on the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, the main body of the English army, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, moved up to the assault. Within a few days previously, Jackson had been reinforced by three thousand militia, chiefly from Kentucky; so that he had now six thousand men, with whom to defend his entrenchments and to work his batteries. The approach of the British was not resisted until they were within a convenient distance of the opposing lines; then, with a sudden flash and simultaneous report, showers of grape-shot struck the advancing ranks. Jackson had formed his troops in two rows, of which the rear-guard loaded for those in front, so that the fire was continued with scarcely a break. The men from Kentucky and the other Western States, being habituated to the use of the rifle, were almost unerring marksmen, and the effect of their simultaneous volleys was deadly in the extreme. Still the English troops pushed on; but the reedy plain was soon covered with the dying and the dead. Now and again, those hardy veterans staggered and fell back, but, recovering themselves after awhile, pressed forward on what was now a hopeless enterprise. The British order of battle was in two

columns, of which the left advanced along an embankment skirting the river, while the right, moving through the swamp, endeavoured to turn the left of Jackson's position. Pakenham's plans were in some measure disordered by an untoward event. The canal, which had been very roughly executed, had partly fallen in; the boats, on whose assistance the English commander had calculated, were unable to come up; and the party that had been sent forward was insufficient in numbers, and arrived too late. The right of the British line became involved in the swamp through which it was necessary that they should pass: they were consequently unable to turn the American left, and were at length compelled to retire. Under these circumstances, the prudent course for Pakenham would have been to withdraw his whole army without delay, and postpone the attack on New Orleans until better arrangements could be made. But he seems to have been rendered desperate by his situation, and to have thought that mere courage could supply the defects of military science. He placed himself at the head of the regiment which bore the scaling ladders, and called upon his troops to follow. Some of his officers, seeing the impossibility of success, retired from the field; but Pakenham had apparently resolved on death. Supported by a number of his men, the English General rushed towards the American entrenchments. Some officers and soldiers even got within the lines, but were at once shot down. Pakenham himself was mortally wounded; Gibbs, the second in command, shared the same fate; and Keane, the third in command, was so severely injured as to be incapable of giving orders. It was evident that there was no choice but to retreat as speedily as possible. The shattered regiments reeled back at eight o'clock in the morning, and New Orleans was safe once more. The American militia desired to pursue their adversaries; but Jackson knew his men, and was well aware that, although they could fight heroically behind defences, they were of much inferior worth in the open field. On that very day, on the western bank of the river, opposite to that on which the decisive action was fought, the Kentucky and Louisiana militia had deserted their batteries and fled, and a naval battery had been compelled to surrender to the enemy. The operations against New Orleans were not at once abandoned, for on the 9th the English fleet commenced a bombardment of Fort St. Philip, which was continued till the 17th. This, however, was merely intended to cover the retreat of the army, which took place on the 16th of January, under the direction of General Lambert. The loss of the British had been at least two thousand in killed, wounded, and captured. The Americans, owing to the excellence of their entrenchments, are said to have lost only the incredibly small number of seven killed and six wounded.

At about the same period, Admiral Cockburn was sailing along the coasts of Carolina and Georgia, and menacing Charleston and Savannah with destruction. Fort Mobile was taken by the army which had retreated from New Orleans, and on the 16th of January an American frigate, the *President*, was captured by the English ship *Endymion;* but these small successes did little to counterbalance the great reverse before the capital of Louisiana. Several English ships were taken by the Americans, and in the early days of 1815 the position of the British in America was not at all favourable from a military point of view. Happily, however, an accommodation of differences was now close at hand. Commissioners of both nations had for some time been sitting at Ghent. The first attempts of these gentlemen to settle the matters in dispute led to nothing but failure, since no common ground could be agreed upon; but the hope of an ultimate arrangement was not entirely relinquished. While America was rejoicing over the victory at New Orleans, news arrived that terms of peace had been settled even before that action took place. The treaty had been signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified by the Prince Regent on the 27th. It was received in the United States on the 11th of February, 1815, and ratified on the 17th by the President and Senate. The main stipulations of this treaty were that all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after the instrument was signed, should be mutually restored; that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times; and that each party should put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavour to extinguish the traffic in slaves. Provision was made for settling the boundaries between the United States and Canada, which had been left in a very uncertain condition by the treaty of 1783. But the main objects of the war were entirely passed over. The Americans had objected to what are called paper blockades—that is to say, the blockading of ports by proclamation, without any ships of war being stationed there to prevent the entry of mercantile vessels; but, although this custom has since passed out of use, and was specifically renounced by the Powers agreeing to the Treaty of Peace with Russia in 1856, nothing was said against it in the treaty of 1814. The Orders in Council had been unconditionally withdrawn four days after the President's proclamation of war, and of course long before the state of hostilities could be

known in England; and the British claim to search American ships, and take from them seamen who were supposed to be British subjects—after all, by far the most important ground of quarrel—was not given up. As the war between England and France was then concluded (though it broke out again shortly afterwards for a few months), it appears to have been thought that this delicate question might be passed over in silence.

It is painful to find that one of the chief American heroes of the war which had just concluded—namely, General Jackson—was bitterly assailed for his proceedings at New Orleans. Many were of opinion that he had acted despotically in declaring martial law, and that during the period of his command he had enforced that law with unnecessary rigour. It appears that a member of the Louisiana Legislature, about the period of the siege, attacked Jackson in a newspaper. The General ordered his arrest, and, on Judge Hall granting a writ of *habeas corpus*, Jackson refused obedience to the writ, and even went so far as to arrest the judge, and send him out of the city. This, no doubt, was an extreme application of his exceptional powers under the state of siege; but New Orleans was at that time in such a condition that nothing short of a despotic exercise of authority could have saved it. After the successful defence of the city, Jackson was himself arrested on a charge of contempt of court, and fined a thousand dollars. He was so far sustained by popular opinion, however, that the crowd in court hissed the sentence, and bore the General on their shoulders into the street. By Congress, Jackson was honoured with a vote of thanks and a gold medal; and thirteen years later, when he was a candidate for the Presidency, his achievements were not forgotten.

A treaty to regulate commerce between the two countries was signed at London on the 3rd of July, and ratified by the President on the 22nd of December, 1815. The rejoicings in the United States over the restoration of peace were universal and enthusiastic. The country had gained immensely in naval and military reputation, but its sufferings had been terrible. The loss of life, the destruction of property, the disturbance of material interests, had all been on a very large scale. The progress of the United States had been thrown back some years by this disastrous and unnatural struggle; and the feeling of friendship between the two great divisions of the English race, which was beginning to recover slightly from the War of Independence, was again dashed to the earth by bitter and exasperating memories. Since then, no war has occurred between Great Britain and the United States. Causes of quarrel have been numerous, and interested or passionate people on both sides of the Atlantic have endeavoured, by inconsiderate speaking and writing, to kindle the fires of mutual hate; but the good feeling and good sense of both countries have grown stronger with every year, and it is now understood that there are better ways out of a disagreement than through the mouth of a cannon. Increased facilities of communication—steam-vessels and electric telegraphs—have caused such an interchange of ideas on every subject of interest to human beings that the chances of a misunderstanding are greatly reduced. The press of England and the press of America speak equally to both lands, and, although their utterances are not always wise, there is a constantly-increasing overplus of opinion in favour of friendliness and peace. The manufacturers of both nations meet in the great Exhibitions of London and Philadelphia, compare their productions, profit by each other's inventions, and strengthen the habits of amity by the ties of personal acquaintance. In 1814, the English and the Americans knew little of one another, excepting such knowledge as they derived from a hundred recollections of mutual injury and insult. In these happier times they are familiar with the whole round of each other's lives, and feel through every fibre the ennobling reality of their kinship.



PRESIDENT MONROE. (*After the Portrait by A. B. Durand.*)

CHAPTER LXX.

The Cost of the War—Naval Operations against the Barbary Powers, and Submission of those States—Final Events of Madison's Administration—Election of James Monroe to the Presidency—His Previous Career—Development of Manufactures in America—Prosperity of Agriculture—Creation of New States—Large Accession of Emigrants from Great Britain—Suppression of Piratical Establishments on the Coasts of Florida and Texas—Policy of the United States towards the Spanish-American Republics—Expedition of General Jackson into Florida—Conquest of that Province by an American Force—The Conduct of Jackson impugned by the Minority in Congress—Florida ceded by Spain—Jackson's Difficulties as Governor—Alabama and Maine erected into Independent States—Violent Debates in Congress on the Subject of Slavery in Missouri—The "Missouri Compromise"—Various Acts of Monroe's Administration—Visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to America—Protective Tariffs—Election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency—His Inaugural Address to Congress—Threats of Secession in Georgia—The Year of Jubilee (1826)—Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

WHEN the Americans counted up the cost of the late war with England, they found that they were the poorer for it by a hundred millions of dollars. The total loss of life has been estimated at thirty thousand persons; but such calculations are wholly conjectural, and the number has perhaps been understated. England, doubtless, suffered much more than her opponent, both in expenditure of money and destruction of life; but it must be recollected that her resources in all respects were greater than those of the United States. Where she was most seriously injured, not only materially, but in reputation, was on the sea. An American writer records that during the struggle his countrymen captured, on the ocean and on the lakes, fifty-six British vessels of war, mounting 886 guns, and



FOREST SCENERY, FLORIDA.

2,360 merchant-vessels, mounting 8,000 guns; that, in addition to this, twenty-nine British ships of war, mounting about 800 guns, were lost on the American coast, by wreck or otherwise; and that the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels of war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.* The people of the young Republic were naturally proud of their achievements. They boasted that General Jackson had conquered the conquerors of Napoleon, and ranked the defence of New Orleans among the great exploits of military history.

The war with England had only just been brought to a termination, when trouble again arose in connection with the Barbary pirates. The Dey of Algiers had in 1812 obliged Mr. Lear, the American consul, to pay him twenty-seven thousand dollars, to ensure the safety of himself, his family, and a few American residents, all of whom were threatened with slavery if the money were not produced. During the struggle of the United States with Great Britain, this African despot, knowing that the American navy would be entirely engrossed by its formidable opponents, attacked all the American merchant-vessels he could find, seized their cargoes, and sent their crews into servitude. These Mohammedan rovers were still just the same men as they had been more than two hundred years before, when Captain John Smith, afterwards of Virginia, sailed along the Mediterranean coasts in spite of them. They were nothing better than marine highwaymen, and America submitted to their exactions only so long as she felt herself unable to resist. On the conclusion of peace with England, the Government of Mr. Madison resolved to pay no more tribute to the piratical States of Barbary. War was therefore declared against the Algerines in March, 1815, and two squadrons, under Commodore Bainbridge and Commodore Decatur—officers gloriously associated with previous triumphs over the same enemy—were sent out to bring them to reason. On the 17th of June, Decatur fell in with the frigate of the Algerine Admiral, which he speedily captured. Two days later, he took another frigate, and on the 28th of the same month appeared before Algiers. He demanded the immediate surrender of all American prisoners, full indemnification for property destroyed, and the absolute renunciation for the future of all claims to tribute from the United States. The Dey, who had been informed of the capture of two of his vessels, saw the prudence of yielding, and on the 30th of June signed a treaty conceding all the requirements of Decatur. That commander being afterwards joined by Bainbridge, the Pasha of Tunis was forced to pay forty-six thousand dollars, in compensation for American vessels which he had allowed the English to capture in his harbour during the war; and a similar demand made on the Pasha of Tripoli was also satisfied. Before the close of summer, the Barbary Powers had been completely humbled, and the commerce of the United States in those waters made secure.

The last complete year of Madison's Administration (1816) was not signalised by many events of importance. A new National Bank, to replace that whose charter (granted in the time of Washington) expired in 1811, was established by Congress in 1816, with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars, and a charter to continue twenty years. Treaties of peace were concluded with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and other Indian tribes, by which additional territories were ceded to the Republic. Indiana became an independent State in the same year. This region originally constituted a part of New France, and several trading posts were established there in the early years of the settlement. The whole of the North-western Territory, of which Indiana was a part, was ceded to England at the peace of 1763, but became a portion of the Federal possessions after the conclusion of the War of Independence. On the 19th of April, 1816, a Bill passed the Federal Legislature for enabling the people of Indiana to form a Constitution and a State Government; and the resolution formally admitting their country into the Federation as a distinct State, was sanctioned on the 11th of December.

Having now filled the Presidential chair for nearly eight years, Madison determined to follow the examples of Washington and Jefferson, and to retire from any further candidature. In the approaching election, the Democratic party gave their support to Mr. Monroe, of Virginia, for the Presidency, and Mr. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for the secondary office. The Federalists, whose power had by this time sunk very low, brought forward Mr. Rufus King for the chief post, and, as regarded the other, divided their votes between several candidates. In the autumn, Monroe and Tompkins were elected by large majorities; indeed, the former had only one vote against him in the electoral college—the vote of New Hampshire. James Monroe was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, in April, 1759, and was of Scotch descent. During the Revolutionary War, he served for some time in the army, which he quitted after the Battle of Monmouth

* Lossing's History of the United States.

Court House, in the year 1778, rejoining it when his State was invaded in 1781. He had studied the law under Jefferson, and, while still a young man of five and twenty, was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, after previously serving in the Virginia Legislature. Subsequently, he represented his country at Paris, and became Governor of his native State on returning to America. In the early years of the present century, he was again sent as Minister to Paris, and afterwards to Madrid and to London. In the Administration of Madison he had been Secretary of State. His death took place at New York on the 4th of July, 1831, and he lies buried under a simple slab in one of the cemeteries of that city.

The rule of Monroe began on the 4th of March, 1817. His Cabinet consisted of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Benjamin Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; and William Wirt, Attorney-General. All these Ministers were avowed members of the Democratic party, except John Quincy Adams, and even he had for some years forsaken his former allegiance to the Federalists. Monroe himself belonged very decidedly to the former of those political bodies, and, on his first embassy to Paris, was so strongly attached to the principles of the French Revolution that he was thought to have neglected the interests of his own Government, and was recalled by Washington. It was on his second mission to Paris, in 1802–3, that he conducted, together with Robert R. Livingston, the negotiations for the cession of Louisiana; and when in London, in 1806, he concluded, in conjunction with William Pinckney, that treaty concerning the disputed matters between England and America which Jefferson refused to allow. He was a man of good judgment, of cautious and prudent views, and of untiring perseverance in the conduct of business; but in original genius he was inferior to his predecessors. In character, his amiability was equal to that of Madison; but he had an awkward manner, which sometimes led to unpleasant results, since no quality is more necessary in a statesman than the power of saying the right thing at the right moment, and of leaving a great many things unsaid. Nevertheless, he was generally respected, and his inaugural address was considered satisfactory by most sections of the country. Shortly after his accession to power, he made a tour, of more than three months' duration, through a large part of the Union, passing from Maine, in the east, to Detroit, in the west. Jefferson disapproved of these progresses, as having too monarchical a character, but Washington had in practice given them his sanction.

At the commencement of his rule, Monroe found the manufacturing interests of the country in a very embarrassed state, owing to the competition of British goods, which, by reason of the great improvement of machinery in the old country, could be much more cheaply produced there than in America, and which, but for the duties it was considered necessary to impose on them, would probably have extinguished the native manufactures altogether—at least, for a time. The industrial arts, in which the United States now hold so conspicuous a place, were in a very rude condition in 1817. Our readers do not need to be reminded that, during the colonial days of English America, all manufactures there were not merely discountenanced, but actually forbidden, by the British Parliament. The working of iron promised at one time to be a great source of profit to the New Englanders; but it was prohibited by the Imperial Government. So also with regard to so slight a matter as the manufacture of hats: everything which could interfere with English traders was to be suppressed, in accordance with the selfish and ignorant policy of those days. Shortly after the achievement of independence, attempts were made to establish manufactories of various textile fabrics; but, owing to the dearness of labour, the want of surplus capital, and the absence of machinery, very little was effected. The imposition of the embargo at the close of 1807 was the first circumstance which gave a decided encouragement to the manufactures of America. The people were of necessity compelled to fall back upon their own resources, and, notwithstanding a few failures at the beginning, considerable progress was made in a surprisingly short time. The value of native manufactured goods, as early as 1810, was 170,000,000 dollars; in 1814, it was probably 200,000,000.* The exclusion of foreign commodities during the war, had the natural effect of enhancing the price of those which were produced at home; and the manufacturers of America were beginning to drive a good trade, when the restoration of peace interfered with their prospects. The country was inundated with British and other European productions; and for some while, until legislation of a protectionist character came to the assistance of the native manufacturer, all industries of this kind sank considerably. From 1818, however, they revived, and thenceforward entered on a stage of progressive development.

* History of the United States (1826)—an American production.

While manufactures suffered, agriculture enjoyed a period of great prosperity. The number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits in the year 1820 was 2,070,646; and the value of all American products (including cotton, tobacco, flour, and rice), exported during the year 1823, was 37,646,000 dollars. The vast provinces of the West were being colonised by families from the Eastern States, and by emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, who, arriving in large numbers every year, added materially to the population of the Republic, and widened the area of cultivated land. Within ten years of the peace—which brings us to about the close of Monroe's Administration—five new States had grown up in those wild domains which had recently been hunting-grounds of the red man. England had for more than a hundred years contributed scarcely anything to the peopling of America; and colonies which had been created by English enterprise in the seventeenth century, had become so alien to the mother country by the middle of the eighteenth, that a large proportion of the British people believed the Americans to be negroes.* The War of Independence, the struggle of 1812–15, and the progress of popular instruction, had removed all such astounding misconceptions by the time of Monroe's Presidency; and England now once more looked towards the Western World, as she had done in the reigns of the first Stuarts, as offering a relief for her own superabundant population. As America wanted what England had in excess, the former country was an immense gainer by these large immigrations, and thenceforward made progress with amazing rapidity. In December, 1817, the Mississippi Territory was divided, and the western portion admitted into the Union as the State of Mississippi, while the eastern remained for a short time longer as a dependent province, under the title of the Alabama Territory. The latter included a portion of Georgia, which was given up for a consideration.

The same month saw the suppression of a piratical establishment which had been formed on Amelia Island, at the north-eastern extremity of the coast of Florida, by persons who alleged that they were acting under the authority of some of the Republics of South America, for the purpose of liberating the Floridas from the dominion of Spain. Another establishment of a similar nature, on the island of Galveston, Texas, was also suppressed. In addition to their avowed political objects, the persons engaged at those places were known to be carrying on a clandestine trade in slaves. From an early period in the century, the Spanish colonies in the South had been engaged in insurrectionary wars against the mother country, and some had succeeded in establishing their independence. It was the obvious policy of the Washington Cabinet to encourage these young Republics, though furtively, and thus destroy the influence of Spain. Monroe, in particular, very emphatically asserted the dogma that the monarchical form of government ought not to exist on the Continent of America—a political principle which, under the designation of the "Monroe Doctrine," has been widely received in the United States from that time to the present. Yet Monroe's Administration was not at all inclined to help these Spanish-American Republics in acquiring Florida, because Anglo-America wanted that territory for herself; and, on this account, a strict neutrality was maintained between the Government of Spain and its revolted colonies. The purchase of Florida had long been contemplated by the Americans; and, if Spain were not offended by an active exhibition of sympathy with her disobedient subjects, she might some day be persuaded to entertain offers which had previously been refused. The buccaneers, if they are to be regarded as such, were accordingly driven out from the settlements they had seized; but it is certain that these operations were dictated by no feeling of disinterested friendship towards the Government of Madrid. The prize of Florida was always glittering before the vision of American statesmen, and an opportunity now arose for grasping it.

In the latter part of 1817, the Seminole Indians, joined by a few of the Creeks, and by some runaway negroes, began to commit depredations on the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama. General Gaines was despatched to suppress these risings, and to remove every Indian from the territory which the Creeks had ceded to the United States. He was overmatched in numbers, however, and got into so dangerous a position that General Jackson was sent in all haste to his aid. This vigorous officer, acting on his own responsibility, raised a large force of Tennessee horsemen, in addition to the regular army with which he was supplied, and at once marched into the Indian territory, which he speedily overran. He was ordered not to enter Florida, except in pursuit of an enemy; but this was little more than a mask to cover the real intentions of the Government, and to furnish a

* Colonel Barré made this extraordinary statement, in 1775, to Josiah Quincy, who repeated it in a letter to Joseph Reed. (See Gordon's "History of the War of Independence," Vol. I., p. 438.) Barré referred to the beginning of George III.'s reign, and said that above two-thirds of the British people were thus ignorant. But this was more than he could possibly know, and must doubtless be set down as a colloquial exaggeration.

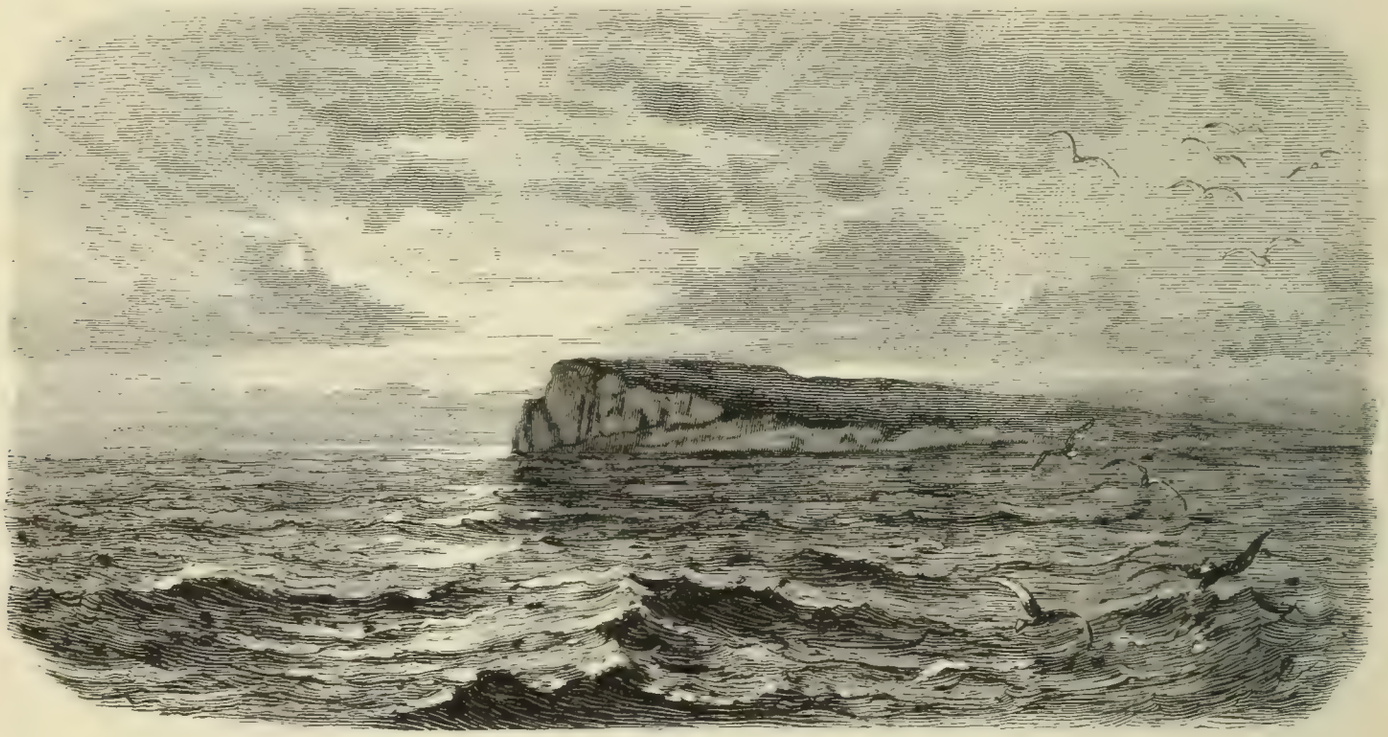
decent reply to Spain in case the progress of events should be such as to lead to a remonstrance from that Power. In his recent message to Congress, the President had stated that "where the authority of Spain ceased to exist, there the United States have a right to pursue their enemy, on a principle of self defence." At that time, the authority of the Spaniards did not extend, in Florida, much beyond the garrisons of Pensacola and St. Augustine; so that an invasion of the province seems to have been contemplated from the first. It was within the boundaries of Florida that the strong holds of the offending Indians were to be found; and into this country General Jackson determined to advance. He entered within its limits in March, 1818, and in April took possession of the weak Spanish post of St. Mark, at the head of Apalachee Bay. Here he arrested two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, who were accused before a court-martial of having acted as emissaries among the Southern Indians, and incited them to hostilities. Their being found guilty was of course a foregone conclusion; they were condemned to death, and both were executed on the 30th of April. Jackson then marched on Pensacola, the capital of the province, expelled the Spanish authorities, and asserted the rule of the United States over the whole territory. For this high-handed proceeding, the alleged excuse was that the representatives of Spain had encouraged the Indians in making depredations in Alabama. The Spanish Governor protested against the invasion of his Sovereign's realm; but Jackson was not the man to heed such remonstrances, or to stand very long on niceties of international law. The Governor and his followers fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, at the entrance to Pensacola Bay, where the American General had no great difficulty in stamping out resistance to his authority. On the 27th of May, three days after the flight of the Governor, Barrancas was captured by Jackson, and the Spanish officials and troops were sent to Havannah.

The proceedings of Jackson had been of a very questionable character, and they speedily formed a topic of remonstrance in the Legislature of the United States. The whole conduct of the Seminole war was investigated by a committee appointed for the purpose, and the report of this body censured the General very severely. It declared that he had disregarded the orders of the War Department; that he had committed gross breaches of the Constitution and the laws; that he had arrogated to himself the monstrous power of raising a volunteer army of 2,500 men, with 230 officers, out of whom court-martials had been formed, to decide upon life and death; that, although the victims condemned might perhaps have put themselves out of the pale of the law, General Jackson might almost as well have caused a court-martial of his volunteers to judge any American citizen who happened to be an officer of militia, and that his entering into Pensacola was contrary to his instructions, and highly blamable. That these charges were just, it would be very difficult to deny; but Jackson had the merit of success, and, having secured to his country a large accession of splendid territory, he was not wanting in supporters, and those the most influential. The Ministry ranged themselves on his side, and the President regarded him as having cleverly carried out a tortuous policy, the real nature of which it had not been convenient to avow beforehand. Congress was the scene of many exciting debates on the subject, and the number of votes upon several of the questions was nearly equal. Jackson contended that the Spaniards had persistently incited the Indians to their deeds of blood and rapine, and that prompt and efficient measures were absolutely necessary. The majority of the people adopted this view, and in the result his friends succeeded in carrying through Congress a vote of exculpation.

The addition of Florida to the United States was now an accomplished fact, though it still wanted the sanction of legal forms. The Americans were in possession, and Spain, distracted by civil war over the whole of what had once been her vast domains in the New World, was unable to expel her powerful rival, or to reverse the course of events. In February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, by which Spain ceded to the United States both East and West Florida, together with the adjacent islands. King Ferdinand, however, refused to ratify this instrument, and despatched an Envoy to America, to make complaints on various points, but principally with respect to encroachments on the Mexican province of Texas. This led to much delay, but the treaty was at length ratified in October, 1820. Florida was erected into a Territory in February, 1821, and in the following month General Jackson was appointed the first Governor of that beautiful and fertile province.

He had a difficult task to perform. The Spanish officials whom he found there threw every obstruction in his way that they could devise, and amongst other things refused to give up the provincial archives, which, according to the treaty, were to be delivered to the new possessors. Even when they were at length obtained in the main, it was found that some particular documents were kept back by Don Cavalla,

the late Spanish Governor. Jackson sent an armed force to bring Cavalla before him. The Spaniard resisted, and was carried from his bed to prison; the missing papers were then seized, and Cavalla was discharged. Nothing was more conspicuous in Jackson than a prompt and despotic resort to force. Had he been a Frenchman, he might have proved another Napoleon Bonaparte, for he certainly possessed soldier-like abilities, and had precisely that character which falls in with the military and Imperial order of society. His methods were not much in harmony with the political system of his own country; but he generally succeeded in his designs, and was therefore popular. On the present occasion, as at former times, his proceedings were blamed in Congress; but he had the support of the majority, and could well afford to disregard the objectors.



AMELIA ISLAND, FLORIDA.

The recognition of the Spanish-American Republics by the United States followed at no distant date. In 1819, the southern portion of Missouri was formed into a Territorial Government under the name of Arkansas; and in December of the same year Alabama was admitted into the Union. Early in 1820, Maine, which had for nearly two hundred years been a portion of Massachusetts, was severed from that State, and suffered to enjoy a distinct existence. Maine had originally been settled by the French, and was long a ground of contention between that nation and the English. It was at first the property of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his descendants. The proprietary rights of this family were disputed by the Colonial Government of Massachusetts, which forcibly assumed jurisdiction about 1652, and in 1677 purchased the whole province. The people of Maine, however, though as well disposed towards the Republican cause during the War of Independence as any other part of the Federation, did not approve of their connection with the State which had its capital at Boston. They desired to follow their own ways, and from 1820 downwards they have enjoyed that wish.

Missouri had of late been applying for admission into the Union, and this demand was made the occasion of a violent debate in Congress—one of a very long series of similar discussions—on the vexed question of slavery. During the session of 1818–19, a Bill was introduced into Congress, containing a provision which forbade the existence of slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, when that Territory should be constituted as a State. The subject was fiercely argued during the whole session; it had not been brought to a close when the Houses adjourned; the country itself caught the contagion of excitement, and the usual cry of disruption was raised, as on many previous occasions. When Secession at last came, in 1861, it was no new idea to the American people: it had been threatened again and again—now by the North, and now by the South, according as the objects of either seemed imperilled. The division between



LAFAYETTE LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE BUNKER'S HILL MONUMENT.

those two great sections was indeed very strongly marked—in soil, in climate, in political institutions, in social customs, and in material interests; and the battle never raged more hotly, as far as language was concerned, than during the period at which we have now arrived. When the discussion was resumed, on the 23rd of November, 1820, much acrimony was displayed in the speeches delivered on both sides. The whole question of slavery was debated with that vehemence which it is so well calculated to call forth. The North-eastern States, which had put an end to negro bondage among themselves, were of course strongly opposed to any extension of the detestable system into States about to be admitted to the Union. The South was equally desirous of widening the area of African servitude, in order that in the Senate there might be a majority of States pledged to support the custom, together with all those interests which were bound up in its existence. The Missourians themselves were inclined to go with the South; and, having refused to adopt a clause for the prohibition of the growth of slavery, the Northern States obstructed their admission into the Federal body. Thus the battle hung: the North taking its stand upon the cruel and immoral character of slavery; the South maintaining that, even if objectionable in itself, it was part of the existing order of things, and could not be suddenly abolished, or even curtailed, without serious danger to the whole social fabric. The slave-trade, as regarded Africa and other foreign lands, had been suppressed for several years; but slaves were bred at home, and sold by one State to another, as they were needed. The Western States in this way produced a good many slaves, and found a large source of profit in disposing of them to other parts of the country. Missouri, wishing to share in these gains, violently resisted the restriction which the Northern members of Congress desired to impose, and threatened in 1819 to constitute itself a sovereign and entirely independent State, if not admitted to the Union on its own terms. The question was settled by a compromise on the 28th of February, 1821, in accordance with which slavery was to be tolerated in Missouri, but prohibited in all other parts of the Union north and west of the northern limits of Arkansas; and upon this understanding Missouri, on the 21st of August, was admitted to the Federation as its twenty-fourth member. Such was the "Missouri Compromise," which appears again and again in American history, as a source of dispute and recrimination.

This parting of the Federation into two divisions, with distinct and opposing interests, seemed to the veteran Jefferson a danger of a very menacing kind. He was hardly the politician most entitled to complain; for, by exaggerating the principle of State rights, he had encouraged the tendency to a sectional view of politics, and had strengthened the disposition of the slave-holding States to isolate themselves in support of their beloved institution. But he was not himself an admirer of slavery, though he did not clearly see his way to getting rid of it; and he was too wise and patriotic a citizen to desire a dissolution of the Union which he had done so much to create. He wrote to a friend in 1820:—"I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; not by the line which has been so confidently counted on—the laws of Nature control this—but by the Potomac, Ohio, and Missouri, or, more probably, the Mississippi upwards to our northern boundary. My only comfort and confidence is, that I shall not live to see this."* He considered the proposed action of Congress, in imposing regulations on the several States with regard to the extension of slavery, as grossly unconstitutional. But the idea of a line of geographical demarcation, involving a different system of politics and morals, he feared would gather force with time, reappear again and again, and in the end produce so deadly a feeling of mutual hate that separation would become preferable to eternal discord. His anticipations were disastrously realised forty-one years later.

During the discussion of the Missouri question, the President and Vice-President were re-elected for another term of four years by an almost unanimous vote. The Federal party was now nearly extinct. Although it still counted several members capable of making considerable opposition in Congress, it was devoid of all effective organisation, and had very little influence in the country generally. The policy of Monroe had been popular; his administration had been successful; and the Democrats had no difficulty in carrying him again into power. Two measures of his Government were particularly well received by the people of the United States. One of these was an Act of Congress, passed in March, 1818, for making some degree of provision for the surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolution—an Act which was subsequently extended, so as to include the widows and children of those who had already departed; the second was an arrangement, made with Great Britain in October

* Jefferson to William Short, April 13, 1820.

of the same year, by which American citizens were allowed to share with English subjects in the fisheries of Newfoundland. It was at this period also that the boundary of the United States towards Canada, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, was defined.

The remaining events of Monroe's Presidency are neither numerous nor very weighty. Among these last occurred the year 1824 and 1825 were distinguished by a very agreeable incident. The Marquis de Lafayette, who as a young man had fought with Washington for the independence of the English colonies in America, now revisited those lands after a lapse of almost half a century. His reception, as might naturally be expected, was of the most enthusiastic kind. No king, no con-



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

queror, has ever received a more splendid ovation than this French nobleman who had believed in freedom in his youth, who had not forsworn it in his age, and to whom every American looked up as one of the surviving fathers of his country. He landed at New York in August, 1824, and subsequently made a tour through all the States of the Union, passing over five thousand miles of territory, and finding in every place a reception which came warm and throbbing from the depths of the popular heart. This interesting tour belongs partly to the Presidency of Monroe, and partly to that of John

the most conspicuous was the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. A small American squadron under Commodore Perry, the hero of the naval action on Lake Erie, was sent out in 1819 to chastise the sea-rovers who made a prey of American commerce amongst those islands. Perry shortly afterwards died of yellow fever, but in 1822 another American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coast of Cuba. Next year, a larger force, under Commodore Porter, completed the work, and the mercantile vessels of America were for a time free from the pillage of

Quincy Adams. While at Boston, on the 17th of June, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, Lafayette laid the corner-stone of the monument then about to be erected in commemoration of that conflict. In September of the same year, he departed from Washington in an American frigate, prepared for his reception, and entitled the *Brandywine*, in allusion to the first battle in which Lafayette had been engaged, and where he was wounded in the leg forty-eight years before. Previous to his return, Congress had voted him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land, as a testimony of the national gratitude.

The American system of taxation came up for reconsideration in the year 1824. The restrictive commercial policy of England, in the opening days of the Federation, had led to a similar policy on the part of the United States; and these principles of protection to native industry still continued in force, although England was now beginning to enter on a more liberal path. Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, carried through Parliament, in the session of 1823, a measure which provided that duties and drawbacks should be imposed and allowed on all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or foreign vessels, but which also reserved the power of continuing the existing restrictions with respect to those countries which should decline to act on a system of reciprocity. The same principle received a further application in 1824; but the Americans were not inclined to follow the good example. Although the British ports in the West Indies had been thrown open to American vessels, nothing was offered in return. The policy of protecting home manufactures, by imposing a heavy duty on all foreign articles likely to come into competition with them, was carried out more systematically than at any previous time. The tariff of 1824 raised to a very serious degree the imposts levied on foreign, and especially on British, manufactures. Retaliation was held to be a good device when other countries were illiberal; but reciprocity, when they were inclined to a more generous order of statesmanship, was regarded with distrust and derision. Some amount of protection may indeed have been necessary when the manufactures of the United States, in their tender infancy, were struggling for bare existence; but the commercial principles of the Federal Government, adopted at an early date, and confirmed by the legislation of 1824, established an unhealthy condition of trade, from which the country has suffered not a little, and suffers even to this hour.

Towards the end of 1824, the Presidential election once more recurred. The candidates were—John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and son of John Adams; General Jackson; Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; and Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Adams had the support of the New Englanders; Jackson was the favourite of the extreme Southern States; Crawford could count on the votes of the Virginians, and Clay on those of the Western men. The contest lay mainly between Adams and Jackson, but the result was complicated by the two other candidates. Not one of the four had the requisite majority, and the choice accordingly lay with the House of Representatives. By the votes of that Chamber, John Quincy Adams was declared President, although, in the more direct election, Jackson had had the greater number of suffrages. Mr. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was the Vice-President. For his Cabinet, the younger Adams nominated, on his inauguration in March, 1825, Henry Clay, Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy; and William Wirt, Attorney General. The last two were already in office. In the Senate, considerable opposition was shown to the nomination of Henry Clay as Secretary of State. He was charged with defeating the election of General Jackson, by giving his influence to Mr. Adams on condition that he should receive the appointment which was in fact conferred on him. The truthfulness of this charge was strenuously denied, and a majority of thirteen Senators confirmed the nomination of Clay.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Adams observed:—"Since the period of our independence, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended from sea to sea; and States have been admitted to the Union in numbers nearly equal to those of the first Federation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectually as under any other Government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding in a whole generation the expenditure of other nations in a single year." The great parties of Federalists and Democrats, which had so long divided the country, Mr. Adams, by a conclusion more sanguine than correct, pronounced to be extinct. The nation, he said, was agreed on the fundamental principles of government; and he added:—"The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the Government of the United States first came into operation

under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and sympathies, which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five and twenty years; during which the policy of the Union, in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our Federal Government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate. . . . . If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, these doubts have been dispelled; if there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds." The President nevertheless considered it necessary to recommend his countrymen to preserve the Union which they had established, and to discard those party animosities, founded on "geographical divisions and adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life," which had so direct a tendency to separation.

The wisdom of this advice was made sufficiently manifest within a very short time. In the course of 1825, a controversy arose between the Federal Administration and the Governor of Georgia, concerning the lands of the Creek Indians, and the removal of those savages from their aboriginal seats. As a compensation to Georgia for relinquishing her claims to considerable portions of the Mississippi Territory, the Federal Government had in a previous year agreed to purchase for the Georgians certain Indian lands within their borders, whenever this could be done peaceably and upon reasonable terms. The Creeks, however, refused to sell their ground, on which they were beginning to settle down with something like civilised habits. Troup, the Governor of Georgia, insisted on the fulfilment of the contract, and, having caused the lands to be surveyed, prepared to distribute them by lottery. The Government of the United States regarded this proceeding as tyrannical, and refused to sanction it. Nevertheless, several years later, the Creeks and Cherokees were transported to the wilderness beyond the Mississippi, but not before the question had evoked a vast amount of bitterness. The Georgians believed that the opposition to their wishes proceeded mainly from the New Englanders; and their House of Representatives, in 1826, passed a resolution which fell little short of an announcement of secession, and which is in many respects a curious anticipation of the principles avowed and acted on in 1861. The resolution stated:

"The hour is come, or it is rapidly approaching, when the States from Virginia to Georgia, from Missouri to Louisiana, must confederate, and as one man say to the Union: We will no longer submit our constitutional rights to bad men in Congress, or on judicial benches. The powers necessary to the protection of the Confederated States from enemies without and enemies within, alone were confided to the United Government; all others were retained to the several States, separate and sovereign. The States of the South will convey their products to the markets of the world; the world will open wide its arms to receive them. Let our Northern brethren, then, if there is no peace in Union, if the compact has become too heavy to be longer borne, in the names of all the mercies find peace among themselves. Let them continue to rejoice in their self-righteousness; let them bask in their own meridian, while they depict the South as a hideous reverse. As Athens, as Sparta, as Rome was, we will be; they held slaves, we hold them. In the simplicity of the patriarchal government we would still remain master and servant, under our own vine and our own fig-tree, and confide for safety upon Him who of old time looked down upon this state of things without wrath." Such were the preludings of ultimate civil war.

The second year of the younger Adams's Presidency (1826) was a year of jubilee. The 4th of July was the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence of the United States. It was on that day in 1776, that the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence which had been drawn up by Jefferson. The experiment then commenced had received the sanction of more than a generation, and the United States no longer occupied a tentative position, but stood before the world as a recognised and successful Power, possessing the grandest future of any nation on the globe. The day was kept as a national holiday throughout the Union, and young and old combined in homage to the general mother of all—the great Republic which had broken with the worst precedents of royalty,

feudalism, and ecclesiasticism, and had taken its stand on the principle so tersely expressed by an American poet of the present day, that "Only manhood ever makes a man." It is perhaps one of the most extraordinary facts in history—a fact full of a mysterious and almost sacred beauty—that in the midst of those rejoicings the two chief Americans of the revolutionary epoch, next to Washington, passed away from earth. Four days previously—viz., on the 30th of June, at nine o'clock in the morning—a gentleman, who had been deputed to make an oration on the great day, called on the venerable John Adams, and asked for a toast, to be presented as coming from him. "I will give you," said the noble old man, "'Independence for ever!'" He was asked if he would not add anything to it; and he replied, "Not a word." When those who had assembled at Quincy on the 4th of July were leaving the hall in which they had held their meeting, it was reported to them that John Adams was just dead. He had long been sinking, with the placidity not unusual in extreme age, for he was nearly ninety-one; and on the morning of the 4th was awakened by the ringing of bells. He was asked if he knew the meaning of what he heard. "Oh, yes," he answered, "it is the glorious 4th of July. God bless it! God bless you all!" Some time after, he observed, "It is a great and glorious day;" and then, after a pause, added, "Jefferson yet survives." But the author of the Declaration had already departed. In the course of the previous night (he had been ill several days), Jefferson awoke out of an apparent stupor, and asked the hour. Being told it was one o'clock, he expressed some signs of satisfaction, and it was evident that he had wished his life to be prolonged to the anniversary of the Day of Independence. He expired during the morning; Adams, at about six o'clock in the evening. Jefferson had himself attained a very advanced age, being then rather more than eighty-three; but the years of Adams were almost patriarchal. These two great men had been fellow-workers in the prime of their manhood. At a later day, party divisions had estranged them; but it is a happy fact that later still, when both had retired from the clamour and exasperation of politics, their ancient friendship was renewed and strengthened. In primitive times, two such men, departing almost simultaneously on the fiftieth anniversary of an event famous in the history of the world, and with which they had both been so intimately associated, would have acquired a mythical position, such as would very soon have elevated them to the rank of demi-gods. As it is, they will go down to remotest posterity, surrounded by the grandeur of noble service, the felicity of prolonged days, and the consecration of a death which has hardly the element of sadness.

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